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THE NEW
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1812.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, TASTE, and
SCIENCE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of GEORGE III.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,
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P R E F A C E.

WE may safely assert, that the public interest was never excited so anxiously, permanently, or generally, as by the domestic and foreign events and transactions of the year 1812. At home the disturbances which agitated our manufacturing districts, for some time created great alarm and apprehension: it was not merely the mystery in which they were involved, the extent of country over which they spread, or the length of time during which they continued, that gave rise to this alarm and apprehension; but the peculiar character which they assumed, the system with which they were conducted, and the suspicion that they originated from more serious causes than want of employment and the pressure of the times, and aimed at objects connected with the stability of Government and the peace of the Country. Happily they subsided, by a judicious employment, on the part of Ministry, of patient forbearance, and well-applied vigour.

Closely connected with these disturbances, the discussions and evidence relative to the Repeal of the "Orders in Council" may be viewed; it was proved, almost to the conviction, certainly to the silencing of the advocates for these Orders, that they had in their action rebounded on ourselves, with at least as much force as they had acted on the enemy: this circumstance, joined to the expectation, that by their repeal America would be

propitiated, and our trade revived, induced Ministers to give a reluctant consent to this measure; but it came too late, and it was so evidently the result of a regard to our own interest, rather than to the interests or rights of neutral nations, that America was not reconciled. A war between the two countries has taken place, which hitherto has exhibited nothing worthy of notice, except the circumstance of our new enemy equalling us in maritime courage, experience, and skill, and exhibiting, in their land operations, a total want of every quality that can form a general or a soldier.

But the most remarkable events in our domestic history are connected with the assassination of Mr. Perceval, a circumstance in itself unparalleled in the British annals. In consequence of his death, negotiations were set on foot for the formation of a new Ministry; the progress and result of which ought to be considered with great attention by all, who wish to obtain a clear and perfect insight into the talents, the character, and the principles of the various parties that exist among our public men. When all the circumstances attending this negotiation are considered, it is apprehended, that few will be at a loss to comprehend the character of the Prince Regent; of the leaders of the Whigs; of Lord Wellesley, and Mr. Canning; of Lord Moira, or of those who constitute the present Ministry; and we are afraid that neither the talents nor the patriotism of those to whom the country naturally looks up, in this arduous crisis, will appear to great advantage.

In the Peninsular war, the fame of the British arms was extended and increased: whatever may be

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be the ultimate and permanent result of our military operations in that part of the world, all must acknowledge that the character of British officers and soldiers has risen very highly; and that while we can appeal to the battles which they have won, we may challenge for our country as decided and glorious a superiority for military courage and skill, as it has long undeniably possessed on its own peculiar element. If proofs of cool determined and irresistible bravery are called for, we may cite the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; if proofs of the rarest and most useful talents of a great commander are demanded, we may appeal to Lord Wellington's conduct at the battle of Salamanca.

But the operations in the Peninsula, however great and glorious, were comparatively of confined extent and interest; and the attention, even of the British nation, was drawn off from Lord Wellington to the campaign in the north of Europe. The preparations which Bonaparte had long been making for his intended war against Russia, were unequalled in magnitude, and in the care and attention that had been bestowed upon them. These, when completed, exhibited an army of at least 300,000 men, composed of troops who never marched but to victory; and these troops led on by officers of the utmost skill, and in whom they placed the greatest confidence. Moreover, this immense and *perfect* army was commanded by a man, whom, from his uniform and unchecked success, his soldiers believed to be invincible:—all these circumstances directed the attention of the civilized world to the campaign in the North: and its results were most extraordinary.

dinary. A nation half barbarians laying waste their territory; opposing the legions of France with the most obstinate courage; and when compelled to retire, opening to the advancing army, reduced in numbers, and straitened in its resources, only a desolate and barren country; and at last offering up their homes, their domestic comforts, and even their ancient and almost sacred capital, on the altar of national independence, shamed the refined nations of Europe, who had been seduced by the promises, or overcome by the arms of France. But if the conduct of the Russians, in this war, was calculated to create great interest, that of Bonaparte was no less important in the estimation of all who had long looked in vain for symptoms in him of that self-destructive rashness, which uniform success, when acting on an impetuous and violent disposition, must sooner or later produce. In this campaign the symptoms were unequivocal; and when the rashness of his character did break out, it involved him in despair, broke the charm of his invincibility, and stripped him of the finest army that he ever led to battle. It would be in vain to consult the pages of ancient or modern history, in order to parallel the destruction of the French army, during its campaign in Russia; whether the extent, or the variety of the misery which they endured and sunk under, is considered; never before did hunger, fatigue, excessive cold, and a continually harassing enemy, unite so completely and effectually in the work of destruction.

August 13, 1813.

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Containing Memoirs of Literary Societies, History, Biography, Belles Lettres, Poetry, and Novels - - - - - [414]

THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,
TASTE AND SCIENCE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

IN looking back to the second volume of the New Annual Register, to which we referred in our last, we find scarcely any notice taken of certain writers, who, on account of their celebrity, ought to have been mentioned in that period of the "History of Knowledge, &c." which related to the reigns of the two first Georges. We shall in this, and some succeeding articles supply the deficiency, beginning with the author of the "Seasons."

James Thomson was born in September 1700, and discovering at an early age a promptitude for learning, a neighbouring minister, Mr. Riccarton, undertook to superintend his education; and owing to the narrowness of his parents' circumstances, he provided him with books, and other articles necessary to his progressive advancement in literature. He was taught the common rudiments of learning at the school of Jedburg; but was not considered by the master of that seminary as superior to common boys, though even then, scarcely beyond the period of childhood, he amused his patron and his friends with poetical compositions, with which, it is said, he was so little pleased himself, that

on every new-year's day he threw into the fire all the productions of the foregoing year. From this school he was removed to Edinburgh (his friends intending him for a minister), where he lived without distinction or expectation, till he performed a probationary exercise by explaining a psalm. His diction was so poetically splendid, that Mr. Hamilton, the professor of divinity, reprov'd him for speaking a language that was unintelligible to a popular audience. The rebuke is said to have led him to reject the ecclesiastical character, and he probably cultivated with increased diligence his talent for poetry. He repaired to London, and the reception he met with encouraged him to risk the publication of his poem on *Winter*. This piece was published in 1726: after a time it met with universal applause, and the acquaintance of the author was courted by people of the first taste and fashion. The *Winter*, though the earliest of Thomson's poems, is generally regarded as the best. The historical digressions suit the season, and agreeably relieve the mind after the richness of description.

The principal advantage which this publication procured the author, was the acquaintance of Dr. Rundle, afterwards bishop of Derry, who introduced him to the lord chancellor Talbot, by whom he was selected as a fit person to attend his eldest son in a tour on the continent. The expectations which the *WINTER* had raised, were abundantly satisfied by the successive publications of the other seasons; of *SUMMER*, in 1727; of *SPRING*, in the following year; and of *AUTUMN*, in a quarto edition of his works, in 1730.

Besides the *SEASONS*, and his tragedy of *SOPHONISBA*, written and acted with applause in the year 1729, he had, in 1727, published his poem to the memory of sir Isaac Newton, with an account of his discoveries, which he was enabled to perform with the exactness of a philosopher, by the assistance and instruction of Mr. Gray. The same year, he wrote his poem entitled *BRITANNIA*, to excite the nation to a spirit of revenge against the Spaniards, who had made depredations its trade.

On his return from the continent, he settled at Richmond in narrow circumstances, and produced some dramatic pieces of celebrity : also "Liberty," a poem ; and "The Castle of Indolence," in imitation of Spenser. But his fame rests almost entirely on the SEASONS : in this his style is elegant and sublime, but in a few places it is incorrect. He delineates many parts of nature with great justness and propriety ; but his descriptions have sometimes been thought minute and diffuse. He indulges in digressions, and, for a descriptive poem, perhaps gives way rather too frequently to reflections on human life : but his reflections are always natural, impressive, and interesting ; they come home to the business and bosom of every reader, and generally inforce on the mind, lessons of sound morality and practical wisdom. He bears some resemblance to Lucretius, in his tender strokes, in his digressions, and the moral conclusions of his books. His principal excellence consists in strength and sublimity, but there is sometimes a deficiency in the want of harmony and purity of expression. These faults, however, in Thomson, are easily overbalanced by a variety of pleasing, natural, and sublime beauties, which must for ever render the Seasons one of the most beautiful poems in the world. His description of love, in the Spring, is animated and pathetic, and is thought to be equal in every respect to Virgil's, or that of Lucretius on the same subject. It has even more of romance and enthusiasm ; and one would be led to imagine that Thomson, as well as his predecessors, had felt the tender passion in no common degree, to have described it in so lively a manner.

Thomson's Seasons are too well known to require quotations in proof of their merit : there are, however, two passages in the first edition of the Spring, omitted in subsequent impressions, that are eminently beautiful and sublime ; and which, as they cannot be known to the generality of readers, we shall transcribe :

" High from the summit of a craggy cliff,
Hung o'er the green sea, grumbling at its base,

The royal eagle draws his young, resolv'd
 To try them at the sun. Strong pounc'd, and bright
 As burnish'd day, they up the blue sky wind,
 Leaving dull sight below, and with fixt gaze
 Drink in their native noon ; the father-king
 Claps his glad pinions and approves the birth."

The other passage is descriptive of the power of God :

" His grandeur in the heavens ; the sun and moon,
 Whether that fires the day, or falling this
 Pours out a lucid softness o'er the night,
 Are but a beam from him. The glittering stars,
 By the deep ear of meditation heard,
 Still in their midnight watches sing of him.
 He nods a calm. The tempest blows his wrath,
 Roots up the forest, and o'erturns the main.
 The thunder is his voice, and the red flash
 His speedy sword of justice. At his touch
 The mountains flame. He shakes the solid earth,
 And rocks the nations. Nor in these alone,
 In every common instance God is seen."

In his SUMMER, the address to the Sun, with the description of the luxuriant climes within the tropics, the progress of the huge rivers there, and the thunder-storm, are all instances of the true sublime, and are remarkable for a vein of bold and rich painting. The episodes of Amelia and Musidora are finely wrought and seasonably introduced ; the former is remarkable for its pathos, the latter for its delicacy and beauty.

In the AUTUMN, there is the mild majesty with the sweet gravity of the season. The calm prospect of the fields ready for the harvest, the serene blue of the sky, the reaping scene with the story of Lavinia are poetical, and in the highest degree natural ; but the harvest-storm, the stag and fox-hunting, especially the last, are most finished, and place our author's descriptive powers in the strongest light.

In the WINTER the grand and terrible appear to predominate, sometimes the pathetic intervenes ; but all seems laboured,

boured, animated, and uniformly supported, so that, if the author had never composed another, this poem was enough to have secured him immortality. To the praise of the poet it may be added, that as he was the first in our language that struck out a new path of bold and manly description, so none have exactly followed him; and he stands as yet without a rival: as a painter of nature, both in her great and smaller forms, he has no equal in modern times. In a subsequent volume we shall notice the "Farmer's Boy" by Bloomfield. Dr. Armstrong, of whom we have formerly spoken, comes nearest to the style and diction of Thomson. This valuable poet died at the age of 48, having previously suffered pecuniary difficulties, from which he was relieved by Quin.

Mr. Thomson had improved his taste upon the finest originals, ancient and modern. The autumn was his favourite season for poetical composition, and the deep silence of the night he commonly chose for his studies.

"As a writer," says Dr. Johnson, "he is entitled to one praise of the highest kind; his mode of thinking, and of expressing his thoughts, is original. His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton, or of any other poet, than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley. His numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation. He thinks in a peculiar train, and thinks always as a man of genius: he looks round on nature and on life with an eye which nature bestows only on a poet; the eye that distinguishes, in every thing represented to its view, whatever there is on which imagination can delight to be detained, and with a mind that at once comprehends the vast, and attends to the minute. The reader of the Seasons wonders that he never saw before what Thomson shows him, and that he never yet has felt what Thomson impresses."

Among the writers and poets of the present reign must be mentioned Dr. Johnson, who takes a distinguished station in several branches of literature. He was born at Litchfield, in

the year 1709, and though, probably, intended for the same trade, a bookseller, by which his father brought up his family, he was sent to Oxford, and entered a commoner of Pembroke College, when he was in the nineteenth year of his age. Johnson was careless of his character, with respect to the discipline and studies of the place; yet he obtained credit by some of his compositions, of which the most distinguished was a translation into the Latin language of Pope's *Messiah*, written with great spirit and vigour. He remained at Oxford about three years: soon after his return home his father died in narrow circumstances, and he engaged in the laborious occupation of usher to a school. While thus employed, he wrote some literary essays, and translated and abridged from the French the account of the voyage to Abyssinia. This was published in 1735. In the year 1737 he accompanied his friend Garrick to London. His first and principal engagement was with Cave, the proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; and the literary piece which brought him into notice was entitled "London, a poem," written in imitation of Juvenal's third satire. For this he received 10*l.*: it was printed without his name; but it was observed by Pope, then in the height of his popularity, that the author of such a satire could not remain long concealed. At this period, Johnson offered himself as a candidate for the mastership of a free-school in the country. This he was unable to attain, because it was necessary that the master should have taken his degree of M. A. which he had neglected while he was at Oxford: but now he applied for the honour to the University of Dublin, through the medium of lord Gower, who, in writing to his friend on the subject, says, he is not afraid of the strictest examination, though he is of so long a journey, and yet he will venture it, if it be thought necessary, choosing rather to die on the road, than be starved to death in translating for the booksellers, which has been his only subsistence for some time past. The application was ineffectual, and he was obliged to content himself with the patronage of the London booksellers, particularly with the employment which he obtained in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In this work were given the Parliamentary Debates, under the fiction of "De-
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bates in the Senate of Lilliput," and the speakers were disguised under feigned names. Guthrie, for a time, composed these speeches from such hints as he could bring away in his memory. Johnson first assisted in this department, afterwards he entirely filled it, and the public was highly gratified with the eloquence displayed in those compositions.

In 1739, he published a humorous pamphlet, entitled "Marmor Norfolciense," consisting of a supposed ancient prophecy in Latin monkish rhymes, with an explanation. In 1747, he published the plan of his English Dictionary, which, when given to the world in 1755, he said had been "written with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers; but amidst inconvenience and distraction in sickness and sorrow." The intervals of this compilation were sufficient to allow of various literary avocations. In 1747 he wrote a prologue on the opening of Drury-Lane theatre: in 1749 he produced another imitation of Juvenal, entitled "The Vanity of Human Wishes," and his tragedy of "Irene." Between the month of March 1750, and the same month 1752, he produced the Rambler, of which he wrote the whole, excepting ten papers, at the rate of two a week. The serious style of the Rambler prevented it, at first, from attaining a very extensive circulation: nevertheless, after it was collected into volumes, it rose in the public estimation, and the author lived to see the publication of the tenth edition. The Dictionary was received by the public with general applause, and its author was immediately ranked among the greatest benefactors of his native tongue. The publication of this great work did not relieve him from embarrassments: he was entirely dependent on the exertions of the day for its support; and so low was he reduced, though regarded as an ornament and honour to his country, that in the following year he was put under an arrest for the trifling sum of a very few pounds. In 1758 he began the Idler, a periodical paper, which was published in a weekly newspaper; and on the death of his mother in the following year, he wrote the ro-

mance of "Rasselas," to defray the expenses of her funeral, and to pay her debts. This, though written in great haste, and on the spur of the occasion, is reckoned one of his most splendid performances: it is elegant in language, rich in imagery, and weighty in sentiment. In the year 1762, a pension of 300*l.* per annum was granted him by the crown, without any stipulation with respect to his literary exertions. In 1765 he had the honour of an interview with His Majesty in the royal library, when the king asked him if he intended to publish any more works? To this he replied, that he thought he had written enough; on which His Majesty said, "I should have thought so too, if you had not written so well." In the same year he published his edition of Shakespear's works, to which he prefixed a preface, written with all the powers of his masterly pen, and which is reckoned among the most valuable of his critical disquisitions. After this he wrote and published several tracts on political subjects in defence of the measures of government. These were probably written on principle, and perhaps in gratitude for the pension bestowed on him; but they were unpopular, and did very little service to the cause which he attempted to vindicate.

In the year 1779, Dr. Johnson began his last literary undertaking "The Lives of the English Poets," which, notwithstanding the strong prejudices of the author, may be regarded as a most valuable treasure of sound criticism, and a model of literary biography. This work was completed in 1781, and has been not only attached to his edition of the English Poets, but has been frequently re-printed in various forms and sizes. He died in 1795. His remains, attended by a respectable concourse of friends, were interred in Westminster Abbey, and a monumental statue has been erected to his memory in the cathedral of St. Paul's.

Dr. Johnson, at the time of his death, was undoubtedly the most conspicuous literary character of his country; nor is there, perhaps, an instance of a private man of letters in England, whose decease was marked by the appearance of so many laudatory and biographical tributes to his public reputation.

tion. But our business with him is merely as a literary character. As a writer, he was more remarkable for the manner in which he presented his thoughts than for the thoughts themselves. His style has formed a kind of æra in English composition, having been considered as a good pattern for imitation to most of his contemporaries who have aimed at fine writing. It is distinguished by a preference of words of Latin etymology, by the frequent use of abstract terms, and by a disposition of clauses calculated to produce a sonorous rotundity of period. "Johnson," says one of his biographers, "delivers moral maxims and dictatorial sentences with wonderful force, and lays down definitions with singular precision; he gives a keen point to sarcasm, and adds pomp to magnificent imagery. But he is utterly adverse to the easy and familiar, and occasionally falls into ridicule by loading petty matter with cumbrous ornament, and uttering trivial sentiments with oracular dignity. Yet, as he well understood the true signification of words, and aimed rather at perfection than innovation, he may justly be reckoned a real improver of the English language, which he left more rich, accurate and majestic, than he found it."

William Collins, the contemporary of Johnson in the early part of life, was born at Chichester, and educated at Winchester school, where he soon made a great proficiency in the learned languages. From Winchester he went to Queen's college, Oxford, whence in 1741 he removed to Magdalen's. During his residence at the university, he published his "Oriental Eclogues," which were coldly received by the public. He was not, however, discouraged, but repaired to London in the character of a literary adventurer. Soon after his arrival in the metropolis, he published proposals for a "History of the Revival of Literature," a work which he certainly never accomplished, and which, perhaps, he never began. His next work, as an author, was entitled "Odes Descriptive and Allegorical," which were so little suited to the taste of the public, that the sale did not pay the expense of printing: nevertheless there are among them many pieces which now rank with the finest lyric compositions in the English

glish language. It was about this period that Dr. Johnson became acquainted with him, and he remarks that "his appearance was decent and manly, his knowledge considerable, his views extensive, his conversation elegant." He was, however, obliged to seek a retreat in the country to avoid his creditors. Shortly after, a handsome legacy from a relation enabled him to satisfy all their demands. But his good fortune did not contribute to his happiness. His nervous system was become so much out of order by disappointment, distress, and irregularity, that every effort, even that of conversation, was an insupportable labour, and he sunk into a state bordering upon insanity, from which he never entirely recovered. "Collins," says his biographer, "by his tastes and attainments appears to have been peculiarly qualified for succeeding in the higher departments of poetry. He was well acquainted both with the classical languages and the principal modern tongues. He had, according to Johnson, employed his mind chiefly upon works of fiction and subjects of fancy, and by indulging some peculiar habits of thought, was eminently delighted with those flights of imagination which pass the bounds of nature, and to which the mind is reconciled only by a passive acquiescence in popular traditions. He loved fairies and genii, giants and monsters; he delighted to rove through the meanders of enchantment, to gaze on the magnificence of golden palaces, to repose by the water-falls of Elysian gardens. Perhaps the preceding quotation is more characteristic of Johnson's style, than of Collins' disposition; for where is the youthful fancy which has not been delighted with similar fictions? Yet his unfinished ode on the superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, which was written in 1749, shows that his fondness for this kind of imagery was not a mere juvenile passion."

The scenery of his Eclogues is Eastern, the sentiments are European; but the objects and incidents seem, in general, well selected. It is, however, from his Odes that Collins derives his chief poetical fame; and as a compensation for the neglect which they met with at their first appearance, they are now almost universally regarded by the lovers of poetry as
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the first productions of the kind in our language, with respect to vigour of conception, boldness and variety of personification, and genuine warmth of feeling. His best Odes are that on the Passions, and the Ode to Evening. There is in all his pieces a remarkable terseness of language, with a peculiar wildness of fancy, sweetness and variety of numbers, joined to images and allusions of the most lively and descriptive sort, which distinguish him as a lyric poet of the first rank. The poetical character of Collins is thus drawn by Mrs. Barbauld: He will be acknowledged to possess imagination, sweetness, bold and figurative language. His numbers dwell on the ear, and easily fix themselves in the memory. His vein of sentiment is by turns tender and lofty, always tinged with a degree of melancholy, but without any strong claims to originality. His originality consists in his manner, in the highly figurative garb in which he clothes abstract ideas, in the felicity of his expressions, and his skill in embodying ideal creations. He had much of the mysticism of poetry, and sometimes became obscure, by aiming at impressions stronger than he had clear and well-defined ideas to support. Had his life been prolonged, and with life had he enjoyed that ease which is necessary for the undisturbed exercise of the faculties, he would probably have risen far above most of his contemporaries.

Another poetical contemporary of Johnson was Shenstone, who was born, in 1714, at Hales Owen in Shropshire, and educated first at the school of Solihul in Warwickshire, and next at Pembroke college, Oxford. Here he remained ten years, during which he applied himself very successfully to English poetry, and in 1737 published a small Miscellany without his name. He now wandered about to acquaint himself with life, and was sometimes at London, sometimes at Bath, or any place of public resort; but he did not forget his poetry. In 1740 he published his "Judgement of Hercules," addressed to Mr. Lyttleton: this was followed by the "School-mistress," in which he has delivered to posterity the dame by whom he was taught to read: The poem just noticed was after the manner of Spenser. He died in 1763;

and his works, which consist of songs, elegies, pastorals, letters, and miscellaneous essays, were printed in three volumes octavo by Dodsley. The first volume contains his poetical works, which are particularly distinguished by an amiable elegance and beautiful simplicity; the second contains his prose works; the third his letters &c.

In addition to our remarks on Gray, in the last volume, we may give a parallel drawn between him and Shenstone by Mr. Alves, who feeling indignant at the treatment inflicted on these writers by Dr. Johnson, says,

“ So far am I of a different opinion, in regard to Shenstone and Gray, that I imagine no two poets in the English language are possessed of higher lyrical genius, joined to classic elegance and purity of style; that they are even among the chief ornaments of the present age; and that the English language is much indebted to them for the great beauty of their composition, as well as the true spirit of their poetry. Both of them approach to the manner of the ancients; Gray to that of Pindar and Horace; Shenstone to that of Propertius and Tibullus.

“ Gray’s jealousy of Shenstone was rather unworthy of him, as was Addison’s of Pope; and for the same reason, for the merit of each was so conspicuous, though in different ways, as to supersede all rivalry.

“ Gray excels in lyric enthusiasm, Pindaric harmonies, moralities, and in natural and sublime description.

“ Shenstone’s elegiac tenderness and simplicity can never be too much admired. The rural scenes he describes, intermixed with the social and benevolent affections, and all the sweet innocencies and pleasures of a country life, naturally touch the heart, and delight and inspire it with the like virtues and affections. They show him at once to have been an amiable and good man, as well as a tender and elegant poet. If, therefore, his poems do not elevate so much as Gray’s, they
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at least touch the heart more tenderly in general. They are addressed more particularly to the lover, the virtuoso, the man of feeling and of taste, and the patriot.

“ His walks and gardens at the Leasowes seem to have been a transcript of his mind and taste for rural amusements, as Dr. Young’s garden was of his religious and solemn disposition ; where, in an alcove, he had this motto : *Invisibilia non decipiunt*, alluding to the disappointing nature of all sub-lunary things.

“ On the other hand, Gray, with a temper more reserved and severe than Shenstone’s, and a genius undoubtedly more elevated, was impelled to leave the garden and the grove, the flowery mead with the purling stream, to choose a loftier theme. And though, with the most penetrating eye, he observes the track and follows the footsteps of the Greek and Roman artists, he seems, moreover, particularly struck with the wild and prophetic spirit of the ancient minstrels and bards.

“ Hence he is continually transporting us back to the ages of the Gothic mythology, heroism, and minstrelsy ; and he soars, with the most sublime flights, in those airy regions that are so well suited to the serious though wild turn of his genius. This is his character in the two Pindaric Odes, and in his Norwegian imitations. Like Virgil and Horace, he is peculiarly happy in his expression : his versification, too, like theirs, is various, free, and remarkably musical ; his language figurative and glowing, yet chaste and delicate : in a word, to speak in the painter’s style, he possesses the sublimity of Raphael joined to the grace of Corregio.”

William and John Langhorne claim a brief notice as Lyric poets of this period. They were the sons of a clergyman of Kirkby-Stephen in Westmoreland : the latter at an early period discovered a great turn for literary pursuits ; but his father being dead, and the narrowness of his circumstances not permitting him to enjoy the benefit of academical instruction, he engaged himself as domestic tutor in a family near Ripon.

The beauties of Audley Park, in the neighbourhood, called forth his poetic talents, and he composed and published a poem with the title of that place. Soon after this he took deacon's orders, and acquired popularity as a preacher. In 1759 he undertook the office of preceptor to the sons of Robert Cracroft, esq. of Hawthorn, near Lincoln. While in this situation he published a collection of such miscellaneous poems as he had written, for the benefit of a gentleman in distress. In the following year he took his degree of B. D. at Cambridge, and at the same time wrote a poem on the king's accession, which was printed in the University collection of verses on that occasion. He also published a poem on the royal nuptials. He is, however, particularly known on account of his Ode to Hope, and his description of the four seasons, where he pays all due compliments to Thomson and other Scotch bards. Both brothers excel in the smoothness and elegance of verse. William is more distinguished for his prose. John, in 1771, published a poetical work, possessing considerable novelty of design and imagery, entitled "Fables of Flora." The attempt to personify and give character to subjects of the vegetable creation, was difficult, and the poetry is frequently languid, while the author seems occasionally to struggle hard for his moral. The work, however, from its fancy and descriptive elegance, acquired popularity. In the same year he wrote another poem entitled "The Origin of the Veil." In 1774 appeared the first part of the "Country Justice," which was greatly and justly admired for the manly strain of its sentiments, and the beauty of its descriptions. Two other parts of inferior merit were afterwards added. He continued to amuse himself and the public by writings of different kinds, the last of which was a romantic tale, entitled "Owen of Carron." He died in 1779. As a writer, he possessed facility, elegance, ingenuity, and tenderness. His poetry is generally harmonious, abounding in pleasing imagery, but overloaded with ornament.

Among other Lyric poets we may mention Dr. Beattie, the author of the Minstrel, celebrated as a philosopher as well

as a poet, who was born in North Britain about the year 1735. In 1760, he became known to the world by a volume of "Original Poems and Translations," which in 1765 was followed by "The Judgement of Paris." These performances were characterized by richness and elegance of language, and melody of versification; but they perhaps rather denoted a refined taste in poetry, than a powerful and inventive genius. By the patronage and influence of the earl of Errol, he obtained the situation of professor of moral philosophy and logic in the Marischal college of Aberdeen. In this capacity he published a philosophical work, entitled "An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, in opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism." It was in the year 1771 that his fame as a poet was extended throughout the kingdom by the publication of the first part of "The Minstrel." The subject of this piece is the feigned birth and education of a poet. The term *minstrel* is not very happily applied to the character described; nor are the famed "Gothic days," in which he is placed, to be recognised in real history; but there is a great beauty in the delineation of the native poetical disposition assigned to him, and in the invention of circumstances by which it is nourished. The stanza is that of Spenser, which is managed with singular dexterity, and made to produce a melody of versification that is scarcely exceeded in the range of English poetry. The second part of this poem, which appeared in 1774, contains the maturer education of the young bard, and enlightens his mind with the lessons of history, philosophy, and science. It cannot be denied that there are great defects in this poem, and it has been thought that the work was left a fragment, because its plan was found to involve unavoidable incongruities: but whatever be its defects, it is on this performance that Beattie's future fame will chiefly depend, and it may be regarded as having taken secure possession of a place amidst the most approved poetry in the language. Mr. Alves, in speaking of the earlier pieces of this poet, says, his two first odes, the one to Peace, the other to Hope, are in a sublime strain, with many fine lines, and much good harmony, in the manner of Pindar. He quotes the invocation to Peace, and then

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lays before the reader a picture of the grim face of War, with all its attendant horrors, havock, and confusion, which are described in strong desultory numbers, in colours perhaps somewhat too strong and glaring; and he adds, "The ode to Hope, which follows, is in a chaster style; being equally picturesque and descriptive; but more just in the colouring, and every stroke laid on with a delicate hand. It is both highly poetical and strictly natural. The ode to Retirement, The Triumph of Melancholy, and Judgement of Paris, contain many sweet lines, and are remarkable for an agreeable plaintive manner, which is strongly expressive of that love of nature, solitude, and tender melancholy, which are almost inseparable from true poetic genius."

Dr. Beattie's latter years were clouded with heavy afflictions. His eldest son James, a youth of very extraordinary endowments and uncommon moral excellence, died at a decline in the year 1790 at the age of 22. The afflicted father had fortitude sufficient to be the editor of a small volume of the young man's compositions in verse and prose, to which he prefixed a memoir on his life and character. This grievous loss was followed in 1796 by that of his younger son, Montague, in his eighteenth year. The unhappy parent was now unable, with all his resources, to bear up under this accumulated sorrow. The latter years of his life were a blank of existence, which terminated at Aberdeen in August 1803, in the 68th year of his age.—*Johnson's "Lives of the Poets."*—*Gen. Biog. Alves's Sketches of the History of Literature. Bower's Life of Beattie.*

**BRITISH AND FOREIGN
HISTORY**

For the Year 1812.



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THE parliament was convened at an early period in the present year, as well on account of the important business which concerned the country in general, as for the purpose of delegating to his royal highness the prince regent the full powers of government unfettered by those restrictions which had, during the preceding year, limited him in the exercise of the royal prerogatives. Although it did not appear that there had occurred any practical ill consequences resulting from the limitations imposed upon the regent; yet, as almost all hopes of his majesty's recovery had vanished, it was ne-

cessary, as the period of the regency act would expire in February, that parliament should make such arrangements as were deemed proper for the occasion, previously to the expiration of this act. Both houses met accordingly on the seventh of January, when the lord chancellor delivered a speech on the part of his royal highness the prince regent. This speech, which will be found among the public papers, after referring to his majesty's indisposition, and the disappointment of the hopes of his majesty's early recovery, spoke of the necessity of adopting such measures as the melancholy exigency might ap-



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Introduction—Reasons for assembling Parliament—Abstract of the Prince Regent's Speech—The Earl of Shaftesbury's Motion for an Address in the House of Lords—Lord Holland's Inquiries respecting the Caraccas—Debate on the Address in the House of Commons, proposed by Sir F. Burdett, and amended by Lord Jocelyn—Debate on the Report of the Address—Report on His Majesty's Health—Mr. Creevey's Motion on Pensions, Sinecures, &c.—Motions of Thanks to Lord Minto, &c., for the Successes in Java—Mr. Perceval's Motion on Distillery from Grain—Debate on Mr. Perceval's Motion respecting the Royal Household.

THE parliament was convened at an early period in the present year, as well on account of the important business which concerned the country in general, as for the purpose of delegating to his royal highness the prince regent the full powers of government untrammelled by those restrictions which had, during the preceding year, limited him in the exercise of the royal prerogatives. Although it did not appear that there had occurred any practical ill consequences resulting from the limitations imposed upon the regent; yet, as almost all hopes of his majesty's recovery had vanished, it was ne-

cessary, as the period of the regency act would expire in February, that parliament should make such arrangements as were deemed proper for the occasion, previously to the expiration of this act. Both houses met accordingly on the seventh of January, when the lord chancellor delivered a speech on the part of his royal highness the prince regent. This speech, which will be found among the public papers, after referring to his majesty's indisposition, and the disappointment of the hopes of his majesty's early recovery, spoke of the necessity of adopting such measures as the melancholy exigency might ap-

pear to require, in securing a suitable and ample provision for the support of his majesty's dignity; and in continuing to preserve for his majesty the facility of resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, in the happy event of his recovery.

The speech next directed the attention of parliament to the measures that had been pursued in Portugal; to the valour of the allied troops; to the successes of lieutenant-general Hill; and to the consummate judgement and skill displayed by lord viscount Wellington in the direction of the campaign; at the same time expressing the most confident hopes of the prince that the parliament would enable him, in behalf of his majesty, to continue to afford the most effectual aid and assistance in support of the contest.

From the peninsula, the senate was led to the successes of the British arms in the island of Java, and to the capture of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, by which important blow the colonial power of France had been entirely extinguished; recommending to their earnest attention the providing such measures for the future government of the British possessions in India, as should appear best calculated to secure their internal prosperity, and to derive from those dominions the utmost degree of advantage to the commerce of the united kingdom.

With respect to America, it was said that his royal highness the prince regent would continue to employ such means of conciliation as might be consistent with the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, in adjusting the existing differences between the two governments.

Such were the main features of the speech, which were sufficiently interesting and important to engage a large portion of discussion in both houses, when the various subjects were brought before them in their individual capacities.

In the house of lords, an address, the echo of the speech, as is usual on these cases, was moved by the earl of Shaftesbury, who said, in reference to his majesty's unhappy indisposition, he was convinced that with respect to this they would all be actuated by those sentiments of gratitude, affection, and reverence, which the recollection of the blessings of his majesty's government naturally inspired. They were all impressed with the conviction, that provision should be made not only suitable, but ample, for the support of the due dignity and splendour of his royal highness's government, and for the necessary dignity of that of our afflicted monarch, keeping in view a due facility for the resumption of his royal authority, in case of the event of his recovery. The thanks and gratitude of the country were due, most justly due, to his royal highness the prince regent, for his wise and prudent administration of the government of the country, since the period of his being called to the exercise of the royal functions. The noble lord then adverted to those parts of the speech which referred to the belligerent interests, and the foreign relations of the country. In Portugal, he observed, every thing wore the most satisfactory aspect, let its present situation be compared with that which it exhibited towards the close of last session. The army under Massena, from a menacing position in the heart of the country, had been driven beyond the frontiers. Our triumph

triumph did not end there; the result proved to Europe and to the world, that even upon that element which the enemy seemed to consider as his own, he had been frequently and effectually conquered by British armies conducted by British commanders. It was with pleasure he observed it announced that the system was to be persevered in, which facts and experience had shown to be the best adapted to the situation and circumstances of that country, and through which, he trusted, its deliverance would be effectuated. If they turned their eyes to the more distant parts of the world, they would find nought but grounds for satisfaction and triumph. In consequence of the system of operations which has been adopted, conquests of the utmost importance had been achieved, and the colonial power of the enemy was finally extinguished, by a most brilliant achievement, and at one blow, through a felicitous union of discipline and valour. With respect to the pending discussions with America, they were not yet brought to a conclusion; but he was confident that all means of conciliation would be resorted to, consistent with the honour and interests of the country. After slightly glancing at the remaining topics in the royal communication, and expressing his confidence, that the parliament, in its wisdom and loyalty, would zealously support his royal highness in the arduous contest in which he was engaged, and in the various measures adverted to in the speech, he moved the address.

Lord Brownlow rose to second the address. He fully coincided with the expressions of sorrow for the king's illness which the address contained. It became

us to bow to the visitations of Providence; but when we considered the long period and the happiness of his majesty's reign over us, it could not be unsuitable to hope for his speedy restoration to the prayers of his people. Yet the house had a right, in this calamity, to feel great consolation from the tried virtues of the prince regent, who, when summoned to take the reins of government under such peculiarly afflicting circumstances, proved himself so worthy of the reliance placed on him. The affairs of the peninsula were cheering, in spite of some successes which had been obtained by the enemy; the ardour of the people was more vigorous and apparent, their spirit burned more bright, and their resistance was stronger than ever. The consummate ability displayed by lord Wellington in the conduct of the campaign in Portugal could not be too highly praised; and the affairs of the peninsula gave good hope that Spain would yet shake off her invaders, and become a firm and powerful ally. By the same judicious system, Portugal had been saved, and her armies had now risen into a formidable barrier against the enemy. It might not be too much to hope, that the example set by the brave nations of the peninsula would produce its effect on more distant nations. He would not suppose that the house would not give all assistance that was necessary for the propagation of this powerful and noble spirit in the peninsula. There were other great sources of congratulation in the conquest of the East. These extinguished the last of the colonial power of France: and he could not refrain from offering the humble tribute of his applause, to the wisdom, both abroad and at home,

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which had directed this brilliant conquest. His lordship then briefly touched upon the American dispute, and the affair of the Chesapeake; concluding his speech with a regret, that America should, by evincing a most undue partiality to France, have thrown obstacles in the way of pacification; and hoping that she would speedily open her eyes to the superior benefits of British friendship and connection.

Lord Grenville said, it would have been most satisfactory to his feelings, if the matter of the speech and address had been such as to have prevented all difference of opinion on the subject: but he was not surprised that this was not the case. He did not mean, however, to suggest an amendment to this address, but would content himself with protesting in the strongest terms against being included in any expressions implying approbation of the past, or a pledge of perseverance in the same system which had of late been acted upon; convinced as he was, that it was only by a total, radical abandonment of that system, that there existed any hope of safety for the country. There were many topics of the highest importance lightly passed over in the speech and address, but which would force themselves upon their attention at no distant period. They might endeavour to shut their eyes, but in spite of their efforts these things would be seen: they might strive to shut their ears, but these things would be heard. He wished it to be fully understood that he retained all his objections to the system upon which the ministers had acted. He still objected to the lavish profusion with which our resources had been squandered, when they should have been husbanded for a protracted war, of

which no one could see the end. He still retained all his objections, and in their utmost force, to that policy which had inflicted a blow upon the enemy, which had recoiled with greater execution upon our own commerce and manufactures. He still retained his decided objections to that system which united the bank and the government, and enabled the former to issue base coin and depreciated paper;—a system, of which the bank alone reaped the profit; while the guilt and dishonour fell on the government, and the loss on the public. But, above all (his lordship continued) “I still retain with tenfold force all my opinions respecting the system which the ministers have been pursuing with respect to Ireland, upon which I cannot trust myself at present to utter a single sentence. Your lordships will observe the manner in which this momentous subject has been passed over in the speech and address. No ample view is attempted to be given there of the state of that country; nothing is said about the discontents of the people: but the situation of the revenue, comparatively a pitiful consideration, is alone introduced. To that single object, and to none else, is our attention directed. But these ministers might have known, that the way even to make the revenue of a country flourish, since that is the only object of their consideration, is by increasing its industry—by communicating equal rights—and giving satisfaction to public opinion. I have said more on the subject than I intended; but I must further observe, that in the present session, it must be decided, what is to be the relation between Great Britain and Ireland. The matter will bear no more procrastination—
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delusion will no longer avail—the affair is come to a point, and the majority of the people of Ireland must be admitted to an equal share of your privileges, or no longer be considered as enjoying the advantages of British subjects."

The earl of Liverpool would not now enter into any detail; the noble baron opposite (Grenville) having confined himself to a general protest against the system upon which the ministers had acted. On that subject, the noble baron said, that he still maintained every opinion which he had before held; not only such as experience might have proved to be true, but all those which, as he (lord L.) contended, experience had proved to be utterly unfounded. He should be happy to meet his lordship on that subject another time: but he must at present observe, that the safety of this country and the hopes of Europe depended, in a great measure, on the system which the government had adopted. He knew not what system others might advise; but he was prepared to maintain, that the continuance of the system pursued by ministers was essential to the safety of the country, and on that ground he and his colleagues were willing to stand or fall.

Earl Grey entirely approved of the policy pursued by his noble friend, in confining himself, on the present occasion, to the delivering his protest against any expression of his opinions being understood upon points in which it was impossible for him to concur; thinking also, that most of the topics were of such importance as to require a separate and particular discussion. Concurring generally in the address which was proposed, he could not refrain from joining

his noble friend; he should feel unhappy if he departed from that house without declaring, that he retained all the opinions he had before held, on subjects of great magnitude; opinions confirmed by experience and the evidence of facts—opinions which he should be ready to maintain and defend on future opportunities of discussing them. He thought the house bound immediately to take into their consideration the treatment of the people of Ireland, not only with a view to what had already passed, but with a prospective view, for the adoption of such timely and just measures as might avert the ruin of the country. Government, however, he must repeat, appeared, for any thing he had heard to the contrary, to be resolved on pursuing a system which would risk the destruction of the public safety. He was happy to learn that a proposition on this subject would speedily be brought before their lordships, which would bring all its important relations under review. With these observations, he could be content to reserve himself for future opportunities, but for one singular assertion of the noble lord, that he trusted that the house, and the public, would concur in supporting the government of the regent, in pursuance of the sentiments contained in the address. Was it to be conceived that, in opposing measures of administration which he thought were fraught with danger and ruin, he was withholding that support which was necessary to the prince regent in his conduct of the government of this kingdom? No! Be the ministers who they might, he would give them his support in what was just and necessary for the conduct of the government; but,

if impolitic, unjust, and ruinous measures were proposed or acted upon, his duty to that house, to the public, and to the prince regent himself, would certainly induce him to raise his voice as loudly as he could against them. He said this more especially, because it was not possible for him, though he did not oppose the present address, to recede from the opinions which he had previously delivered on many subjects of the greatest and most essential interest to the nation.

The duke of Norfolk made a few observations on some parts of the speech; after which the address was agreed to, *nem. diss.*

Lord Holland wished to take the earliest opportunity of putting a question to a noble marquis (Wellesley) respecting a transaction which he considered as of the utmost importance, and as one which, if not speedily brought to some issue, might, in all probability, lead to the most calamitous results. What he had in view was, the proposed mediation of the British government between the Spanish colonies and the mother country. More than a year and a half had elapsed since the Caraccas showed a disposition, indeed a determination, to throw off their allegiance to the Spanish government, and that determination had since been carried into execution. Other parts of the Spanish possessions had imitated the example, which had given rise to such sanguinary strife, and such a sacrifice of human lives on both sides, that there was no calculating the mass of miseries which any delay of the proposed mediation might produce. It was true that a commission had been appointed to carry that mediation into effect; but it did not seem to make any progress, or even to prepare

and proceed to the arrangement of the business upon which it was supposed they were to be employed. He did not pretend to be very minutely or very correctly informed on the subject. But he had acquiesced in the views which the noble marquis seemed to have taken on the subject: and he did expect that certain steps would have been taken without delay, correspondent to the nature of those views. Had these steps been taken, or when were they likely to be taken? was the question which he had now risen to put to the noble marquis.

The marquis of Wellesley, in reply to the noble lord, observed, that every step indicated by the view of the subject which the noble lord did him the honour to approve, had been duly taken; and that if the matter did not proceed with that celerity which might be wished, the delay was owing to those endless obstructions which inveterate prejudices, narrow notions, conflicting interests, and the selfish spirit of monopoly, never failed to throw in the way of the accomplishment of such an object. As soon as could be, the commission was appointed, and preparations made for its departure. The charge of delay was not imputable to the British government; they were all to a man anxious to proceed in this delicate business with all possible dispatch.

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Sir Francis Burdett proceeded. Under the present circumstances of the country, he felt himself called upon to take the earliest opportunity of drawing the attention of the house to such an address to the prince regent as would entitle them to the approbation of their country. The circumstances of the times called for the truth; and he should boldly lay before the house those grievances, the redress of which was, in his opinion, of vital importance to the country. He was the less willing to omit this opportunity of addressing the regent, as his magnanimous character differed so widely from those princes of whom we read in history, that their delight was in mischief and despotism. He agreed with the speech which had been read, in all those encomiums which had been most deservedly bestowed on the valour of our arms. He heard of our victories with satisfaction, though not with surprise: they proved, that at least the English courage had not degenerated, though there appeared nothing characteristic of that love of freedom which so proudly distinguished our ancestors. In tracing the calamities of the country, he must revert to a very remote period. Not only were the last eighteen years more calamitous than the preceding, but the transactions of the whole present reign, including more than a long half century, were such as must convince the most thoughtless, that the system must have been radically bad which had been productive of such lamentable effects. The causes of these events were not difficult to discover. They were to be found

in that detestation of the principles of liberty which had been equally the origin of the present unfortunate war, and of that with America. He should consider the present speech as peculiarly the speech of ministers, as it talked of prolonging the struggle; and proceeded entirely upon those principles upon which the war had been begun, and which were so notoriously repugnant to the mind of him whose address it purported to be. It held out hopes, which no man in his senses could entertain, of the final success of our arms in that peninsula. There was no chance of our succeeding in driving the French out of Spain. Our laurels were great, but barren; and our victories were in their effects mere defeats. It was true that general Hill had gallantly surprised a small division of the enemy: still the French were making regular and rapid strides toward the subjugation of the country: while for our triumphs we had nothing to show. The cause of this failure was the radically vicious principle of supporting despotism in this instance, as we did all over the world,—the attempt to support desperate, falling, and not to be supported states, instead of the good old British reason of maintaining the cause of freedom. To this it would be said, Do the French proclaim liberty? No; but they endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the people by such concessions as may please them; while it was a serious fact, that the inquisition remained in existence in those parts only of the country of which the English had possession. But there was a curious contrast to which he must call the attention of that house. We were fighting strenuously to maintain the catholic religion in that country, of
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our Spanish allies; though, at the same time, those whom he should conceive to be our more valuable allies at home—the Irish—a generous, brave, and a long-suffering people—were, for a trifling condition, withholden from their best and dearest rights. This exclusion of our most natural allies, he could not but consider as an act of gross treachery. The honourable baronet then called the attention of the house to the shackles imposed on the prince regent—restrictions, than which nothing more insulting could be conceived, as they supposed that the son was capable of using his power contrary to the interests of his father: but, happily for the country, these restrictions would soon expire; an event to which they would look with anxiety, as the prince had, by many gratuitous professions, long pledged himself to those enlarged principles, and that liberal system of policy, which had raised the nation to the lofty pinnacle of happiness and glory on which it stood at the close of the reign of George the Second. He had the greater hopes and confidence in the prince, because he had felt the power which was so much complained of. Able writers had, indeed, written in praise of different forms of government,—the absolute, the democratical, and the mixed; but none had been found hardy enough, in the worst of times, to be the advocates of oligarchy; and our present oligarchy was one of the worst species—not of a few of the best men, and of the greatest interest in the state, but an oligarchy of rotten boroughs—a sort of men known in the history of no other country except our own. The consequences of this destructive system were, that abroad, the monarchs, our allies, were either

chased from their crowns, or, after an immense exhaustion of blood and treasure, held their sovereignties at the will of Bonaparte, or depended for support on a scanty and eleemosynary pittance—such was their fate. Look at the continent—there was the book in which all might read. If the house turned its eyes from the continent, and from abroad, and looked to the internal state of the country, there was nothing consolatory to rest upon. There existed a system of taxation, the deprivations of which prevented the strictest industry from procuring a livelihood, and generated a pauperism throughout the land—a pauperism aggravated by pillage. Besides, the whole land was in a state of terror. Military possession was taken of the country; dépôts, and barracks, and fortifications, were formed; and mercenary Germans and foreigners were scattered over the kingdom, as if England could not defend itself, and must have recourse to Germans, who had not been able to defend themselves. Another grievance to which he would call their attention, was the system of military discipline which oppressed the country, and which subjected every soldier for the most trifling misconduct to be corporally punished at the miserable caprice of almost every officer. He was glad to mention this so early in the session; for the reform of it would, doubtless, form a very important part of its business. There was some justice, in its now coming home, as it were, to the backs of our countrymen; for, now, by the local militia system, almost every man in England, every father of a family, was subject to this punishment; so that he had no hesitation in repeating what he had said before in this house, that

that this was a *flogged nation*. The honourable baronet then descanted at some length on the impolicy as well as the cruelty of this punishment, and quoted the opinions of military men against the system. Degraded as the country was, his exertions should never be wanted in its behalf. He then touched upon the liberty of the press; and said there was no fairer barometer of the intentions of government, than their conduct towards the press. The first efforts of despots were invariably directed against this bulwark of the constitution: and the intentions of the present ministers might be collected from the unprecedented number of informations which their attorney-general had filed *ex officio*. It was plain proof of their illegality, that such informations were not defined; for definition was law. The partiality of the attorney-general was manifested in his different conduct to different publishers: some were not brought up for judgement at all; while others were banished to distant gaols, and abandoned to solitary confinement. There had been a late instance of a judge upon the bench, who, in the case of White, had anticipated the guilt of the defendant. He adverted to the different degrees of rigour exercised in the cases of printers and authors; the former were the mere servants of the latter; and yet, in the case of Hart and White, the printer was confined to a solitary cell, upon the common allowance, and, as the honourable baronet believed, deprived of even small beer. He then observed that undue severity in the government even produced brutality in the people. That it was a mistaken notion, that writing and reading were education. The best education was that moral one

which generated justice and humanity, and which was only to be attained by an equal administration of justice, and never by that system of extraordinary punishment, which was in itself sufficient to barbarize a nation.—He should now, therefore, with all respect, and affection, and duty, (not, however, forgetting the duty he owed to himself,) move an address to the regent, which should embrace all these important topics, and trace all the calamities external and internal, all the various grievances of our debt, and of our taxations, to a want of a free and equal representation of the people in parliament. He then concluded by saying, that he was happy to have this opportunity, before the restrictions were removed, of affording the prince a knowledge of the grievances and afflictions which oppressed the land, and of presenting to him the genuine sentiments of the people on subjects of such vital interest to the country. The honourable baronet then read the address.

Lord Cochrane rose, for the purpose of seconding the address of the honourable baronet. He agreed that every credit was due to lord Wellington, for the manner in which he had conducted the war; but was inclined to expect very little of the Portuguese troops, from what he had seen of them. He would assert that he had seen them conducted in chains to the army, more like slaves than soldiers, and dragged from their homes, they did not know for what. At Peniche he had seen some thousands of them collected, in want of every necessary, and almost in a state of nakedness; they had not even clothes to their backs. The noble lord then proceeded to make some strong

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enemy to this country, a man of despotic authority, a man fatally fitted for his destiny by transcendent abilities, but whom history will have to record as an awful, a singular instance of unbounded capacity and power, unenlightened, unennobled by one heroic, virtuous, exalted sentiment; I say, ~~st~~, it is not hard to believe that a dominion so constituted and so maintained can exist alone in the conflicting elements of war and of rapine. It is then, unfortunately, from ourselves and from our own resources that we are to look for safety, not from the moderation or justice of our foe. Difficulties however alarming, pressures however severely felt, must be met by constancy and by resolution. We must afford to his royal highness the prince regent that zealous assistance, that perfect confidence, which the speech so constitutionally, so graciously solicits, which this house may so worthily, so safely bestow. We must pursue that inflexible career which has hitherto preserved this country in a comparatively most prosperous situation—which has maintained her unshaken amidst the storms and convulsions of the world—which has enabled her, by her benevolent bounty, to support, and by the strong arm of her prosperous power to defend and to protect, the objects of rapacity and of ambition.—In returning my thanks for the indulgence of the house, I beg leave again to repeat my entire concurrence with the noble lord's amendment."

Mr. Whitbread would not support sir Francis Burdett's address, though he agreed in the greater part of his statements.

The attorney-general was not present when the honourable baronet made his speech; but he had

heard his address read, and in it there were particular words which impelled him to offer to the house a few observations. The whole of that address he certainly reprobated; but the particular words to which he alluded, were those which went to stigmatize the character of a learned judge, and were, in substance, that "that learned judge had anticipated a verdict of guilty on the trial of Mr. White." He would take upon himself to say, that this statement of the honourable baronet, with respect to lord Ellenborough, was wholly unfounded.

Sir Francis Burdett in explanation said, that what he founded his assertion upon, was that part of lord Ellenborough's language to Mr. White, where his lordship advised that gentleman, before a verdict was given, to reserve his evidence until he should be brought up for judgement.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that he felt himself in the same situation as his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread): he could neither vote for the original address nor the amendment, but should think it his duty to vote against both. He would state, in very few words, his objections to the amendment; but as to the original address, he would be silent, because he did not think the matter of it proper to be discussed at this moment. It travelled wide of the topics in the speech delivered in the name of the prince regent; and the amendment which embraced those topics, was what he felt himself obliged to remark upon. The first topic of the amendment was that which related to the establishment of a provision for the care and comfort of his majesty's royal person, and though no person was more inclined than he

he to go further in every thing which ought to be done in furtherance of this almost sacred object, he would reserve a right of assent or dissent for that time when the arrangements to be proposed should be laid in detail before the house. The second topic of the address was that which related to Spain and Portugal. No person was more inclined than he to give cordial tribute of applause to the troops and generals employed in the prosecution of the war in those countries; but he could not go so far as to pledge himself, by his vote this night, to sanction the granting of those supplies which might be proposed hereafter as necessary for its continuance. Doubts might be entertained of the expediency of proceeding in this great contest, at the vast expense which it continues to cost us. If it should appear hereafter, that to prosecute the war, even at so vast an expense, was a wise system of conduct; and if he should see the necessity and the usefulness of granting such enormous supplies, then he would not only agree to them, but would give his vote with that cheerfulness which always follows conviction. He heard with great satisfaction that part of the speech which stated the amicable settlement of the affair between the Leopard and Chesapeake; and he was pleased also to know that a hope was expressed of a like adjustment of all the differences between this country and the United States. It was his wish, therefore, to abstain from any discussion which might not be in unison with the temper of the speech; and he would reserve whatever he had to say on this subject, until the event of the negotiations which were said to be now pending, should be made known. The last, and by

far the most important topic of the speech, was that which related to the affairs of Ireland. Ireland was of more moment to Great Britain than any thing which regarded our external relations with Spain or the United States; and sorry was he that, on this subject of primary and vital importance, the speech had confined itself to a paltry mention of the state of its revenue. It was his firm conviction, that a solemn and speedy inquiry into the state of that country was absolutely necessary. When he stated generally the necessity of inquiring into the state of Ireland, he begged not to be understood as even hinting that any other measure short of that great one called emancipation could effectually save that country. It was that, and that alone, which could compose her discontents, and lay the foundation of her prosperity, as well as render the empire in general, what, with her heart, it was capable of being. Under this conviction, he thought that no time ought to be lost in bringing the affairs of Ireland before the house; and indeed he knew that no time would be lost, as an honourable friend of his was determined to give notice of a motion for that purpose on a very near day.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that in the first instance he thought it would have been better had the house proceeded without any discussion to a division on the address proposed by the honourable baronet; but as the honourable gentleman opposite had been induced to make several observations on the general subject, and as there would probably exist no disposition in the house to renew the discussion on the next question which would come before them, he felt it necessary to say a few words

in reply to the honourable gentleman's remarks. Having made some general remarks on the different parts of Mr. Ponsonby's speech, he said he was not aware that in the present state of the debate it was necessary for him to trouble the house further. His principal object had been to state that it was the anxious wish of his noble friend and the other framers of the address so to construct it, that it should not convey any pledge beyond the general declaration, that under the present circumstances the house should not abandon the Spanish cause; leaving the particular manner in which it should be supported, and the extent to which that support should be carried, to a future decision.

The gallery being cleared for a division,

For sir Francis Burdett's address 1, viz. Mr. Cuthbert—Against it 238—Majority 237.

The amended address was immediately agreed to without a division.

On the following day, when lord Jocelyn presented the report of the committee appointed to prepare the address to the prince regent at the bar,

Mr. Whitbread rose, and said that he should embrace that opportunity to make a few observations on the leading topics of the speech which the right honourable gentleman had put into the mouths of the lords commissioners. As to the earlier parts of the address, he felt no difficulty. He was prepared, in common with every man, to condole with the prince regent on the continuance of his majesty's illness. He was equally ready to concur with the house in those parts of the address that bore testimony to the tried and universally acknowledged valour of the British troops. But

while he and the house had but one opinion on these points, he was afraid that there would not be the same unanimity upon others. So far did he differ from a noble lord (Cochrane) who seconded the address proposed by the honourable baronet; so far did he differ from that noble lord in thinking that government had not sent out sufficient military means to Portugal, that he thought their error lay in the other extreme, and that they had sent out more than they could well spare, more than the means and resources of the empire could adequately contribute, for any time at least, to keep up. With all our efforts, what, he asked, had been done since they last met? It had been alleged that the efforts of the Spaniards were now more connected than they had been; but had they been more successful? Were they to tell the prince regent that now, when the army of France was achieving its successes, when defeat and discomfiture were every where taking from the Spaniards their spirit and their strength, that that moment was the time at which we should have the best hopes of ultimate success, at the time when Spain was in military possession of France? [*Hear, hear, from Mr. Perceval and others.*—he repeated it—in military possession of the French, from one part of Spain to the other—Tarragona was fallen, Badajoz was lost, Almeida was destroyed, our attempt to prevent the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo had failed. Our efforts had been beyond our strength; we had not done as much as we might, because we had endeavoured to do more than we could do. Lord Wellington had pursued Massena to the frontiers of Portugal; but the moment the enemy was enabled to turn upon him with recruited

cruited strength, he was compelled to retire back upon his former position. Where, then, was the ground of hope? If the greatest efforts we could make have done so little, could they indulge in any reasonable expectations of success, when the prolongation of such a contest could only make our struggles weaker? for, the more liberally he allows the greatness and extent of our exertions in the Spanish cause, the more limited must be his hopes of future success, when such means and such exertions have already done so little. But when the house was called upon to lend its sanction to the prosecution of this struggle, he thought that they were entitled to more information than the right honourable gentleman had yet thought fit to afford them. He did not see how the house could promise its aid, without more information upon this point than it was as yet in possession of. Another omission in the speech, was that of withholding from the house all explanation upon the state of our relations with the self-called government of Cadiz, and also that of the government of Cadiz with their colonies in South America. Some months had now elapsed since the appointment of commissioners to intermediate between the mother country and the colonies. Why had those commissioners been so long delayed? The next point, and one of no inconsiderable interest at the present crisis, was that respecting the actual state of our army. The whole British army was now in Portugal—what was the state of that army?—was it full?—was it flourishing?—were the ranks full?—and were we enabled to keep those ranks full?—These points and more he must be better informed of before he pledged himself to do what he might afterwards

find impossible to be done.—The next topic was one of the very last importance, he meant the state of our relations with North America. In the speech they were assured that the prince regent would continue to employ the same means of conciliation. He wished to know how this spirit of conciliation had been evinced. Not surely in the negligence and disrespect with which the American minister had been treated by the British minister for foreign affairs, the marquis Wellesley. He, and those of his side of the house, repeatedly said, that the adoption of those measures then proposed by the ministers, respecting America, must lead to inevitable war—this timely warning was laughed at. As to the spirit of conciliation, which they were told would be continued, he begged leave to ask, when had it begun?—If a minister of another country resident in this, was applied to by a foreign secretary respecting a particular point of concession, would it be thought very conciliatory if, after it had been determined that that point should be conceded, it should be conceded in silence, and no notice or intimation given of the concession having been made? Was it a conciliation to give a direct denial in the face of the fact? He repeated it—it was denied that the Berlin and Milan decrees had been revoked, and the denial was given in the face of the fact, for America admitted that they were revoked. He defied the right hon. gentleman to state a single fact that had occurred since the 2d of November, 1810, to prove that those decrees had not been revoked. He rejoiced, however, at the amicable termination of the Chesapeake affair. He had now but one or two observations to make. He thought that that part of the speech that allude to

to the affairs of India was not sufficiently specific. Before he sat down, he could not help adverting to the expression of a sentiment in the speech of the noble lord (Jocelyn) who proposed the address. That noble lord seemed to think it impossible we could have peace with France, while such a man as the present emperor was at the head of its government. He (Mr. W.) thought that the personal character of the chief of any government could never be a ground of objection to the commencing a negotiation for peace. Such a sentiment, as a political maxim, he abhorred: for himself, he saw nothing against entering into a negotiation with the present emperor of France, as far as regarded mere private character, more than against any of the Bourbons, or the head of any government. The time and terms were the points of consideration, and not the private character of any head of any government. He confessed he saw no reason to alter his wishes respecting peace—his opinions remained unchanged—war must otherwise terminate in the subjugation of either of the contending powers. They were both great; but this was a country of factitious greatness, and France was a country of natural greatness. He trembled for the consequences of a struggle obstinately continued between two such powers. It had been boasted that France had neither ships, colonies, nor commerce. Would to God that she had ships, would to God that she had colonies, would to God that she had commerce! for until she had each and all, he feared there was no chance of peace to the rest of the world.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied with considerable warmth to the observations of Mr. Whitbread. He said that the concluding

prayer with which that honourable gentleman had closed his speech, afforded a clue to the adequate comprehension of his reasoning, which his arguments must otherwise have failed to have done; for certainly if that honourable gentleman thought it for the interests of this country that Bonaparte should have ships, and colonies, and commerce, it was but natural that he should disapprove of all those means that may have been resorted to, to deprive the French ruler of them all. The honourable gentleman had complained of the present state of affairs in the peninsula—he begged leave to ask that honourable gentleman, if he recollected the state of those affairs at the commencement of the last session? Did the honourable gentleman remember his prophecies upon that occasion? And if he did, he would advise him to compare the actual state of those affairs at present, with the state in which they now would have been had those prophecies been verified; and when he had compared them, and seen the striking contrast between both, one would suppose that the gentleman's confidence in his own foresight would have been a little shaken. But far from it—they found him, after predicting a year ago events that have never taken place, come down again and prepare to re-prophecy—and from whence is all this doleful prophecy of the inexhaustible strength of France and the perished resources of Great Britain—from whence is it drawn? From the moderate language of the French gazettes, and the chastised vauntings of Bonaparte and his generals: it was in vain to say that facts had contradicted all these proceedings: Destroy his web of prophecy—in vain.—The creature's at his dirty work again. Where was the evil that was not to have

have befallen us before this time? We were to have been swept from the face of the peninsula—we were not to have been left a foot of ground to stand upon—we were to have been driven into the sea. Such were the prophecies: but, unfortunately for the prophets, we have not been swept from the peninsula—we have not been driven into the sea, but are at this hour in possession of Portugal. But then, say these prophets, you have Portugal, 'tis true; but it is only because Bonaparte thinks proper to let you keep it: he will begin with Spain, and leave us for the last.—Will any man believe, that if the French could have driven us from Portugal, they would not?—Wonderful as the power of France unquestionably was, we had maintained our hold in Portugal in despite of it. Was this the commentary upon the invincible force of her arms, and the united strength of her resources, that Bonaparte wished should be read by Europe upon the contest in the peninsula?—The British forces have driven his army out of Portugal, and keep possession of Portugal in defiance of his millions, and to the disappointment, vexation, and confusion of their ruler—and yet we were to be told that he permitted all this, nay, even that he designed it! His first wish, his prime object, was to expel us from Portugal,—and he has not done it, only because he could not! That he might not yet do it, it was not for him to argue then, because he wished not to prophesy what might or might not take place: but to infer from a retrospective view of what had occurred, the fair probability of what might occur hereafter, and arguing from that view, he saw no reason to suppose that he could do it; for, if he could, he must have done it before now; it

must have been his first object: as long as a British army remained in the peninsula, so long were they a standing contrast to the basest spectacle that ever fraud, oppression, and tyranny presented to the disgust and indignation of mankind. If, therefore, the ruler of France had any interest in concealing or in disguising the perfidious characteristics of the Spanish war, he must have been anxious above all things to drive a British army from that scene where they stood a moral contrast to him and to his cause—opposed to him in every sense, in every point to which the term can be applied, and arrayed against him upon that scene which his ambition had selected for the display of its last iniquity, and where it must be the wish of all who look for the repose of mankind, that that ambition may at last find a grave.—“As to war with America, there is no man,” said Mr. Perceval, “who would more sincerely deplore such a calamity than myself. I know it would be a great evil to us, but I know also it would be a greater evil to America. I wish for the progressive prosperity of America. I would look to her wealth, and strength, and commerce, as accessory to those of the British empire. I should be sorry to see America subdued—I should indeed lament to see America destroyed—[here Mr. Whitbread repeated the word ‘destroyed?'] When I say destroyed, I certainly cannot be thought to mean mere physical annihilation; but if the total loss of commerce to a commercial power be not destructive, I know not what can be so. That the present government is influenced by a spirit of conciliation in all discussions with the United States, I can at present give the honourable gentleman no other proof than the general

assurance I have already given." Mr. Perceval then concluded with two observations; the one respecting the recommendation in the speech for the provision of certain measures for the future government of the British possessions in India. He did not agree with the honourable gentleman in thinking that the speech should have gone into a specific detail of those measures. They had been long under the consideration of ministers, and would in due course come under the consideration of the house. The other and concluding observation was respecting the misapprehension of the honourable gentleman as to a passage in the speech of his noble friend. He was glad he had given his noble friend an opportunity of setting him right; and he had only to say, that he entirely concurred with the honourable gentleman in thinking that the personal character of the chief of any government should never be considered as an insurmountable obstacle to the opening a negotiation for peace with that government.

Mr. Whitbread—"I do not rise, sir, to explain, but to demand of the right honourable gentleman to explain, if he meant any personal allusion in some words which fell from him that appeared to me to be of no very delicate description, and therefore I do now ask of that right honourable gentleman if he did intend any such allusion?"

Mr. Perceval—"I could have meant none. The lines are Pope's—the metaphor is that of a spider spinning a new web after one has been destroyed. I thought it applicable to the pertinacious manner in which the honourable gentleman appeared to me to have been reviving his prophecies over again; but I do assure him, that I would not have so applied it, could I have

imagined that he would have so construed it; and that were I even indifferent to his disapprobation, which I am not, I could not be so indifferent to my own as to descend to the grossness of any such personal allusion."

Mr. Whitbread—"I am perfectly satisfied with the explanation given by the right honourable gentleman; and I am sure that had the same words been so applied to him, he would have felt it necessary to call for an explanation."

Mr. Perceval here said, with a smile, across the table, "Indeed I should not."

General Tarleton, though he saw gentlemen unwilling to have the present debate protracted to any considerable length, after the debate of the preceding evening, could not help adverting to some topics in the speech, and particularly to that part of it in which the affairs of the peninsula were described as wearing a favourable appearance. He entered at some length into the impolicy of the war, and contended that it had been almost uniformly unsuccessful. After going at length into the affairs of the peninsula, he took a view of the rest of the continent, observing, that he had the opinion and doctrine of Mr. Fox in his favour, who wished for the pencil of a Cervantes, to be able to ridicule those who wished to enter into a continental war.

Mr. Creevey spoke strongly against the address, and moved that the report be brought up that day week: this caused a short discussion, in which Mr. Perceval, Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Hutchinson took a part; when the question was put on Mr. Creevey's motion, and negatived. The report was brought up, read a first and second time, and agreed to.

On the same day a report was brought up by Mr. secretary Ryder upon the state of the king's health; which report [see Public Papers] was read, and afterwards led to certain proceedings in both houses. Upon these we shall briefly touch.

Jan. 4.—The earl of Liverpool, in the house of peers, rose to move the appointment of a select committee, to examine the physicians in attendance on his majesty, touching his majesty's health. His lordship observed, that they were now called upon to resort to this measure under different circumstances to those which existed in the last session. The privy council at that period had no jurisdiction in the case; they were summoned as the body that could most conveniently be summoned to examine the physicians, and made their report to parliament, which afterwards appointed committees of its own also to examine the physicians. Now under the act passed last session, the queen's council had a legal jurisdiction, and their reports under that act had already been laid on the table. As however some further legislative measure was necessary on this melancholy subject, he thought it would be more consistent with propriety, for the house to have on its journals the examination of the physicians in attendance on his majesty taken before a committee of its own body; and he should therefore move that a select committee be appointed to examine the physicians in attendance on his majesty, touching the state of his majesty's health since their last examination before a committee of this house.—Ordered. And also, that the said committee consist of 21 lords, and that they be chosen by ballot, each lord to deliver in his list before the next sitting of the house.

A similar order was made in the

house of commons. After this, when the speaker was putting the question, that a supply be granted, and that the house, tomorrow, resolve itself into a committee for that purpose,

Mr. Creevey rose and complained, that the house was proceeding in the present state of the country, to the most important part of its duty, with no information to regulate its conduct. Committees had been appointed many years since to inquire into the best mode of retrenching the public expenditure, and innumerable reports had been made by them, recommending the abolition of almost innumerable places and pensions; but the house had yet come to no distinct resolution on the subject, and had taken no step to remove so gross a scandal on the nation. Indeed these committees had been so long sitting, that they seemed now to be considered as matters of course, and the grievances they were nominated to redress, ministers had been constantly employed in aggravating. What had taken place, even since the last separation of the house? No less than three new offices had been filled, and filled too by members of parliament: one of them had been made clerk of the council; another, marshal of the admiralty; and the third, paymaster of widows' pensions; all of which offices had been occupied before by persons who were not members of the legislature. It was not long since another member had been made a master in chancery, who had never practised in that court; and would any man deny that the gift was conferred because the person receiving it had supported the political views of the ministers? Sir John Sinclair, another member, who had devoted his attention almost solely to agricultural pursuits,

had been made a collector of the excise, an office of great emolument. Did any man, however bigoted, doubt that the member for Colchester (whose mercantile concerns and the duties that devolved upon him as connected with the East Indies had chiefly occupied him) had been appointed marshal of the admiralty because his vote had always been at the service of the crown? Was it fair, was it just to the people of England groaning under taxation, and yet patiently suffering under many privations, that it should be held out to them, that the only trade that now succeeded was that of a member of parliament who truckled to the minister of the day? Before he sat down, it was the intention of the honourable member to submit a motion to the house, with a view that it should pledge itself to the early consideration of the subject of sinecure emoluments and pensions, with a view at a future period of founding upon it a place bill, a measure that must ultimately be resorted to. He had now to mention a subject which it was necessary to touch with some delicacy; he alluded to the appointment of colonel M^cMahon to the office of paymaster of widows' pensions. The honourable member had the good fortune to be acquainted with him, and it was impossible that a more faithful or deserving servant of the prince regent could be selected for reward: but in recommending his royal highness to bestow the place in question upon colonel M^cMahon, the ministers had done great injustice to him, had offered a gross indignity to the prince, and an insult and outrage to the house of commons. It was now twenty-nine years since the committee of public accounts, in their 10th report, in the most decided terms stated, that the

place of paymaster of widows' pensions was a useless burthen to the country, and ought to be abolished. The commissioners of military inquiry, in their report four years ago, alluding to the department of the secretary at war, referring to the 10th report of the committee of finance, state, that they coincide with it in every respect, and recommend, that at the death of general Fox, the then occupant, it should be abolished. General Fox had lately died; and yet, in the very teeth of these two commissions, ministers had ventured to advise the prince regent (by patent the honourable member presumed) to fill up the vacancy by nominating colonel M^cMahon.—Why were the commissions made out?—Why did they make any reports at all, if the recommendation was not only to be disregarded, but to be treated with contempt?—A more gross indignity to the prince, or a greater insult to the house, could scarcely be imagined. The honourable member thought it necessary to say thus much on this nomination (in which his firmness in maintaining his country's rights had not, he trusted, induced him to say any thing indelicate to his prince), or it would have been impossible for him to arraign the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty in appointing Mr. Thornton, or the first lord of the treasury in selecting sir John Sinclair. Thinking that no greater grievance could be complained of, and that there was no time fitter for the purpose than the present, he should move, as an amendment, “that this house will, tomorrow se’night, resolve itself into a committee of supply, and in the mean time that it will take into consideration the state of the various places of emolument, and pensions, in possession of the different members of this house.”

The

The chancellor of the exchequer could not by any means concur in the unconditional censure bestowed by the honourable gentleman. It was, as he understood it, founded upon two grounds. 1. That members of the house hold a great number of places. 2. That members have been nominated to certain offices before held by persons who were not connected with the legislature. It need scarcely be necessary to inform the house, that appointments to such offices as rendered members incapable of serving in parliament could not apply; and where the vacating of the seat was the consequence of accepting a place, it rested with the constituents of the person so vacating, whether they chose to re-elect him. Under these circumstances, it might have been as well if the hon. member had restrained his eagerness for attack, until the returns of those persons who had accepted the offices complained of were before the house. What was the proposition? That no member of parliament was capable of filling any place of emolument; that if he were a barrister of known talents, who had distinguished himself by his argument and his eloquence, he was unfit to fulfil the duties of an office which required those abilities; that his very capacity was to be assigned as the ground for his incapacity. In the other case, it was intended to be said that a member of parliament was an improper person to fill an office, for the bare reason that he was a member of parliament. That was the proposition; because it ought to be recollected that the honourable member himself had confessed, in terms of praise that could not be exceeded, that no man, from his character and talents, was more deserving of the reward that had

been conferred upon him. The principal ground of objection therefore was, that his constituents had thought him worthy of their confidence; and this is the first instance where the objection has been seriously urged and enforced by a motion. It had been said, however, that "in the manner of conferring the appointment there was something degrading to the house and insulting to the prince. Such he distinctly understood to be the charge against ministers. The hon. member had presumed a great deal too much; because the place had been granted, he took it for granted that it was by patent, and under circumstances, too, similar to those under which it had been conferred upon general Fox. It might have been better, before such suppositions were indulged, that inquiry had been made, not only into the nature of the grant, but into the office itself; for, if so much pains had been taken, the honourable member would have found that the office had never been given for life even to general Fox; and so far from any discredit being reflected on the prince regent, as flying in the face of the resolutions of the house or of its commissioners, it would be discovered that the nomination of colonel M'Mahon cast the highest praise upon his royal highness. It so happened, that at the time the gift was conferred, col. M'Mahon was distinctly informed that, considering the circumstances in which that office stood, with regard to the manner in which the public attention had been directed to it, he was to understand that he must receive it subject to any view parliament might hereafter take of it. He was glad to listen to the cheers of the other side of the house; what he had stated might appear

to them a great absurdity ; but before he could consent to think so he must resign all he had learnt, and receive instruction from those who were so vehement. What he had stated he admitted was truly a cause of triumph. 'If, indeed, there was any thing in the world that could repel the calumnies cast upon this subject, and induce gentlemen in future to be more inquisitive than accusative, it was this explanation ; but it seemed only with those who were so fond of perversion, to have added strength to the objections urged. The right honourable gentleman trusted, therefore, that what had been so vehemently brought forward fell completely to the ground. What was the situation of things as they now stood before the house ? It was true that committees had recommended the abolition of these offices ; but it had been accompanied by a suggestion that a certain number of sinecures should be continued, and that others should be compensated for by pensions ; and in this instance, before any determination had been come to by the house on that subject, a place had been bestowed upon a person who, from the little the right hon. gentleman had seen of him, could scarcely be too highly rewarded. Thus was the charge made out, that great injustice had been done to the individual, a gross indignity offered to the prince, and an insult and outrage committed to the house. For these reasons he could not see the slightest shadow of a reason for supporting the amendment.

Mr. Brougham concurred most fully in every sentiment of praise which his honourable friend (Mr. Creevey) had expressed for colonel M'Mahon ; and this concurrence was, in him, the less to be suspected,

as he had no personal acquaintance with colonel M'Mahon ; but every thing that he had heard of him, every thing that had ever come to his knowledge, either of his public or private life, justified him in avowing this decided approbation of the eulogium which had been passed upon him by his honourable friend. In proportion, however, as the person appointed to the place in question was faultless—in proportion as it was impossible to object to the appointment upon any grounds, of personal disqualification, in that proportion the example itself might be considered as dangerous ; for, had the minister advised his royal highness the prince regent to nominate a person manifestly incompetent, obviously and avowedly unfit, there would be little to apprehend as to the evil of the precedent. He considered the appointment as ill-advised, and as insulting to that house ; not only because the commission of 1763, and of 1808, declared and confirmed the perfect inutility of the situation of paymaster-general of widows' pensions, but because a much more recent decision of that house had established the same fact. In adverting to what might be considered as sinecures, the honourable member could not easily conceive that the office of master in chancery was one that came under that description ; and he wished therefore that his honourable friend had not mentioned it. He was not, however, of the same opinion with respect to that of cashier of excise, a situation which the ministers had bestowed on an honourable baronet (sir John Sinclair) at the very moment when the commission of 1810 were deliberating whether the office should not be abolished. He concluded by giving his entire assent to

to his honourable friend's amendment.

Mr. Stephen rose to address the house under very evident feelings of agitation. He said he did not expect that he should have had to defend himself on an occasion like the present. He had, indeed, been appointed one of the masters in chancery, and he hoped his vigilant and conscientious discharge of that office would prove, at least, the sincerity of his wish to justify the preference that had been shown.—He could not, however, sufficiently express his disapprobation of that system which was now become so prevalent, of inferring the impossibility that a member of parliament, holding a place under government, should be able to discharge his parliamentary duties conscientiously and with integrity. This was a morality not very much to be admired, and it was a gratuitous supposition very little honourable to the human character. For himself, without any offensive egotism or arrogance, he believed that he was as capable of feeling and acting independently, at the present moment, as he was before he accepted the appointment alluded to. But why did the hon. gentleman inveigh with so much bitterness against those who hold situations under government? Why did he consider it as a thing so beyond the probabilities of life, that the same man could be an independent member of that house and a possessor of a place under the government?—Was he prepared to act in conformity to his principles? Had he renounced all hope of political and official preferment? Did he wish to be understood as expressing this? He could not conceive, indeed, why a faithful servant of the crown might not be likewise a faithful representative of his constituents.—

He saw nothing incompatible in the two stations; but if every one who occupied them was to be exposed to malignant insinuations, if he was to be immediately the object of suspicious rancour, honourable men would soon cease to accept such appointments, lest they should be forthwith regarded as having necessarily bartered their integrity for their place.

Mr. Whitbread was happy to admit the great fitness of the honourable gentleman for the station which he filled, and which he was far from regarding as a sinecure. He conceived, indeed, that the intention of the honourable mover was not to censure the appointment, individually, to the mastership in chancery, but generally the practice of rewarding political votes by such appointments. In adverting to the case of col. M'Mahon, the intimation of his provisional nomination, which had been made to col. M'Mahon, and upon which so much stress was laid by the chancellor of the exchequer, appeared to him extremely futile and nugatory. The same might be said to any man receiving any species of appointment. To what did it amount? What actual efficacy had it, as far as regards the resumption of the appointment?—Could it now be taken from colonel M'Mahon without some other remuneration being given in its place? He did not wish to be considered as having any personal hostility towards colonel M'Mahon. He was a man of whom he never heard an evil report in his life, so blameless was his conduct, both public and private. He was a faithful servant of his royal master. But he thought ministers had acted with great impropriety in advising the prince regent to reward his services by such an appointment. The house divided.—

For Mr. Creevey's amendment	11
For the original question	54
Majority	43

House of lords, Jan. 10.—The earl of Liverpool rose, in pursuance of notice, to move the thanks of the house to the hon. Gilbert lord Minto, governor-general of India, and the officers employed under him in the late brilliant operations in the eastern seas. His lordship observed, that a difficulty might sometimes exist in questions of this nature; on the one hand, from being highly desirous that the high honour of the thanks of parliament might not be rendered too cheap; and on the other, that important services might not be passed over without their due reward. In the present instance, however, no doubt could exist as to the importance of the services, the wisdom and ability with which they had been planned, or the zeal and enterprise with which they had been performed.—Lord Minto having acquired every information from the most competent sources, respecting the probabilities of success in Java, which he saw was destined to be the centre of the French empire in the Indian seas, made an arrangement which reflected upon him the highest credit. It was well known that considerations arising out of the season of the year, were of the greatest importance with reference to the sailing of our expedition in the Indian seas. Lord Minto, however, determined upon a new course, a new navigation for the sailing of the expedition to Java, and the result completely proved the wisdom and ability with which the whole plan had been formed. He was anxious, on this occasion, to do justice to lord Minto, because, to

his lordship, must be ascribed the excellent combination of the plan which had been so successfully acted upon. Of the importance of the success achieved, there could be no doubt. The conquest of Mauritius and Bourbon rescued our commercial shipping from the heavy losses to which it had been liable, from the facilities the enemy possessed in consequence of occupying these stations, whilst in Java we had conquered the last of the enemy's possessions in the Indian seas, and the beginning of a new empire in India. He was aware that the general rule was only to thank those who had performed military or naval services; but this rule was not universal, and he could not conceive an instance more worthy of being rendered an exception to that rule, than the distinguished wisdom and ability displayed by lord Minto in planning and arranging the expeditions, by which these important successes in the Indian seas had been obtained. It was certainly, however, far from his intention to pass over the military and naval services which had immediately operated to achieve those successes. Distinguished ability was never more finely displayed than by general Abercrombie at the capture of Mauritius; and the eminent services of commodore Rowley could not easily be forgotten. In Java, sir Samuel Auchmuty, who had on every occasion in which he had been employed eminently distinguished himself, displayed a decision and promptitude in rapidly overcoming the difficulties that presented themselves, which placed his military talents in the highest point of view; nor should the services of colonel Gillespie be forgotten, who had eminently displayed his zeal and skill.

His

His lordship concluded by moving the thanks of the house to the right honourable Gilbert, lord Minto, governor-general of the British possessions in India, for the eminent wisdom and ability displayed by him in the management of the resources and troops in India, through which the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon had been captured, and a signal and brilliant success obtained in the island of Java—advantages which were to be attributed to the judicious measures adopted by lord Minto.

The motion was agreed to *nem. con.*, as were also the other motions proposed by the earl of Liverpool, for thanks to generals Abercrombie and sir Samuel Auchmuty, and the officers under their command; admirals Berkeley and Stopford, and commodore Rowley, and the officers under their command; and likewise two resolutions, highly approving of and acknowledging the services of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers and the seamen and royal marines; and it was agreed that the thanks to the army should be communicated by the lord chancellor to lord Minto, to be by him communicated to the generals, and those to the navy to be communicated by the lord chancellor to the two admirals.

Similar motions were made on the same day, by the chancellor of the exchequer, in the other house, to which Mr. Sheridan made some objections. He animadverted very pointedly on the claims of lord Minto to this high honour. Why was it necessary, said he, that lord Minto should accompany the argument? He (Mr. S.) had a rooted dislike to any civil control being exercised over an army or navy. It savoured too much of

the French revolution, where a deputy from the convention always accompanied the troops, not to share the danger, but to participate in the glory. He wished to speak with respect of lord Minto (for personal respect he felt), but he could not help recollecting something of his conduct in Corsica, under sir John Moore, when the character of that universally lamented officer was risked, and his fame extinguished, by his lordship; when a man, whose very name inspired a glow of patriotism whenever it was mentioned, had nearly been proscribed in consequence of the proceedings of lord Minto. Uniting all these circumstances, he saw no reason for his presence, and no reason for the vote now proposed. The absence of the governor-general from Bengal could be no small disadvantage; and on the other hand there was nothing to counterbalance it, since no proof had been afforded to show that the object of the expedition was in the slightest degree accelerated by his lordship forming a part of it.

Mr. Yorke observed, that he had taken a far different view of the subject, and hoped to convince the house, notwithstanding the plausibility of what had been just stated, that lord Minto fully deserved the compliment proposed to be paid to him. He admitted that the talents and judgment of commodore Rowley could not be too much praised, and he was glad that under divine providence (notwithstanding the wishes of some persons to the contrary) we had innumerable examples of a similar kind; yet it was not to be supposed that this circumstance only had effected the conquest of the Mauritius. No; to the talents of lord Minto Great Britain was mainly indebted. Surely it.

it was no small praise to the governor-general to say, that he had forestalled, as it were, the wishes of his government, and the same applause might be attributed to him in the conquest of Java. Was no merit due to a man who, at the very instant instructions arrived to make preparations for an important attempt, had made all the arrangements, and the expedition was ready to sail? At least it was but justice to say, that he had done more than even the most sanguine could expect. The right hon. gentleman who spoke last had alluded to some transactions in Corsica; of what they were he (Mr. Yorke) was perfectly ignorant; but this he knew, that they had no bearing upon the present question: the true point to be considered was, whether there was any danger at all in lord Minto's leaving the seat of government? What was to prevent him? Were there commotions in Bengal? No. Was his presence required at that particular period? No. Was his presence required at Java? Undoubtedly it was important, not only to the success of the expedition, but to the future settlement of the conquered island. Sir Samuel Auchmuty must have been comparatively ignorant of the intentions of the governor, whether it were intended merely to take military possession, or whether it should be retained as a colony to be attached to the mother country; whether military or civil magistrates should be appointed, and a vast variety of other points, for which any person but the governor-general was incompetent. Under these circumstances he hoped that the house would feel, that had his lordship remained in Bengal, he would have been deficient in a necessary and important part of his

duty. Much had been said on what, to his mind, was a conspicuous instance of high desert in lord Minto, viz. that he procured the expedition to sail, although admiral Drury had at first expressed his opinion to the contrary. It was true that sir S. Auchmuty was of the same sentiment; and yet that lord Minto, by explaining to those gallant officers a new course of navigation to the west of Borneo, had convinced them that the expedition could sail, and reach its destination before the setting in of the S.W. winds; for it ought to be known, that while the expedition was only in contemplation, lord Minto had employed a captain Gregg, of great experience, to try the soundings of the new course by the Caramalla, and by showing his report to admiral Drury and sir S. Auchmuty they were convinced that the project was practicable. What then became of this ground of objection against the noble lord? A passage, through which before only small vessels had proceeded, was discovered, through which 100 sail might proceed with security. Under these circumstances he trusted that the house would differ from the right honourable gentleman, and bestow the tribute of gratitude which distinguished services merited. Before he sat down, he begged to refer to what had been stated, that at one time, after the city of Batavia had been captured, the enterprise was found to be so hazardous, that lord Minto had it in contemplation to resign the attempt. On what authority such a statement was made, his majesty's ministers knew not, but certain it was that no such information had come to their knowledge. On the whole, he did not despair that even the right honourable gentleman

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over the way would be convinced by what he had said, and that the vote of thanks to lord Minto would be carried without a dissentient voice.

Sir Henry Montgomery objected to the vote of thanks to lord Minto, because he conceived that nobleman to have done little, if indeed he had done any thing, which could entitle him to so high an honour.

Mr. Whitbread thought the question was, not whether lord Minto had done certain services to the country, not whether he had acted with a certain degree of judgement and vigilance creditable to him and beneficial to the British possessions in India, but whether he had performed such services; whether he had displayed such judgement and vigilance as might justly entitle him to so high an honour as receiving a vote of thanks from that house. Lord Minto might have great merit; Batavia might be a possession of great value to this country; but what had been done by lord Minto that could not have been done without him? He thought it was establishing a new and unnecessary precedent, and he regretted that the measure had been proposed, as it only tended to bring lord Minto's name and actions under a discussion from which they could not retire untouched, even though the resolution should be ultimately carried. Several other members spoke on the subject, and the motions were carried without a division.

House of commons, January 14.
—Mr. Perceval (the house having resolved into a committee to take into consideration the distillery acts) rose for the purpose of proposing a resolution, recommending the prohibition of all distillation

from grain in Great Britain, for a time to be limited. He regretted that the comparative failure of the crops for the last year had rendered it necessary to resort to the same expedient. The principles upon which the question rested, had already met with such ample discussion in that house, that he should not think it necessary to enter at all into its abstract merits. He had, however, merely to state, that as the revenue might suffer materially if the duties resulting from spirits distilled from grain were to expire as soon as the prohibition commenced, it had been thought advisable that the duties should be transferred to spirits distilled from sugar. After some further observations, expressive of the necessity for resorting to the restriction, and his regret that such a measure should be necessary, he moved a series of resolutions, the first of which was declaratory of the opinion of the committee, that a prohibition of the distillation of spirits from all kinds of grain should commence from and after the 15th of February next till the 31st of December. The other resolutions transferred the duties now in force upon spirits distilled from grain, to all spirits that may be distilled from sugar after the prohibition; imposing also an additional duty of 12s. per cent. on all European foreign spirits, and exempting Ireland from the prohibition. Bills were accordingly brought in on this subject, and, after various amendments, passed into laws.

Jan. 16.—The order of the day being read for the house resolving itself into a committee to take into consideration the speech of the lords commissioners, so far as regarded the royal household, and the abstract of the revenue and charges on the civil

civil list, for each year, from the year 1804 to the year 1811 inclusive; also the accounts of the expenses of the establishment of the master of horse, master of robes, and expenses at Windsor, being referred to the said committee,

Mr. Perceval rose. It would be enough for him, in what he should have to offer to the house, and in submitting to their consideration the outline of the proposition which it was now necessary for him to offer for their adoption, merely to glance at what had been done by the house in the course of the last session; but he should do so, not with the intention of renewing any of the differences of opinion which then existed among many members of that house, but merely with the view of touching on the very different situation in which the house stood now from what it did then, and on the very different prospect which was now presented to the house on that great and important subject—the probability of the speedy or ultimate re-establishment of his majesty's health. When he considered the sanguine expectations which were entertained last year of the speedy restoration of his majesty, and turned his mind to a view of the same subject from an attentive perusal of that evidence which the report now on the table of that house presented to their consideration, he must confess that he saw a very great difference between the two situations. Then, there was a sanguine expectation that the recovery of his majesty might be speedily looked for: at present, that prospect so anxiously to be desired, must be acknowledged to be much darkened. Then there was a prospect of his majesty being enabled, at no very distant period, to resume the reins of go-

vernment: now, that expectation was much obscured, though not altogether hopeless. Now, therefore, the house had a different duty to perform from that which they were last year called on to discharge. They were bound to form their view of the future from the prospect which rationally presented itself to them at the period at which they were called on to act. At this period last year they were called on to provide for an emergency, which promised to be only of a short duration. Now the case was altered, and they were to provide for the due exercise of the executive authority for a period to which no definite bounds could be rationally set; but, in doing so, they were to take care not to keep out of sight that still the recovery of his majesty was not absolutely hopeless and impossible. What were the principal objects, then, which the house should now have in view?—First, to look to the means of the due exercise of the royal functions, so that the executive government may be properly carried on; and next, to consider what are the personal accommodations necessary to be secured in the mean time to his majesty. For the first of these objects the proceedings of the last year provided. The measures then adopted gave to the prince regent the full exercise of the royal prerogative, at the lapse of six weeks after the meeting of the present session of parliament; so that, by the 18th of February next, the whole executive authority would devolve on him, unless something should be done by parliament, in the mean time, to prevent it. In this way would the prince, at the lapse of that period, be in possession not only of the full and unlimited exercise of the whole preroga-

prerogatives of the crown, but the civil list would devolve on him also. Thus then was the due exercise of the executive functions completely provided for. But no provision had yet been made in any degree for the personal accommodation and comfort of his majesty. Last year parliament had this in view, and it was on this account that it had been provided that parliament should have been sitting for six weeks previous to the expiration of the restrictions in the regency act; that, during these six weeks, that house, and the other house of parliament, might have an opportunity of considering this subject, and of providing for it in such a manner as the necessity of the case might seem to demand. This important subject the house was now called on to consider, and to say what was most fitting to be done to secure to his majesty all those comforts which in his situation could be imparted to him. In considering this subject, he should have to submit to the view of the house two propositions—first, as to the fund from whence the means of supplying these accommodations should be furnished—and secondly, as to the extent of the accommodations, and the selection of them. As to the first point, he thought it only necessary to take a review of the case, and to consider that this was meant to be a permanent measure, to enable him to say that he could not entertain any doubt as to the fund whence these comforts and accommodations must be supplied; they must come out of the civil list.—Neither could he entertain any doubt that his majesty's own household should constitute the particular class of his servants, by whom the necessary comforts and accommodations to their royal master

ought to be administered. In almost any situation, he should not have thought it natural to have looked to any class of men, except to his majesty's own household, from among whom to have selected persons to wait on his person. But here it was rendered still more natural, from the peculiar state in which his majesty was placed.—Here they were to look forward to the ultimate recovery of his majesty, and to a period when he might be able to resume the management of affairs; or, what was still more probable, to such an intermediate and partial recovery, as, while it did not warrant the absolute resumption of the reins of government, yet might bring his majesty to a perfect recollection of who he was. In either of these events, it must be highly consolatory to his majesty to find that he was surrounded by those whom he had formerly known, and whom he had himself appointed to wait about his person; whereas it might produce a new and still more unfavourable era in his majesty's disorder, were he, on any temporary restoration to health, to find himself surrounded by persons not formerly known to him. He could not doubt, therefore, that the house would concur with him in thinking that it must be from his majesty's own household that the attendants upon his person ought to be selected. If the house should go along with him in this idea, and in thinking that the members of the household so selected should not be removed, he hoped it would be found that he had looked to the arrangement in such a manner as to render it as little burthensome as possible. It was impossible to look at such a state of things as that which unfortunately was now presented to us,

us, without being satisfied that the necessary arrangements could not be made at the same rate as if we had a sovereign who could in person exercise the executive authority, and that this emergency must be met by some additional expense. If the additional establishment which he had to propose for the comfort and accommodation of his majesty, while at the same time every appendage necessary for the state and dignity of the regent in the exercise of the executive power was preserved to him, could be procured at an additional expense of 70,000*l.* a year, he presumed to think that this must be regarded not as an exorbitant but as a prudent and economical grant. The arrangements he should have to propose should be calculated, as far as in him lay, to confine the increase within this sum, so as to render it necessary for him to move that an addition be granted to the civil list only to the amount of 70,000*l.* If the house should be of opinion that the household of his majesty should be looked to, out of whom to supply the establishment to be appointed to wait on his majesty's person, he should proceed to state of what members of the present household he proposed that this establishment should consist, keeping in view the selection of those who could be most easily spared, without detracting from the splendours which ought to accompany the persons intrusted with the exercise of the executive functions. The lord chamberlain and lord steward of the household were officers, he was aware, who should contribute to the splendour of the executive, and therefore he should, as the head of the new establishment, propose the next officer of the present household, being the

first gentleman of the bedchamber, commonly called the groom of the stole. This selection he made the more readily, as this gentleman had been proposed last year by gentlemen on the other side of the house, as most fit to fill the situation for which he now proposed him. This officer would necessarily have new duties to perform, as he would have to preside over the other members of the establishment. These duties would, probably, require more personal attendance than he might be able at all times to give, and therefore he should propose the present vice-chamberlain as deputy to this officer. As attendants on his majesty, he should propose a certain number of gentlemen and grooms of the bedchamber. The number he had in view was four of each, a number not more than necessary, and yet fully equal to the attendance required. The next officers he should propose were the privy purse, the master of the robes, and the equerries, whom he should also limit to eight in number. All these should be about the person of his majesty, wherever he should reside, two or three at a time, at different periods during the year. The only other officers he should propose were officers well known, namely, his majesty's private secretary and the private secretary of her majesty. This was the establishment which on the present occasion he must submit to the house as necessary to the personal comfort and accommodation of his majesty; and he also submitted that there could not be the possibility of a doubt that the queen, as at present, was entitled to the personal custody of his majesty; and of course that the supplying of any vacancies, which it might be necessary

cessary at any time to fill up, should belong to her. The vacancies among the inferior attendants he proposed should be filled up by the groom of the stole. The expenses of this establishment he proposed should be submitted to parliament, that they might have an opportunity of seeing that no improper expenditure was made.— From the best calculation he had been enabled to make, he thought it might be estimated at 100,000*l.* a-year, to be paid quarterly, comprehending in that sum both the bills and salaries to the officers. The ground of this calculation was the amount of the expenses at Windsor for the last year; and when the proper restrictions were made in articles now rendered superfluous, at least to the extent there charged, particularly in the articles of equipages and horses, he was satisfied it would be brought within the calculation. From the accounts on the table, the Windsor expenses, even as matters were at present carried on, did not exceed from 104,000*l.* to 108,000*l.* a-year. The next point to which he wished to direct the attention of the house was the situation of her majesty; and, in the condition in which she was placed, it could hardly be expected that she should continue totally to confine herself to that state of seclusion in which she had preferred hitherto to remain. In the situation in which his majesty was placed, she was deprived of the assistance she looked for from him; and in proposing to make an addition to her allowance of 10,000*l.* out of the civil list, he was satisfied he did not name an unreasonable sum, or one more than sufficient to meet the extraordinary expenses to which her majesty must be exposed. In the last year case had been

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taken to provide for the payment of the pensions which his majesty had been in the use of granting out of the privy purse, to the amount of 60,000*l.* a year. The house had felt it necessary last year to make the persons who had been in the habit of receiving those pensions, certain that they should continue to receive them. He felt it to be necessary, however, that the sum should not be left without some account being taken of it for an unlimited time, but that provision should be made to secure the audit of it. He should, therefore, in another part of his statement, suggest what he esteemed the proper mode of audit, and should propose a secret committee to inquire into the actual extent of expenses with which it was burdened. Another article of expense attendant on his majesty's unfortunate state, was that necessarily to be paid to his medical attendants; but this he (Mr. Percival) thought might safely be charged on the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, or any other private funds belonging to his majesty, to which, in other circumstances, his majesty would naturally have looked to defray the expenses to be paid to his medical attendants. Supposing this sum to amount to 10,000*l.* a year, the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster were fully adequate to that burden. The right hon. gentleman was in expectation of shortly receiving the opinion of the queen's council, what should be the provision made for the medical attendance of his majesty, which would afford the house more accurate data on which to proceed; but of this he was satisfied, that if any further sum were required than that which could be supplied out of the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, there were other funds

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belonging to his majesty which might properly be applied to this purpose. He had thus stated all the sums which it would be necessary, in pursuance of these arrangements, to take out of the civil list, namely, 100,000*l.* for the establishment for his majesty's personal comfort and accommodation ;— 10,000*l.* additional to her majesty ; and 60,000*l.* as payable out of his majesty's privy purse, amounting these several sums to 170,000*l.* a-year, besides the sum for medical attendance, which he proposed should be paid out of the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster. Of this sum of 170,000*l.* with which the civil list was thus burthened, he intended, as already said, to propose, that, to replace it in part, the sum of 70,000*l.* should be granted by a vote of the house, after which the civil list would devolve on his royal highness the prince regent less than it had been possessed by his majesty to the amount of 100,000*l.* He should propose that the privy purse, to which he had already alluded, should be put under the management of a commission of three, of whom the archbishop of Canterbury, or some such person, should be one, the other two being appointed by the queen and by the prince regent. To them he would propose to intrust the payments from that fund, and the duty of paying the balance into the civil list. To them persons laying claim to small pensions that used to be paid to them, should direct their applications ; and these commissioners should act under an oath of secrecy. Having stated all that was necessary as to his majesty, he now came to that part of his proposition which concerned the prince regent, on whom, as he already said, the civil list would devolve 100,000*l.*

a-year less than it had been when possessed by his majesty. The question then was, in what manner things could be so arranged as to make this deficiency be felt as little as possible by his royal highness ? Gentlemen might no doubt say, if this was the object, the easiest way to effect it would be at once to vote to him this additional sum of 100,000*l.* But he begged it to be understood, that in that case it would become necessary to make a grant also to the princess of Wales : and, in the situation in which his royal highness the prince regent was placed, it was well known that he had reason to expect that his income, payable to him out of the exchequer, would continue to be paid to him till he mounted the throne. It was highly important to his royal highness, that the income arising to him from the exchequer should continue to be paid to him. He had, on the faith of it, entered into obligations, which it was of the greatest consequence to him he should be enabled to fulfil, but which no addition to the civil list could furnish him with the means of discharging. What the right honourable gentleman, therefore, had to propose was, that his royal highness should, out of his exchequer income, add 50,000*l.* a-year to the civil list, which would then be only 50,000*l.* a-year less than it had been when possessed by his majesty, a sum which might be supposed in some respect made up when the difference in number between his majesty's family and that of the prince regent was taken into consideration. These were the general outlines of the proposition, which it became his duty to submit to the house, and the details of which might be more fully gone into in the different stages of the bill,

bill, on its passage through the house. He should here have to conclude his statement, and to leave his propositions to the consideration of the house, were it not that he must have felt that his royal highness the prince regent, and his royal highness's servants, had been unfairly dealt with, had he let it to be supposed that the civil list was equal, even as possessed by his majesty, to the charges upon it. If it was not equal to the charges upon it with the larger sum, it must be still more inadequate with the smaller sum; but, if it was notorious that it was not so, it would have been a great disappointment if he had left the case without that statement. To avoid this, he had procured to be laid before the house an estimate and charge for every year since 1804.—In the year 1805, there was an excess of charge above the estimate to the amount of 120,000*l.*; in the year following, to the amount of 160,000*l.*; in the last year to the amount of 110,000*l.*; and taking an average of the whole, to the amount of from 123,000*l.* to 124,000*l.* a year. This deficiency had been made up from year to year by other unappropriated revenues of the crown, and by application of sums arising from the droits of the admiralty. He submitted, that in the year 1804, when this excess was first seen, and on every subsequent year, an account of such excess should have been laid before the house. On the contrary, however, from that time to this, no notice had been taken of the circumstance, but things had gone on as if the expence had not exceeded the estimate. He should propose, on this subject, that so long as there were other unappropriated funds belonging to his majesty, out of

which such excess could immediately be defrayed, that in that case there should be no necessity for applying to parliament; but that whenever there should be an excess, after exhausting such unappropriated funds, to the amount of 10,000*l.* that that should be sufficient to lay the necessity of a notice to parliament. He had one other resolution to propose to the committee. He thought that provision ought to be made for defraying such expense as would unavoidably be incident on the assumption of royal authority by the prince regent; and he should propose, therefore, that the sum of 100,000*l.* should be voted to his royal highness for that purpose. The house would see that this sum was only for one year, and merely calculated to meet the expenses of the assumption of a permanent regency.—Having said thus much, he should now submit to the house a series of resolutions, which he conceived it would be proper for them, under all the circumstances of the case, to adopt.

Upon the first resolution being proposed,

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that he rose with no disposition to criticise any thing in the plan which the right honourable gentleman had just submitted to the committee; but still, with deference to him, he must say, that what the right honourable gentleman had stated, appeared to him a matter of more complexity than any thing which he had ever before heard submitted to parliament, notwithstanding that the subject appeared to be one of almost the greatest possible simplicity. The right honourable gentleman had told them, that the civil list was not sufficient to defray the charges to which it was

liable, and that it would be necessary for them to calculate upon a permanent annual excess of the charges over the means provided to answer them. All this might be very true; but for his part, as he was ignorant of the causes which rendered the civil list inadequate, it was impossible for him to come to the conclusions of the right hon. gentleman; for he must have proof that the present amount was insufficient to meet the expenditure, and not the mere allegation of the chancellor of the exchequer that it was so. It was the duty of the house to know how that excess had taken place, and that it had not taken place from extravagance, but had arisen from just and necessary causes. They had voted a sum for the maintenance of the dignity of the crown, and for supporting the expenses of government; in that provision certain dispositions had been thought proper to be made by them: but these revenues were now, by the unfortunate event which had taken place, necessarily transferred to him, who as regent was substituted in the place of him who wore the crown, to the person who was in the exercise of the functions of sovereignty. The crown was at present provided for, and the heir-apparent was also provided for. The most natural way of proceeding, therefore, was, to give him who exercises the functions of sovereignty all that is deemed necessary for the support of the crown; and give to the heir-apparent all that parliament may have also thought necessary for the support of his dignity. He should have thought it necessary, therefore, that the amount of the other branches of revenue, with the proposed deductions from them, should have been stated, and then the

amount of the revenue which the prince had a right to as heir-apparent, so that it might at once be seen whether the amount of the latter exceeded or fell short of these deductions; and if it fell short, it was then the duty of the house to vote such a specific sum to his royal highness as would make the revenue to be possessed by him as good as what was possessed by his father when reigning sovereign of this country. But instead of this simple and obvious mode of proceeding, the right honourable gentleman, by first taking so much from the civil list, and then taking so much from the revenue of the prince of Wales, had introduced such a complexity into his whole plan, that, for his part, he was not ashamed to say, he could form no accurate conception of it. The right honourable gentleman had stated to them, on the authority of the evidence of the physicians, that it would require a considerable sum of money to keep up such a state of splendour as might render the situation of his majesty comfortable. Whatever sum might be necessary for that purpose, no man could more cheerfully consent to grant than himself, for no man could feel more for the distresses of his sovereign, or be more sincerely disposed to contribute to their alleviation; but he could find nothing in the evidence of the physicians, and he had attended the committees from the beginning to the end of their examination, which in the least justified the supposition of the right honourable gentleman. He had contemplated the possibility of his majesty recovering to a sort of middle state; a state which would neither be perfect sanity nor yet insanity; a state in which he might remember his former situation, and entertain

entertain just views on many of the ordinary occurrences of life, and yet not possess such a degree of judgement as to render him fit for the resumption of the royal function; a state which he might safely say would certainly be the most calamitous to his majesty that it is possible for the mind of man to conceive: for what could be a greater calamity than to be restored to such a degree of sensibility as might render him alive to all the horrors of his unhappy state, and add to his other miseries the consciousness of his degradation? But there was nothing in the evidence of the physicians to justify this supposition. The right honourable gentleman had attended the committee as well as himself, and this middle state must have been equally present to his mind at that time as at the present: but he would put it to him, if he had put any question to the physicians respecting the possibility of this intermediate state, or had obtained any evidence from them on the subject. All the physicians, with the exception of doctor Simmons, had said that his majesty's recovery was extremely improbable; one of them had said that it was all but hopeless, and another of them had said that it was all but impossible. But what evidence was there of this sort of non-descript state anticipated by the right honourable gentleman? What was there in the peculiar situation of his majesty, he would ask, which could make the existence of such a large establishment necessary to his comfort? Could he see the splendour with which it was proposed to surround him? That was impossible. Were there attendants to be retained familiarly to approach him? This the nature of his case would not allow. What was then necessary to his majesty?

Was it such an establishment as might enable him, on his return to a happier state, to resume, without difficulty, his royal functions? This was the consideration by which the house had last year been influenced; but the case was widely altered at present, when, from the concurring evidence of all the physicians, little or no hope of this return was left. But if this happy return should ever take place, the exercise of the royal power would also return to him, and all the functions of royalty would necessarily revert to him. There was another part of the statement of the right honourable gentleman, to which he could not help adverting, and that was, that on account of the diminished domestic state of the king, a smaller number of coaches and horses would be rendered necessary, and 10,000*l.* additional should, on this account, be granted to her majesty, the queen; that is, because his majesty requires fewer coaches and horses, an additional income became necessary to the queen.—But how could the diminution of the expense necessary to his majesty create an additional increase of expense to the queen? When his majesty was in the possession of health, he used these things for his own purposes; and when he was out of health, they were not necessary to the comforts of the queen. Because the king was not in a state to enjoy his usual comforts, it was not surely necessary to put her majesty the queen to any additional expense. This was a mode of reasoning, which he confessed himself utterly unable to comprehend. There was another head of expense to which the right honourable gentleman alluded, respecting which he had also to profess himself entirely ignorant, and that was the 100,000*l.* necessary to defray

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the expense attending the assumption of the regency. When this expense had been mentioned on the former year, it was well known by all of them, that his royal highness had then declined receiving any thing from the public on that account. The right honourable gentleman had told them that he would be able to satisfy the house that the sum was not more than what was adequate for the occasion. This he might or he might not be able to do; but certainly his royal highness could expect no more from that house than a disposition to grant whatever sum should be shown to them to be necessary under each head of expenditure.— Upon the whole, he hoped that the right honourable gentleman would not wish to hasten the consideration of the resolutions, but allow them to lie for a few days on the table; in which case, he assured him, he would endeavour to comprehend that plan which, at present, he was not ashamed to profess himself totally unable to do. He did not mean to say that he objected to the plan either particularly or in all its parts; all that he meant to say was, that he did not wish to be understood to have consented to it either in whole or in part. He wished to grant what the splendour of monarchy required, and more than this he was very unwilling to do.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that he should have no objection to allowing the resolutions lying on the table, did he not conceive that the plan would, with more propriety, come under consideration at a subsequent period.— The natural course, if the resolutions were adopted, would be for a bill to follow them.

Mr. Ponsonby confessed, the more he contemplated the plan of the right honourable gentleman, the

less he understood it, though he hoped that in time he should be enabled to understand it. He would, however, ask, Did his royal highness agree to renounce his claim as duke of Cornwall, and was this sum given in that consideration?

The chancellor of the exchequer said he had nothing to propose to the house on that subject. When it had formerly come before the house, he had then given it as his opinion, that the claim of his royal highness was without any foundation, and he had seen nothing since that time to render any alteration in his opinion necessary. He had, however, no difficulty in stating, that as far as it was possible to judge from looking back to the debates of that period, it was his opinion that his royal highness had then agreed to relinquish his claim.

Mr. Tierney observed, with respect to the 100,000*l.* it was needless to say any thing at present; but if it could afterwards be shown that this was necessary to defray the expense cast on his royal highness last year, and the splendour necessary to be displayed in assuming the situation which he was about to undertake, he, for one, should not have the smallest objection to agree to it. He wished to say a few words on the plan submitted to them that night by the right honourable gentleman opposite, because of the complete dilemma in which he had been placed by him; for it was necessary, before consenting to vote for this plan, at least to understand it, and this he, for one, was utterly unable to do. It appeared, however, that they were asked a sum of money for the establishment of a second court. His majesty was still, it would appear, to be considered as the sovereign of the country, and the regent merely substituted, for the

the purpose of carrying on the functions of the executive. He, for one, would not deny that any portion of splendour belonged to the man to whom the name of king belonged. No man was ever more beloved than George the Third was by the people of this country; and had the right honourable gentleman so called upon them, he would have been the first to testify the affection which he partook, in common with every one of his fellow-subjects; but still he must look to the splendour of the executive power, and take care that no other court whatever came in contact with it. By this new constitution of things, however, the queen, it seems, on behalf of his majesty, was to have one court, and the prince regent another court. Was that necessary? Sure he was that it was dangerous. But could the right honourable gentleman make out its necessity? With respect to his majesty, he would never, to the latest moment of his life, forget that he was his king: but still it was necessary for the right honourable gentleman to satisfy the country, that the new splendour with which he proposes to invest her majesty's court was at all necessary for the comfort of his majesty. When he examined the list of those who were to constitute the queen's court, it was impossible not to smile when he observed the number of officers proposed—the master of the robes, groom of the stole, lords of state, equerries, &c. And in order to take care of the private property of his majesty, three new officers with salaries were thought fit to be created, a business with which parliament could certainly have nothing to do. Could any man be so blind as not to see the drift of

the right honourable gentleman in his disposal of all this influence?—From the manner in which the right honourable gentleman had, on the opening of his speech that night, spoken of the regency bill, it almost looked as if he wished to make a bargain about the taking off the restrictions. He must have a separate court, with her majesty at the head of it. His majesty's unfortunate condition had now lasted upwards of fifteen months, and since last July it appears, from the evidence of the physicians, that the restrictions imposed on the prince regent were altogether unnecessary. The right honourable gentleman had allowed, when he enforced these restrictions, that they were, *pro tanto*, an infringement on the executive power; but that they were rendered necessary, in order that no impediment might be thrown in the way of his majesty's recovery, and that he would only name one year, in order that parliament might, at the end of that period, be enabled, as soon as possible, to remove them. But the physicians had told them that no hopes of that recovery had existed since last July; and yet the right honourable gentleman had thought proper to put off the assembling of parliament for eighteen days longer than the period at which it became necessary. The right honourable gentleman ought to answer to the country why he made that unconstitutional bill last one day longer than it was necessary. With respect to the appointments about his majesty, was it a fact that any of the lords of the bed-chamber, or any of the equerries, ever attended regularly, when there was a probability of his majesty's recovery? And now that such recovery was highly improbable,

why was their attendance necessary? It was incumbent on the right honourable gentleman to show the necessity of this new court that he was setting up. He certainly did not wish to insinuate any thing unpleasant to her majesty, or to wound her feelings unnecessarily in any degree; but it was impossible for him not to perceive, and, perceiving, it was proper for him to state, that the additional expense was coupled with this court; because all that part of it which related to the lords of the bed-chamber was not necessary. He wished to know whether all this additional state was to be an abridgement of so much of what it had been usual for the kings of this country to receive on their particular appointments to the executive power. He wished to abstain from giving a direct opposition to any part of the right honourable gentleman's plan; but he confessed himself anxious to consider it in detail, and he could not help thinking that this was a subject that could not be too clearly or perspicuously arranged and understood, previously to the prince regent's full assumption of all the functions of royalty.

Mr. Sheridan said, that he was induced to say a few words to the house in consequence of something which had fallen from the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval), in answer to a question put by his right honourable friend (Mr. Ponsonby). His right honourable friend had inquired, whether it was the intention of the chancellor of the exchequer to bring forward any measure bearing reference to the arrears due to the prince of Wales, arising out of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall? The answer of that right honourable gentleman had, indeed, surprised

him. It stated that he had not referred to these arrears, and that he did not propose to bring forward any mention of a claim, the justice of which he was known to have always controverted. In this opinion, he believed, the right honourable gentleman was rather singular. In the year 1802, the general sense of the house was understood to be decisively in favour of the validity and legality of the prince's claims. In 1803, a message was received from his majesty, recommending the state of his royal highness's affairs to the consideration of the house. From what passed on this occasion, the right honourable gentleman says he conceived that the claims of the prince were finally relinquished. He (Mr. Sheridan) had reason to believe that an impression to this effect was pretty prevalent out of doors. He had himself met with it in various quarters. He was on this account the more desirous that the true circumstances of the case should be made known. The right honourable gentleman, he strongly apprehended, had derived his belief, with respect to the prince's non-assertion of his claims at the latter period (1803), from the loose reports of the debates in that house, contained in the Annual Register, instead of consulting that register of original documents, the journals on the table. In that publication it was stated that his royal highness had made a surrender of his claims, in contradiction to which he would quote the message from the prince, which message had been delivered to the house by Mr. Tyrwhitt, and was consequently recorded on their journals. No renunciation, he again asserted, had ever been made on the part of his royal highness, because such renunciation must have

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Mr. Perceval was anxious to say a word or two upon this point, because he should be extremely sorry to be misunderstood upon it either in or out of the house, and more particularly in consequence of the message read by the right honourable gentleman, and read, as he could not help suspecting, for the first time this night. He (Mr. Perceval) had certainly said that it was not his intention to propose any steps whatever with reference to those claims, because, conceiving that those claims rested upon no legal foundation, he was not the person who could be expected to

frame any measure of that nature. The impression on his mind, also, undoubtedly was, that these claims had been finally renounced. But after the message from the prince, which had been read, he was at a loss to conceive how any friend or adviser of his royal highness, possessing a mind so liberal and enlightened as the right honourable gentleman, could ever resolve to recommend it to his royal highness to revive a suit, relinquished as this had been in 1803.

The resolutions were then put and agreed to—

"That it is expedient that a sum not exceeding 70,000*l.* be granted out of the consolidated fund to her majesty," &c. &c.

"That it is expedient that provision be made for enabling his royal highness to assume," &c. &c.

Mr. Perceval moved, that a secret committee be appointed to examine into and report what were the ordinary payments made out of the privy purse, for which it might be expedient to provide, and that Mr. Ryder, Mr. Sheridan, &c. be of the said committee.

Jan. 17.—On the question that the report of the resolutions be brought up,

Mr. Creevey observed, that he found the whole of the additional sums required for the proposed charges in the establishment of the royal household amounted to about 135,000*l.* He should not have risen, had he not also observed that the means of meeting this increased expenditure were in part to be derived from droits of admiralty.—He was determined to protest against this principle, because he had always regarded these droits as the property of the country, nor could he bring his mind to believe, that when his majesty's civil list

was settled at 800,000*l.* it was in the contemplation of parliament a fund of eight millions should likewise be left at the entire disposal of his majesty, to be used as his own undoubted property. It would be still more extraordinary, if now, after voting to the prince a sum of 100,000*l.* and while engaged in coming to a new settlement with respect to the support of the executive authority, they should leave it in the power of the prince, which was to leave it in the hands of ministers, to convert the whole of that immense property which, in the event of an American war, would probably be accumulated, by sweeping the seas of her merchantmen, to royal ministerial purposes.

Mr. Brand stated, that he entirely coincided in what had fallen from the last speaker; his opinion decisively was, that the droits of admiralty ought to be given up for the benefit of the public. This question, however, was now in the hands of an hon. friend of his, quite able to do it justice (Mr. Brougham). He now wished to advert to another subject, the arrangements of the household. By the plan of the chancellor of the exchequer, it was proposed to vote 170,000*l.* to the support and maintenance of the king and queen.—This he thought a most immoderate sum. With respect to the means of supplying this expenditure, 100,000*l.* were to be taken from the civil list, and 70,000*l.* to be provided by a vote of parliament. This vote he professed his intention of opposing in every stage. He thought, that instead of the double transfer from the prince's income to the civil list, and from the civil list to his majesty's household, it was much better that

there should have been but one, were it only for the sake of avoiding complexity. He was far from wishing that the prince regent should not enjoy every facility for discharging all engagements on his justice or his honour; but it certainly did appear that his royal highness would, upon a full balance, receive 70,000*l.* per annum more than his majesty had been accustomed to receive.

Mr. Perceval begged leave again to explain what he had the day before stated to the house on the subject of the proposed arrangements. He had stated as the result of those arrangements, that an additional sum of 70,000*l.* would be required for the maintenance of his majesty and the prince regent, under the present circumstances. The honourable gentleman himself had not appeared to think that there was any exorbitancy in this estimate.—The whole amount of the excess thus created above the former expenditure was 70,000*l.*: but if the prince were to surrender the whole of his income, the expenditure would be 50,000*l.* less. The whole of the sum withdrawn from the civil list, and forming the greater part of the 170,000*l.* intended for the support of their majesties, was certainly not restored to it, his royal highness conceiving that this exemption from certain charges to which the civil list was applicable, would render such entire restoration unnecessary. He begged leave now to say a few words with respect to what had fallen from the hon. gentleman who spoke first on the resolutions. The nature of the admiralty droits, and the mode of their distribution, had been already discussed in parliament, and whatever additional information might be required with respect to the history

tory and character of that fund, he would be extremely willing should be furnished.

The resolutions were then brought up and read, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, and the second resolution referred to a committee of supply.

Jan. 20.—The bill for the regulation of his majesty's household, and the administration of his majesty's personal property, was read a first time.

Mr. Tierney observed, that from an examination of the estimate of the civil list, framed in 1804, and the accounts of the disbursements for the seven following years, certain productions appeared to him to be necessary, before he could consent to give his vote for the second reading of the bill. It was impossible to understand, from the papers which had been already produced, what arrangement it was necessary to make, or whether the sums which they should grant might exceed or fall short of what the occasion demanded. From these papers it appeared that the expenditure of the civil list exceeded the revenue by upwards of 120,000*l.* annually, so that it was not fair to state the civil list at 907,000*l.* per year, when the real sum expended was greater by 120,000*l.* Whether this additional expense was really necessary, it was impossible to say, without the production of more documents; for all that could be learned from those already produced, was the actual excess, and the particular classes on which that excess had arisen.—He should move, therefore, 1st. For an account, showing the bills paid to tradesmen in the department of the civil lists, under the direction of the lord steward, specifying the heads under which each

of the bills ought to be classed, from the 5th of July 1804 to 5th July 1811.—2d. For a similar account of the bills paid to tradesmen, in the department of the lord chamberlain, and the service to which they were applicable when the amount of these bills exceeded the sum of 200*l.* If that amount appeared too low to the right honourable gentleman opposite, he had no objection to raising it to such a sum as might be found more convenient.—3d. For an account of the charges of foreign ministers, sums allowed them for equipage, &c. and presents made them for the same period.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, as it was his wish that the bill should be committed on Friday, it was desirable that the second reading might be as near to the going through a committee as possible; and for that purpose he moved that the second reading should be on Thursday. He had not the smallest objection to communicate to the house whatever information might be judged requisite; and adverting to the papers specified by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), he could see no objection to the production of them; but he hoped that that gentleman would agree to raise the sums on which he wished much information, in the department under the lord chamberlain, to 500*l.* because he was himself satisfied that the excess had arisen on sums of a much larger description, though, if it should be found that this was not sufficient, more detailed information would be afforded. He was not prepared to account for the excess of the subsequent years to the estimate, and particularly of the year immediately succeeding; but he thought that it might partly be accounted for

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Mr. Tierney observed, that from an examination of the estimate of the civil list, framed in 1804, and the accounts of the disbursements for the seven following years, certain productions appeared to him to be necessary, before he could consent to give his vote for the second reading of the bill. It was impossible to understand, from the papers which had been already produced, what arrangement it was necessary to make, or whether the sums which they should grant might exceed or fall short of what the occasion demanded. From these papers it appeared that the expenditure of the civil list exceeded the revenue by upwards of 120,000*l.* annually, so that it was not fair to state the civil list at 907,000*l.* per year, when the real sum expended was greater by 120,000*l.* Whether this additional expense was really necessary, it was impossible to say, without the production of more documents; for all that could be learned from those already produced, was the actual excess, and the particular classes on which that excess had arisen.—He should move, therefore, 1st. For an account, showing the bills paid to tradesmen in the department of the civil lists, under the direction of the lord steward, specifying the heads under which each

of the bills ought to be classed, from the 5th of July 1804 to 5th July 1811.—2d. For a similar account of the bills paid to tradesmen, in the department of the lord chamberlain, and the service to which they were applicable when the amount of these bills exceeded the sum of 20*l.* If that amount appeared too low to the right honourable gentleman opposite, he had no objection to raising it to such a sum as might be found more convenient.—3d. For an account of the charges of foreign ministers, sums allowed them for equipage, &c. and presents made them for the same period.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, as it was his wish that the bill should be committed on Friday, it was desirable that the second reading might be as near to the going through a committee as possible; and for that purpose he moved that the second reading should be on Thursday. He had not the smallest objection to communicate to the house whatever information might be judged requisite; and adverting to the papers specified by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Tierney), he could see no objection to the production of them; but he hoped that that gentleman would agree to raise the sums on which he wished much information, in the department under the lord chamberlain, to 500*l.* because he was himself satisfied that the excess had arisen on sums of a much larger description, though, if it should be found that this was not sufficient, more detailed information would be afforded. He was not prepared to account for the excess of the subsequent years to the estimate, and particularly of the year immediately succeeding; but he thought that it might partly be accounted

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for from an impossibility of suddenly reducing, after knowing the determination, a number of expenses which had previously exceeded the estimate. This was a sort of justification for the expenditure of the year following the estimate, and accordingly it would be found that year greatly exceeded the subsequent year. The salaries of foreign ministers had been diminished from the number of missions to which an end had been put; but the extraordinary circumstances attending several of these missions of late years, would sufficiently justify, he trusted, an inquiry into the additional expense on that account.

After some conversation between the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Tierney, the papers moved for by the latter were ordered, and the second reading of the bill was fixed for Thursday, and ordered to be printed.

It was afterwards moved, that 100,000*l.* should be granted to his royal highness to defray the expenses attending the assumption of the regency.

Mr. Tierney understood that this sum was intended to cover the expenses incurred by his royal highness during the past twelve months, and the expense of assuming the permanent regency. However ungracious it might be to state objections to this proposed grant, he considered it to be the bounden duty which a member of parliament owed to the public to do so; and if no other person would, he should be the person himself. This sum was for the outfit of his royal highness the prince regent; but why was there to be a sum voted for the outfit of the regent, while none such was voted for the outfit of his majesty? This was a point on which he

wished for explanation. He could very well understand why last year a sum on this account should be demanded, because the regent, as was well known, was then subjected to considerable expenses without any provision for them; but were they now to vote a sum like the present, without any distinct appropriation, without knowing how far it might be adequate to the purpose intended? He knew that the regent had been exposed to considerable expenses during the time past, and if the right hon. gentleman would put his claim on that footing, he should make no objection to it; but from the way and manner in which the present motion was worded, it went to the principle, that on ascending the throne a king was to be fitted out and treated like an ambassador, or a person embarking into any profession. He hoped, therefore, the right hon. gentleman would consent to withdraw his motion for the present, for the purpose of making a suitable alteration in the language.

The chancellor of the exchequer confessed that this sum was intended to comprehend both the expenses incurred at assuming the temporary and the permanent regency, and was intended to be both retrospective and prospective. He had no objection to amend his motion, therefore, to suit so much of the views of the right hon. gentleman. There was a very good reason why a distinction should be made between the expenses incurred by a regent on assuming a regency, and by a king on ascending a throne; for it was to be recollected, that in the latter case the personal property of the crown devolved to the new sovereign as well as the real; the one could not therefore be in any wise a precedent for the other. The
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right hon. gentleman was undoubtedly aware that every monarch, on his accession, could claim the new arrangement of his civil list; but the regent was not in this situation. Several other members took part in this debate, after which the question was put and carried.

Jan. 24.—On the question that the order of the day for the second reading of the household bill be read,

Mr. Giles said, it was not his intention now to oppose the second reading of it. He only begged to ask of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval), whether it was his intention to suggest any additional allowances to any other branches of the royal family, and if so, out of what fund it was to be proposed that such allowances should be paid? He hoped, also, the house would be informed what was the amount of the droits of the admiralty unapplied?

Mr. Perceval said, it was not improbable that some further allowance for other branches of the royal family might be proposed, but he had no instructions on the subject.

Mr. Whitbread thought it would be desirable that the right honourable gentleman should say what would be his advice on this subject. The right honourable gentleman had said, that the thing was not improbable, but that he had no instructions. On the subject of the 100,000*l.* a-year, as the estimated expense of the attendance on his majesty's person, the right honourable gentleman seemed to have had a sort of intuitive notion. Was it not fair, therefore, to ask if he had any intuitive idea of a grant of the kind alluded to?

Mr. Perceval said, this was a subject not connected with the bill now before the house.

Mr. Whitbread contended, that this was no answer to the question. Would the right honourable gentleman allow him to remind him that the civil list was to be handed over to the prince regent with a deficiency of 50,000*l.* compared with its amount when possessed by his majesty, on the ground that he had not so large a family, so that the prince regent was surely concerned in that expenditure?

Mr. Perceval said, if the princesses were to continue permanently with the queen, the arrangement must, of course, be different from what it would be if they were not to do so. Whether it was right that they should continue permanently with her majesty or not, would be the subject of after-consideration.

Mr. Whitbread contended that this rendered it more important that the house should know the fact before they provided for the event. They were now to make a provision, with a view to the continuance of the princesses with the queen; and were then, probably, to be told that they were not to continue with her. It was proper that they should now be told whether the princesses were or were not to continue with the queen. If they were to continue, then the grant ought to be made; if not, then otherwise.

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

Jan. 27.—On the committal of the royal household bill, Mr. Tierney said he meant to pronounce no censure on the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval), who had assented cheerfully to every proposition on his part respecting the production of papers. What
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he wanted, however, to know, and to be accurately informed of, was, if any means existed, what those means were, of curtailing the present civil list expenditure? To convince the house that this was a reasonable desire, he would call their attention to the year 1804, in the session of which year parliament had voted the sum of 65,000*l.* for the lord steward's department.—The expenditure was nevertheless 84,000*l.* being an excess of more than 20 per cent. This alone was a sufficient proof of the utter insufficiency of the ordinary estimates laid before that house, to afford the means of coming to any certain or decisive judgement. There was another item on which the excess was yet more extraordinary, and that was, the head of the foreign civil establishments. But he felt at the same time a great reluctance to impute misconduct in any quarter, and for this reason, that he had no knowledge on which he could ground such an imputation. He was, however, completely justified in calling for further information, when he observed, that instead of 10,000*l.* the sum voted by parliament for this department, there had been expended a sum of 83,000*l.* There were circumstances in the expenditure of the lord chamberlain's office which might naturally provoke inquiry, but he did not think it necessary to notice them now, because his motion rested upon a more general ground. If he understood the plan of the right honourable gentleman, it appeared from it that his majesty's civil list consisted in all of 960,000*l.*; that out of this amount of the civil list 60,000*l.* was paid to the prince of Wales; that there then remained 900,000*l.* to the civil list, from

which it was proposed to take 170,000*l.*; that of this sum of 170,000*l.* there was 100,000*l.* destined for general expenses, 60,000*l.* for a separate privy purse, and 10,000*l.* to the queen, while she had the care of his majesty; and that if this sum of 170,000*l.* were taken from the civil list, it would leave 730,000*l.*; but it was proposed, by taking only 100,000*l.* from it, and by paying into it 50,000*l.* from the revenues of the prince of Wales, to leave the prince regent with a civil list altogether 50,000*l.* less than that of his royal father. Now, whether this sum was less or more than what was requisite for the maintenance of the dignity and splendour of the throne, he was not at present prepared to say. This was a subject which required to be examined with the utmost caution; for if it were to be held out by the house that his royal highness would carry on the government for 50,000*l.* less than what was allowed to his royal father, they run the same risk of deceiving the country as in 1804. It therefore appeared to him, that if it was at any time proper to make a new estimate of the expense necessary to carry on the government, it was at present, when they were at what might be properly enough called, in some sort, the outset of a new reign. It was necessary to add here, that his royal highness enjoyed an income of 120,000*l.* of which sum only 50,000*l.* was to be paid into the civil list, leaving 70,000*l.* in his hands, so that in fact the total amount of money at the disposal of the prince was 20,000*l.* more than was enjoyed by his father. This was another subject on which further explanation was necessary. This sum of 70,000*l.*

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was not to be added to the civil list; it was a sum, over which parliament was to have no control. That this sum would be very properly administered, he, for his own part, did not entertain a doubt, believing, as he did, that nothing would be done with any part of it that was not strictly justifiable by honour; but what he contended for was this, that it was a monstrous proposition to call upon any member of parliament to vote a sum of 70,000*l.* to any person over which parliament should possess no control whatever. And this very important part of the business would not appear in any way on the journals; the only mention of it having been in a parenthesis of the speech of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval). It was impossible, therefore, in his opinion, for the house to proceed further till this matter was put on a different footing from that on which it at present stood. The country, it seems, was now to have two civil lists; for this 170,000*l.* was one civil list, and the remainder of the old civil list was to constitute another. There appeared, too, a provision for the two privy purses: one, very properly, to his royal highness; for, as he was invested with all the authority, and had all the duties to perform, so he had a right to all the advantages and privileges of his royal father: but why, he would ask, was the king's privy purse not given to the person who was at the head of the administration? Which of the two privy purses was to be considered as the privy purse authorised under the bill of Mr. Burke? Was it the privy purse to be granted to the regent, or that to be granted to the queen? He wished the right honourable gentleman to tell him which of

these was to be considered as the real privy purse? If the 60,000*l.* for a privy purse to his royal highness was not to be subjected to the usual charges, then this was an additional sum intrusted to the prince regent without any control. He was again at a loss how the sum could otherwise be disposed of which was intrusted to her majesty; for it appeared that 35,000*l.* was to be deducted from the privy purse, which was to be in the hands of her majesty; and that the remainder was to be employed in the first place in paying for medical attendance. It was proper for them to see in what an extraordinary situation this matter stood. The only way in which this arrangement could be satisfactorily explained was, to say that this sum of 60,000*l.* was not the right of the person who executed the highest office of government, but was the private property of the man who held the name of king; and if this sum was really not to be considered as belonging to him who administered the duties of the crown, but as private property, then he would no longer oppose the present arrangement. Was this a captious mode of stating the question? He hoped the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) would not smile at this also. He did not, for his part, know whether the sum of 170,000*l.* was too much or too little for the occasion, but he contended that he was entitled to know whether it was or not. If it was to be understood that all the necessary charges on the privy purse were to fall on that which was to be placed under the direction of her majesty, then the prince regent would have no less a sum than 130,000*l.* without any parliamentary control; but if the charges were to fall on the privy

privy purse of the regent, then there was a sum of no less than 70,000*l.* allowed for paying the medical attendance on his majesty; after which the surplus was to be applied to the augmentation of the private property of his majesty. Could they then, he would ask, conscientiously give this sum? He would not give his consent to augment a private fund, which in his opinion was already too large, and that, he would tell them, would be precisely the effect of voting this sum. There would remain 35,000*l.* for medical attendance. Now he really could not conceive how any thing like this sum would be necessary for such a purpose; but let it be once proved that it really was necessary, and there was not a man in that house who would more cheerfully consent to give it than himself. While he said this, however, he thought it proper to declare that he would never consent to vote for this sum, while there remained a possibility of any part of it being applied to augment the private property of his majesty. He never would recognise the doctrine, that the privy purse was the property of the person who was named king, belonging as it did, in his opinion, only to the person who was intrusted with the administration. While the duties of royalty were not executed by his majesty, he would not consent that more should be granted than what was necessary to provide for that degree of splendour and dignity suited to his present situation.

Having entered much at large into the prince's situation, with respect to his engagements of honour, he recommended that all his debts should at once be paid off; but, said he, the fact is, that the present was a plan to keep the prince regent always

in restraint, always under the necessity of applying for something from ministers, for which, no doubt, he was to give something to ministers in return. Their conduct appeared here in the most artful light. He wanted, therefore, to see the prince entirely free from ministers. During the whole of the last reign, animosities had taken place respecting the paying off the debts contracted by the civil list. Why then would not the ministry at once come down, and ask from the house, he would not say a lavish grant, but such a sum as they ought to grant? Was this the way that the civil list ought to be provided for at the commencement of a reign, to tell the house that the exceeding of 124,000*l.* was to be paid out of the droits of admiralty and Scotch revenue? Every thing on this business was left unexplained, and the house were left completely involved in doubts and perplexities. Throughout the whole bill, there was an apparent distrust of his royal highness, while every thing was calculated to appear like a very great kindness to him. In place of the 100,000*l.* taken from the civil list, 70,000*l.* were to be given him, for which he was to be under no control. But this was one side of the picture only, and it was proper also to look at the other. Here, then, was a settled distrust manifested respecting the intention of his royal highness; he was considered by them as incapable and unfit to be trusted with the management of his father's servants; the father was placed under the control, not of his son, but of others. The distrust entertained of the prince regent was the real reason for all this conduct. Was there any person, he would ask, averse to the intrusting the care

care of his majesty's person to the queen? But he could not see how, admitting that his majesty should really want those lords of the bed-chamber and equerries now to be allowed him, there was any difficulty in supposing that her majesty would desire some of her own retinue should be delegated to attend upon him. Did they suppose that the prince regent would turn off his majesty's old servants? The whole civil list had last year been granted for his majesty; and he would ask, what proportion of all the numerous retinue had ever attended upon his majesty? It would appear that in April only one lord of the bed-chamber and one equerry had really waited upon him; but since July this had been altogether discontinued. What was all this for, then, he would ask, if there was not a distrust of the prince? Why was the queen to be placed at the head of a separate court? He meant nothing here, but that she was to have the separate and uncontrollable power, not controllable even by the treasury, of the 110,000*l.* augmented by that part of the privy purse which was also at her disposal. Her majesty was to have no fewer than 21 servants at her disposal, for the support of the dignity and splendour of the king. Her majesty had also an establishment of her own as queen consort, and this was a necessary part of the civil list, and composed part of the splendour of the throne; but now all this was to be withdrawn from it. And was this not a new court, if a sum of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds was to be voted to her majesty, with a master of horse, and the other officers which went in the train of a court? If all that did not constitute a separate court, he really did not know what a separate court meant.

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He did not mean to say that her majesty would differ from the prince regent; but he would say, then, that if they pulled together, there would be an increased influence, which it was proper also not to lose sight of. His royal highness would have occasion to supply, for his own establishment, all the servants taken away from him to the other, and this would necessarily occasion an increase of influence. But should there at any time be any difference, (he did not mean to say any personal difference, for that he was convinced would never take place between his royal highness and her majesty, but any political difference between them,) then the prince regent would feel himself checked by the measures of a rival court. All this was the necessary continuance of the system of last year. Did his royal highness approve of those restrictions, by which the queen's power was placed above his own? The queen was placed over a separate court, and armed with separate power and separate patronage. This, he would say, ought not to be the case, and he was sure he was then saying that which, if her majesty could hear him say it, she would have no hesitation in thanking him for. What he wanted was, that the custody of the king should be intrusted to her majesty; but while he said this, he wished to have a distinct sum voted, in addition to the civil list, that his royal highness might be enabled to make the proper arrangements for his father. Those who objected to such a measure could only object to it from thinking that the intentions of the nation towards the king would be interrupted by his royal highness. But he would ask, if any son could have possibly shown more attachment to

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a father, or any prince possibly behaved with more decorum to the king, than his royal highness during the course of the last twenty years? He would put it to the house then, whether they thought the present bill ought to be allowed to pass into a law? He would repeat it, that it was the duty of parliament at the present moment, to take the whole arrangement of the civil list, and of his majesty's household, into their consideration. He had confined himself at present to the principles of the bill, without entering into their details, to which he might afterwards be inclined to enter in a committee. He did not wish to embarrass the government; but he could not help expressing his disapprobation of going into a committee at present on the bill, thinking that it would be preferable to put it off to a distant day, and wishing that a committee should be appointed for entering into an immediate investigation of all the matters which could throw light on the subject.

Mr. George Johnstone and Mr. Montague spoke on the subject; after which sir Thomas Turton confessed that he felt considerable difficulty in objecting to a bill which had for its object the maintenance of an establishment for a king so severely afflicted as the monarch of Great Britain, though he felt it his duty to express his decided opinion against the principle of the bill. From particular circumstances, he had not had it in his power to pay due attention to the voluminous documents laid upon the table; but even from the cursory manner in which they had fallen under his observation, he thought he could point out items in them which would render the addition of the 70,000*l.* proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer wholly unnecessary. He

requested members to direct their attention to the head of the diplomacy of the country: in the year 1804, the estimate for this expense, it would be remarked, was 62,000*l.* and yet the expenditure exceeded 158,000*l.* being an excess of no less than 96,000*l.* It might very reasonably be supposed that some years ago, 63,000*l.* would not be deemed an extravagant sum; but in the present situation of the country, where we had so little occasion for diplomatic missions, surely it would not be denied that the excess of 96,000*l.* was a little extraordinary. The item for the mission of the marquis Wellesley to Spain, it would be seen, was 16,000*l.* This nobleman was appointed in the spring, went late in the summer, returned very shortly to England, and yet a charge was incurred to the extent of 16,000*l.* The honourable baronet did not mean to assert that the expense had not been incurred, or that it could not be justified; but the country required that justification before it tamely submitted to the charge: indeed there was scarcely an article which had fallen under his notice to which the same remark would not apply.

Mr. Whitbread said, before he could suffer the speaker to quit the chair, for the purpose of going into a committee on the bill now depending, he required the chancellor of the exchequer to assign some reasons, if any such existed, why the examination required should not be made. Hitherto he had sat in perfect silence, not condescending to make any reply; and the house was required, hood-winked and blindfold, to declare by this bill that the excess of 124,000*l.* ought to be incurred. The last enactment scarcely contemplated the possibility of such an increase; but it provided that, if it should

should ever occur, application was to be made to parliament. Had that application ever been made? No; and the reason was obvious: ministers had had recourse to a contingent fund, out of which they discharged the arrears, of which contingent fund parliament had not, at the time when the former bill passed, the remotest conception. Would it at that time have been believed, that the arrear would amount, during nine years, to the enormous sum annually of 124,000? How did it come out that such was the fact?—Not in any regular official way, but by a side-wind, when the present bill was brought forward. Parliament now, without the least information, was called to vote that this arrear of 124,000*M.* was absolutely necessary; and the house would remember, that if it did not amount to that sum legislative interference was unnecessary. Ministers insisted that it must be incurred, but no provision was made for it. Some honourable members felt a reluctance in voting against the bill, because the principle of it was, they said, to provide for the care of his majesty's person. He denied that such was the principle—it was the title of the bill, it was true, but the title and the contents were as much at variance as the two sides of the house. If he were asked, whether there was any necessity for the measure, for the purpose of providing fitly for the afflicted sovereign, undoubtedly he should reply directly in the negative. Were the anxiety and affection of the prince regent not to be confided in? If he were fit to assume the reins of government, surely it would not be denied that he was competent to the care of his father. If indeed he were asked, what the real principles of the bill

were, he should say that it was a bill to create and support a separate influence—which might be employed in a manner insulting to the regent, and injurious to the country. But upon this his right honourable friend (Mr. Tierney) had dwelt with so much ability, and had placed the subject in so strong and clear a light, that he could scarcely add a word without weakening what had been said. He had strong objections to the principle of the bill; and before he could consent to the speaker's leaving the chair, there were many things which he hoped to hear explained. At all events, therefore, he wished the postponement of this question.

The chancellor of the exchequer began by observing, that the honourable member who had just sat down ascribed to him (the chancellor) a disinclination to give any explanation on the present question, though he knew not upon what grounds, or with what justice, such an accusation could be maintained. He had been actuated, indeed, in the silence which he had hitherto maintained, not by any wish to refuse such information as he was enabled to afford, but by the very express purpose of giving, at once, as complete an answer to what might be urged in objection as he could. Here the honourable gentleman went into an elaborate vindication of the bill, and concluded with asking, Was it to be believed, that if the prince regent thought there was any thing insulting or distrustful in the provisions of the present bill, he would have permitted those in his service to have come down to that house and claim from it all the sanction that was due to such a measure so introduced?—or, if they had done so, is it to be supposed that there was any thing in the na-

ture of the restrictions imposed upon his royal highness, that for a moment precluded him from dismissing such persons from his service—and that too within a fortnight of the termination of the restrictions? But so far was he (Mr. P.) from thinking that he had taken a course invidious towards his royal highness, he was confident that if he had proposed to place his royal highness in that most invidious situation in which he was now told he ought to have been placed, that he would have had many of those gentlemen on the other side exclaiming loudly against it, as a scheme to throw an odious and invidious office upon his royal highness. He (Mr. P.) had proposed to the house what he thought to be the best, and what he feared gentlemen, as long as they sat on the other side, would always think the worst; but he left it confidently to the house and the country to decide between them. Mr. Perceval next adverted to the objections founded upon the creation of a double court. What, he asked, was this second court? what, after all, was this mighty source of alarm? This great court, big with so many momentary terrors to the gentlemen opposite, it was made up of four lords of the bedchamber, a groom of the stole, and all the pages (*a laugh*). He repeated it—and even all the pages (*a laugh*). The pages, surely, were not to be overlooked, when gentlemen were gravely considering the awful accession of parliamentary influence this second court would acquire by virtue of this bill. But, seriously, did gentlemen forget that the establishment of this second court, if it could be called a court, was incidental to the very nature of the arrangement which seemed to be admitted upon all sides as necessary? If they ap-

prove of the arrangement, how could they object to one of its essential parts? He trusted that they did not carry their constitutional alarms so far as to fear that the constitution itself was so nicely balanced, that four lords of the bedchamber could overturn it, even though all the pages were thrown into the scale.

Several other members spoke pro and con; after which there was a majority of 82 for going into the committee. During the debates on the several parts of the bill, the principle having been admitted, Mr. Adam said, a considerable deal of reference had been made to some peculiarities in the situation of the prince regent, which some gentlemen called honourable obligations, and to which others gave the real term, debts. It was of very little importance, however, what denomination was applied to them. From the year 1795, his royal highness had not been in the course of managing his own affairs; but the course was, when an account was not paid after the lapse of a quarter, that the person claiming it should give ten days notice to the proper officer, and if he failed to give such notice, the demand could not afterwards be recovered; or if the officer neglected to give it in, he himself became liable to pay it. It was impossible that in such an establishment things could go on with such strictness as this; and it was an additional trait in his royal highness's honourable character, that he would not suffer any persons to be sufferers by omissions such as these. It so happened that in 1803 there were debts which could not be liquidated; and at the same time three times 60,000*l.* were given to his royal highness by anticipation. There were a number of obligations of honour due by his royal highness;

one of them being a debt to the elector of Hesse, or, as it was then called, the foreign loan. One half of these were to be paid by commissioners appointed for the purpose; and the other half, being an obligation of honour, his royal highness took on himself. There were a number of creditors, from whose accounts a deduction of ten per cent. was taken by the persons appointed to investigate them. From many this deduction was properly made, and from others not. But his royal highness thought himself in honour bound to pay this to them all. It was at this time clearly understood that his income was to suffer no defalcation, but that a certain proportion of it was to be applied in payment of his debts. The income tax had then ceased; but being soon after renewed, by the strict letter of the law his royal highness became subject to the property tax, by which means 12,000*l.* a year of that fund, which his officers had calculated upon for the discharge of his debts, was swallowed up, and produced a considerable embarrassment. In these circumstances they went on for two or three years; and in the year 1808 or 1809 there were other demands of a personal nature which fell on his royal highness; and he, anxious to save the public from any fresh burthen on account of his family in a time of war, himself discharged this obligation, to the amount of 49,000*l.* These different debts, and which he had no idea he should have been called on to pay, amounted to 175,000*l.* These were assets which his royal highness had a right to calculate on, and which would have gone a considerable length in the payment of his debts. There was, however, another peculiarity in the situation of his royal highness. He lived in a royal

palace, and for his house, unlike all other royal palaces, he had been obliged to pay taxes and other burthens, even where the furniture was not his own, to the amount of upwards of 4,000*l.* a year. He had even laid out sums of money in repairing and beautifying what was really a royal palace. These sums in the whole would go nearly to the full payment of all the debts of his royal highness, excluding the foreign claims. Up to the year 1809 his royal highness had paid 12,000*l.* a year to the princess of Wales, and from that time he had increased it to 17,000*l.* So that the amount of his obligations at this moment exceeded 53,000*l.* a year; and in the situation in which his royal highness was now placed, having to step from prince of Wales to prince regent, his first wish was, that those obligations of honour should not be defeated, while at the same time as little additional burthen as possible was thrown on the country. If there was a measure calculated to effect this object, he (Mr. Adam) thought the present was that measure. From 16 to 17,000*l.* a year additional was necessary to liquidate all these demands; and his royal highness could not, in these circumstances, propose to hand over to the civil list a greater sum than 50,000*l.* a year. He was hopeful, however, that the affairs of the civil list might after this be carried on without any additional burthen to the country. The prince of Wales made no additional charge on the public on his own account. Supposing for a moment he were to give up the 70,000*l.*; if he were to come to parliament, and ask of them as he did before; if he addressed himself *ad verecundiam* to gentlemen, he could not doubt that they would think it proper that the

whole amount of his royal highness's debts should be paid. He (Mr. Adam) could say, that it was not the intention of his royal highness to set up his claim on account of Cornwall; but, to his mind, it formed a strong feature in his royal highness's case. Taking all the sums he has expended, and by which he has improved the royal palaces; all the sums he has paid, which never prince before paid, amounting to upwards of 300,000*l.* besides his claim on account of Cornwall, on which subject anxious and deliberate opinions had been given, all in his royal highness's favour, by a lord chancellor of England, a lord chancellor of Ireland, and a chief justice of the court of common pleas;—when these things were considered, and when his royal highness came and asked of parliament only to enable him to fulfil the honourable obligations he had entered into; he (Mr. Adam) asked, ought not such a claim to pass not only as necessary, but by acclamation? He (Mr. Adam) was one of the persons by whom the trust to which he had alluded was formed; and he could say, not only had it not been impeded, but it had been accelerated by his royal highness. From his own property of Cornwall, about 60,000*l.* had been received, all of which had gone in discharge of his royal highness's debts, except 3000*l.* Of these he (Mr. Adam) himself had sent 1000*l.* to one, another 1000*l.* to a second, and the third 1000*l.* to a third object of liberality, which did honour to the heart of his royal highness. Of the trustees by whom his royal highness's affairs were managed, he should say nothing. The house would form their own judgment on that head. Besides himself, (Mr. Adam) they consisted

of colonel M'Mahon and Mr. Coutts, his royal highness's banker. He trusted they had at least acted like honest men. Mr. Adam concluded in words to the following effect: "I have now said all that is necessary to make a just impression of the situation and conduct of the prince. I trust I have done it with perfect respect and order as it regards the house, with sincerity as to the country, and fidelity to the prince. It is the last act of my parliamentary life—probably the last time I shall address you within this house; from which I am about to retire on account of the pressure of patrimonial losses, which I hope to repair by professional pursuits: but with this the house can have nothing to do. I hope, however, I may indulge that elation of mind which results from doing what is right; and that I may close a long political life with the reflection that I have honestly discharged my duty."

Mr. Brand declared, that if the matter had been introduced in the fair and candid manner in which it had now been explained, he should have been the last man in the house to have opposed it. At the same time he should infinitely prefer immediately freeing his royal highness from all embarrassments—a measure to which he could not conceive that there could be the smallest disinclination expressed either in the house or out of it.

The several clauses of the bill having been discussed, and carried by large majorities, the report was moved to be brought up on the following day (Jan. 28th); which being, put,

Mr. Brougham said he had insuperable objections to the bill now before the house, and did not think that any alterations which it might have

have undergone in the committee were at all likely to obviate them. The house were doubtless now, and are, after the discussion which had taken place, aware of the real nature and complexion of this business; they were now aware that this was a bill, the object of which was to raise an additional sum of 70,000*l.* and this of itself was a sufficient ground for pausing, and demanding inquiry before proceeding further. His honourable friend beside him had accordingly called for inquiry and explanation, and an answer to these demands. The chancellor of the exchequer had given what he conceived to be a satisfactory explanation, but what, in his opinion, was by no means sufficient to warrant the house to come to a conclusion in favour of this money bill. How did the chancellor of the exchequer attempt to get rid of the explanation wanted? The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) was all full of offers of explanation, and of as many papers as could be wished for. It was true they did not long enjoy this pleasant dream of information; for when a right honourable friend of his, who was sordid of the reality than the dreams of information, made some demands upon him, his answer at once showed that he was only ready to explain when it suited himself. But taking up this question on the ground of the right honourable gentleman, he still conceived he was entitled to explanation; and therefore he was anxious, on the very first opportunity, of meeting the right honourable gentleman upon it, and of conjuring the house to enter upon an inquiry into the whole of the grounds of the subject. The bare fact, that a new civil list was to be arranged, was sufficient to bear him up in stating; that parliament were not now enti-

tled to do what they had never yet ventured to do on any former occasion,—to make an additional grant of money, and sanction an excess to the enormous amount of 120,000*l.* without the most strict and detailed inquiry into the subject by a committee of the house. The explanations and speeches which had been delivered in that house, however gratifying they might be in other respects, were certainly by no means satisfactory. These speeches were the language of parties; but it was necessary to have something more than this, to have something like evidence. How very differently the house of commons had acted on former occasions! When only 60,000*l.* was asked by Mr. Pitt or lord Sidmouth, no less than three select committees were appointed, who, after the most laborious and painful investigation, laid the grounds of their opinion before the house. There were men to make speeches then as well as now. There were chancellors of the exchequer who could upon occasion state to the house the effects produced by the depreciation of the circulating medium, then as well as now. The house had all that, then as well as now; but Mr. Pitt, lord Sidmouth, and those distinguished men who composed the last administration, knew too well the duty they owed to the house, to the people, and to their sovereign, to ask the house to be satisfied with mere speeches and well-turned periods in matters of arithmetical calculation. They produced the report of the committee. It was very true, that even after these reports were presented, the subject met with much opposition; and it required all the eloquence of those men afterwards to accomplish their object: but then that eloquence was more in point than at present.

present. In his opinion, as ample an inquiry ought now to be gone into as was gone into then. If he came to the state of this increased debt, there was nothing on the face of the accounts to induce the house in anywise to relax their constitutional jealousy. On the contrary, he would venture to say, from a view of the items of the account, there was nothing which ought to induce them to relax, but much rather that ought to quicken their jealousy. The honourable member went into an elaborate examination of the bill, and finished by saying that the remote possibility of the ultimate recovery of his majesty, although now, as well as last year, his speedy restoration had been so sanguinely expected and prophesied by the chancellor of the exchequer, could in no way justify any such establishment. It appeared by records, which it was not necessary now to quote, that the house had never yet voted so large a sum as that now required, in aid of the civil list, without a formal preliminary inquiry; and yet ministers, at a time when the vote of every shilling ought to be most severely scrutinized, ventured to make this most unconstitutional demand. With respect to the formation of a distinct court, over which the queen was to preside, no investigation could remove his objection; but into the voluminous and valuable documents laid upon the table, he could not imagine that a more proper time than the present could be found for investigation, and it was wholly unbecoming in the house to refuse examination into the comparative small amounts they contained, when the great demands for the service of the state were met by the people with such confidential readiness. He warned the right honourable gen-

tleman of the consequences of a refusal, and set before him, as an example, the precedent of the year 1804.

Mr. Rose replied, and several other members spoke warmly on the subject. The report was then brought up and read, and on the next day, the 29th, the bill was read a third time, passed, and sent to

The house of lords, where it was of course read the first time without any observation; as it was also the second time on the 4th of Feb.

Feb. 6. The earl of Liverpool moved the order of the day for the third reading of the royal household bill, and observed, that he would now take the opportunity of explaining the subject with reference to the three bills now on the table, all forming part of the same arrangement (the royal household bill, the household offices bill, and the regency expenses bill). His lordship then adverted to what had passed in the last session of parliament, when the regency was under consideration, and observed, that whatever opinions might be entertained of the improbability of the king's recovery, they must nevertheless legislate upon the possibility of his recovering so as to resume the exercise of the royal authority. His lordship then explained the object of the bills, to appropriate 100,000*l.* for a household for the king, and to the support of his dignity and personal comfort; together with 60,000*l.* the amount of the king's privy purse, and 10,000*l.* to the queen, to meet incidental expenses,—making together 170,000*l.* To meet this charge, the prince of Wales had consented to give up to the civil list from his exchequer income 50,000*l.* and 70,000*l.* was proposed to be voted by parliament, making 120,000*l.* leaving a deficiency in the civil

civil list, as transferred to the prince regent, of 50,000*l.* with, however, a considerable difference of expense, as his majesty's expenditure had of course been considerably increased by the largeness of his family. The noble earl concluded by expressing his regret that the question respecting the increase of the expenditure of the civil list had not on former occasions been fairly met, instead of resorting to the mode of making good the deficiency out of other funds; convinced as he was, that, if the question had been brought forward, it must have been evident that the increase of the expenditure was unavoidable, and that it was no more than must have been felt by every person from his own private expenditure, and could not be avoided.

Lord Grenville observed, that the bill was such that he could not entirely approve, although he was perfectly aware of the difficulty attending a task in making a provision for a case so new and distinct from any former situation of things. He agreed with the noble secretary of state, that it was an essential object for their lordships to have in view, that the arrangement to be formed was not in its nature necessarily permanent; and that, as their hopes had been hitherto unhappily disappointed, so their fears might be agreeably undeceived. His first objection to the plan now submitted was, that that it was intricate, involved, and obscure; whereas in his opinion, it should be, on such an occasion, not merely clear and intelligible, but so clear and intelligible

that every man in the kingdom should understand it. He was not prepared to argue the question of the bill on the principle of the sufficiency or excess of the particular sums appropriated to different purposes. All their lordships undoubtedly felt the necessity of supporting, now as well as at any former time, the dignity and state belonging to the exercise of the functions of royalty, and to the person, in whatever situation or labouring under whatever calamity, who continued to wear the crown. They all felt it was not merely for a sick person, but a sick king, for whom provision was to be made. He had often lamented, that in all the arrangements of the civil list, two objects should have been combined so obviously dissimilar as the provision for the civil government of the country, and the expenditure for the royal household. This was not the proper opportunity for entering into such a consideration; but he did think it in due time a subject highly worthy of their lordships' attention. An extreme case might, indeed, occur, which would render it expedient to make some alteration with reference to this arrangement; but, except in such extreme case, it was unquestionably the duty of the legislature to respect the contract which had been entered into between the country and his majesty, when he was competent to give or to withhold his assent. The bill was then read a third time; and on the 10th it was passed, of which notice was sent to the house of commons.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Rose on the Population of England, Scotland, and Wales—Debate on Mr. Ryder's Motion respecting the Nightly Watch—Debate on Mr. Brougham's Motion respecting the Droits of the Admiralty—Lord Folkestone's Motion on the State of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction—Debates on Earl Fitzwilliam's Motion on the State of Ireland, and on Mr. Grattan's Motion on the same Subject—Debate on Mr. Lockhart's Motion on Bankrupt Members of Parliament—Debate on Lord Marpeth's Motion on the State of Ireland—Mr. Whitbread on the Riots at Nottingham—Mr. Grant on the Extension of commercial Intercourse with India—Bill for preventing the granting Offices in Reversion—Motion in both Houses of Thanks to Lord Wellington—Mr. Creevey's Motion on the 4½ per Cent. Duties—Mr. Whitbread's Motion on America—Mr. Ryder's Motion for a Bill to punish the Rioters of Nottingham—Debate on Lord Wellington's Pension—Monument to General Crauford—Debates on the Army Estimates, and Colonel M'Mahon's Pension—Expulsion of Mr. Walsh—Motion for a Bill to punish fraudulent Bankers.

WE have, in the last chapter, given a connected account of the discussions of the household bill, which, as we have seen, was passed into an act, with the sanction of both houses and his royal highness the prince, previously to the time in which the regent entered on his full powers. We shall now turn back and review some other subjects that engrossed the attention of parliament at intervals during the time we have gone over. On part of the business which we have now to notice, debates had in former sessions been long and vehement. The eloquence of all sides of both houses had shone forth, as well on the droits of the admiralty, as on the state of Ireland; and the arguments adduced by the leaders of the parties who opposed or vindicated the measures of government in these particulars, have been briefly but faithfully recorded in our former volumes. The reader will readily perceive the necessity

that we have for abridgement in our reports of parliamentary business, when he reflects for a moment that the debates, tolerably at large, on the state of Ireland, would, for the year 1812, more than fill the space which can be afforded in our volume to the proceedings of both houses for the whole session, which continued, with but short adjournments, more than seven months. So long, however, as topics of importance and general interest are agitated in parliament, so long will it be our duty to follow its steps with the fidelity of accurate reporters.

Jan. 17.—A person appeared at the house of commons, and presented an account of the population of Great Britain, from the year 1802 to the present period, distinguishing the increase, &c. of each each particular year.

Mr. Rose observed, that the paper now laid on the table was the result of an annual census, which for the first time, in the year 1802,

was

was by act of parliament directed to be taken throughout Great Britain. He was sure it would create as much pleasure as surprise, that this paper should exhibit, upon the last ten years, no less an increase of the general population than one million and a half. The augmentation in England amounted to the proportion of 14 per cent. that in Wales to 12, and that in Scotland to 13 per cent. This increase, remarkable as it was for its extent, was yet remarkable for another peculiarity, the number of males being equal to the number of females, together constituting the increase. In September 1802 the whole population amounted to 10,471,000; it was now, exclusive of the army and navy, 11,901,000; making, in conjunction with the military force of the country, a total increase of upwards of 1,906,000. This great addition to the population was the more surprising, when it was considered that it had taken place in the period of a war of unexampled duration, extent and activity. He was quite aware that it might be said, that although there was an increase of population, there had been no corresponding increase of employment: but however distressing this want might have been found last year among the class of manufacturers, he was happy to have ascertained that it had been confined to that class, and that it had already become much less severe and extensive than it had been experienced in the course of the last year. Perhaps some gentlemen might be disposed to attribute part of the apparent increase in the population to the improved skill and accuracy of those who were engaged in forming the estimate; and although this opinion had unquestionably weight, yet as far as his own inquiries had

gone, and these had been made with some care, he had reason to believe that there was very little deficiency in the accuracy with which the law establishing the census had been carried into execution in the outset. The right hon. gentleman then entered into a statement, to show that the great increase of the exports of corn corresponded with and corroborated the increased population exhibited in the paper before the house. From the year 1775, (when Great Britain first became an importing country, having before regularly exported corn to her neighbours), to the end of the twelve following years, the balance of payments was but inconsiderably affected by the quantities of corn imported. In the year 1799, upwards of one million sterling was transmitted in payment of corn, and this sum had been since gradually enlarged, till it had reached the extraordinary magnitude of between four and five millions annually now sent out of the kingdom. It would appear also, by examining the papers before the house, and comparing the quantities imported of different grain in each year, that wheat, and whatever was applicable to human sustenance, bore a very large proportion to the whole. Now it was undoubtedly true, that of late years inclosures had been greatly multiplied: but this multiplication had certainly not kept pace with the increased consumption of the country, and it remained for the house to discover and adopt the most advisable means to supply what was still defective, and, by diminishing the necessity of such excessive importations, at once improve the revenue and promote the agricultural interests of the kingdom. It was now pretty manifest that the system

system of inclosures, however beneficial and general it had become, was not alone adequate to the object in view; and among other means that might be devised, he considered that additional encouragement to the cultivation of potatoes might be highly advantageous. This description of cultivation had the peculiar recommendation of being within the power of the poorest individual that inhabited a cottage with a piece of land, however small, attached to it. There was also another expedient that had been too long much neglected, and could not, in his opinion, too strongly engage legislative consideration, he meant the due encouragement and extension of the fisheries. It could not fail to excite surprise, that a maritime country like Great Britain, and from her geographical situation possessing so many facilities for enjoying every advantage of prosperous and extensive fisheries, should, even to the present day, have derived nearly all her supplies of cured fish from settlements abroad. He could not help thinking that, by influence and persuasion, any prejudice or aversion to a particular kind of food might be overcome among the bulk of the people. As an instance of the prodigious difference in the comparative cheapness of different sorts of food, he had himself recently been enabled to sell 9 herrings and 22 pounds of potatoes for 16*d*. Where it was thus evident that a saving to so great an amount might be effected, it was of the greatest importance that it should be duly considered; he had calculated that, by the adoption of proper measures tending to this purpose, an abridgement might be made of three millions out of the four or five now every year sent out of the country

in payment for imported corn. The further extension of the British fisheries might be productive of another great advantage in furnishing employment to the surplus part of the population. One hundred thousand men might, he conceived, be easily employed in this way. He was aware that he had taken up the time of the house in entering on a subject that was not regularly before it; but he trusted the very great importance of the subject would justify him in its opinion.

Mr. Brougham professed his great satisfaction, both at the accounts commented on by the right hon. gentleman, and the observations which had fallen from him, appearing to him, as they did, highly important and judicious. He did not rise at present, just informed as he was at that moment of the facts stated by the right hon. gentleman, to enter into the discussion of them, but to require the attention of the house to one or two remarks which the contemplation of the paper before the house naturally suggested to his mind. He was not entirely ready to agree with him, that the whole of the nominal increase of population which the last census exhibited, was a real increase. In the year 1802, when this census was first taken, the whole machinery for carrying it into effect was necessarily incomplete. Not only did this now move with more ease and efficacy, but there should also be taken into account the improved experience of the various officers whose duty it was to conduct it. The numerous prejudices that had originally existed against a general enumeration, arising in some degree from a superstitious construction of a portion of scriptural history, and from other causes, must have operated strongly

ly against the accuracy of the earlier returns. It might, indeed, be said, that the error may as well have been one of excess above the actual number, as of deficiency under it. It was fair, however, to conclude that errors of this kind, and proceeding from the causes to which he had alluded, must be errors of defect, not of excess. The population of Europe had been calculated to have doubled once only in 520 years; and with these facts in his eye, he could not but look at this apparent increase with some degree of suspicion. There was another material point on which it was also proper, as connected with the subject before the house, that accurate inquiry should be made, and this was the present amount and the late increase that had taken place in the poor's rates. Neither could he suppress his regret that the census had not been extended to the sister kingdom. It would have been in the highest degree satisfactory, now that they were about to take into their grave consideration a subject of such transcendent and vital importance as the condition and the wrongs, the claims and the rights, of the Irish people, had they been previously put in possession of correct returns of the numerical strength of the Irish population. He deeply lamented the want of such information, and hoped the time was not far distant when a census, not less general and minute than that of Great Britain, would be taken in the sister kingdom.

Mr. Peter Moore complained that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Rose) had unnecessarily descanted on a subject not regularly before the house, and in reference to a paper that was falsely called a return of the British empire, since it totally excluded the whole popu-

lation of Ireland. If the population of Ireland was not considered any part of the effective strength of the empire, it should be avowed; but if it were considered as forming a part, it ought not to have been omitted.

NIGHTLY WATCH OF THE METROPOLIS.

Mr. Ryder rose to move for a committee to examine into the existing state of the nightly watch of London, and its immediate vicinity. Although, he observed, that it would not be necessary for him to enter at length into the present condition of the nightly watch of this city, yet it might be right in the outset to observe, that if the motion with which he should conclude rested solely on the horrible murders recently perpetrated, the assassination of two whole families, which had, as it were, thrown the whole nation into a state of terror, he should not be of opinion that it was supported on any sufficient foundation, because he was convinced that the house would think that no system of police, however excellent, could be invented competent to prevent wretches, degraded low enough beneath humanity, to commit such brutal crimes, from executing their detested purposes. He admitted, however, that the more perfect the police, the more probable would be their detection. Those gentlemen, who, from foreign travel, were acquainted with the plans adopted abroad, where a military police was established and supported with all the energy of despotism, and restrained by no respect for the property or feelings of the inhabitants, were aware that crimes, at the mention of which Englishmen shuddered, were perpetrated there almost nightly, attracting

tracting little comparative observation: Fortunately for us, such atrocities seldom occurred, as was proved by the universal alarm which such enormities diffused. It was impossible, however, that we could shut our eyes to offences of less magnitude indeed in these times, but which at other periods would be reckoned among crimes of the deepest dye. They however almost as nearly affected the safety of the persons and property of individuals, and they had been perpetrated within these two or three months, to an extent hitherto unknown, although the public prints had often exaggerated the fact, and at other times stated circumstances completely unfounded. The house might not be aware how the law stood upon this subject. The nightly watch was in general vested in the officers of each parish, and it was not until the year 1774 that parliament thought it right to institute an inquiry, with a view to form an organized and uniform plan and nightly watch, which was to apply to fifteen of the most populous parishes of London and Westminster. By the statute afterwards passed, trustees were to be appointed, who were to appoint the watchmen and patrols in the districts named. It might easily be imagined, that an act passed so long since should at this time be found defective, from the enormous increase of the population of the metropolis, and from other circumstances, which it was not necessary here to enumerate. It would be proper, however, to notice one:—the act requires that the trustees should appoint, for the purpose of guarding the streets at night, able-bodied men. The experience of all persons must convince them that the watchmen usually employed

did not, by any means, answer the description required.—The right hon. gentleman had been credibly informed, that in many parishes such men were appointed watchmen who were incapable of gaining support by any other means. It might be a question whether, if the house should agree to the appointment of a committee, the provisions of this particular act would not be to be considered, as well as the contents of many other local statutes passed to provide a nightly watch in various parishes; or whether it would be deemed more advisable to alter, by a new bill, the whole system which had been hitherto acted upon; whether it would be more advantageous to enforce the enactments of existing statutes, and to strengthen them by new provisions, so as to introduce little innovation, or to completely change the plan hitherto pursued. Of this the committee would be the proper persons to determine; but the opinion of the right hon. gentleman, founded on the little information he had yet received, was, that any new statute, entirely subverting the present system of nightly watch, would not be found necessary or expedient. It would be evident that, should the inquiry proposed be instituted, a vast variety of local interests must be brought under contemplation, as they would be materially affected by any measures adopted. The parish of Paneras, for instance, was subdivided into no less than seven districts, and each district possessed a local act: it was for this reason that he had suggested the propriety of investigating this important but complicated subject, by means of a committee; not being, for various reasons, prepared to offer to the house

house any provisions in the shape of a bill. In the committee would certainly be included the names of the members for London, Westminster, Middlesex, and Surrey. He concluded by moving, "That a select committee be appointed to consider the state of the nightly watch in the metropolis, and the parishes adjacent."

Sir Samuel Romilly was by no means disposed to concur with the motion just read. He was much surprised at the confined terms in which it was couched; and after the transactions which had recently been witnessed in the metropolis, he was convinced that there were few individuals who did not expect a measure of much more extensive operation than that suggested. He should have thought that a committee to inquire into the causes of the late increase of felonies, or into the state of the police of the metropolis, would have been much better adapted to the exigencies of the case. Judging from the means of information which all possessed, and which might in a great measure be credited, no man could doubt for a moment, that crimes had of late been more frequent, and that those crimes were of a more atrocious character. The returns upon the table of the house, which he had thought it necessary to move for, sufficiently established the fact. It also appeared from them, that for the last five or six years, the increase of crimes in London and Middlesex only, had been gradual and regular; and gentlemen would be surprised to find how rapid it had been, including only those committed to take their trial for felonies of various kinds, at the Old Bailey.—In the year 1806, the number of criminals was 999; in 1807, 1017; in 1808,

1210; in 1809, 1342; in 1810, 1424. The number who were committed during the year 1811 had not been ascertained; but from this statement it appeared that, in five years only, the augmentation of offenders was to the extent of 525. It would be recollected also, that during all this period the country had been at war; and it was universally admitted, that, during the time of peace the commission of crimes was much more frequent, when a number of persons, in their capacities most useful and deserving subjects, were turned adrift, without any means of gaining a livelihood but by depredations upon society. At present it was found, that in time of war, and not of peace, offences against the criminal law were greatly multiplying. What then, it would be right to inquire, were the causes to which this augmentation was to be attributed? Many might be urged, but at present he would only notice a few, with a view to impress upon the house the absolute necessity of going into a more extensive examination of this subject than would be embraced by a committee appointed on the nightly watch. The first cause, perhaps, was the system of punishment, so long, and he would say, without meaning any offence to individuals, so obstinately persevered in: he did not allude to the punishment of death, so seldom inflicted, but to the punishment endured by criminals for lesser offences, promiscuous imprisonment, where men for comparatively slight and most heinous crimes, the youngest and the oldest villains, were confined together, particularly on board the hulks; and when they were discharged, no means of gaining a living was provided for them. After studying for

for years, these unfortunate persons were thrust out of these colleges of vice, to practice upon society the lessons they had learnt. He knew not whether the fact were so, but it was certainly a very general belief, that the crimes lately perpetrated were in a great measure owing to a recent unusual discharge of convicts from the hulks, to whom no moral instruction had been afforded, no trade had been taught, and no employment given. It would have been imagined that the late examples would have convinced ministers of the absolute necessity of a change in the criminal law: but upon this point it was not necessary, to enlarge, as a committee has been appointed upon the subject, whose report would be hereafter discussed, although he feared it would not embrace so wide a field as could be wished. The very system adopted at police offices tended to increase the crimes it was their object to prevent, particularly the custom of giving rewards for the detection of criminals of particular descriptions. It should be remembered, that upon the police officers alone depended the detection of criminals, who were acquainted with all the haunts of suspicious characters, and who had it in their power either to screen or to produce an object of public justice: if large rewards were offered upon every occasion, it was the interest not to prevent, but to multiply criminals, and to defer producing them until it was found necessary to offer a bounty for their conviction. Such an injudicious system, which was first established by the 4th William and Mary, which offered a reward of 40*l.* on the punishment of a highwayman, and seconded by a statute of Queen Anne, could not be too much con-

demned. He admitted that police officers were, generally speaking, a very useful body of men; but unless it could be supposed that they would not be governed by the same feelings that actuate all the rest of mankind, but would be swayed only by a consciousness of what was their duty, he feared that the plan of screening criminals, for the sake of obtaining rewards subsequently offered, would still continue. The right honourable gentleman had talked of crimes of the barbarous nature lately witnessed in London, as matters of nightly occurrence abroad. On what data he had founded this assertion, it was impossible that he (sir S. Romilly) could ever guess, as in all the books he had ever read, or in the countries he had travelled, he had not found it to be the fact. If Paris were alluded to, he would say, after visiting it several times during his life, he did not believe that it was now, or ever had been the case, and that there was no kingdom where crimes of the blackest kind were committed with greater insolence and audacity than in Great Britain. Not only was a nightly watch necessary, but a daily watch was equally important; for frequent instances of robberies occurred almost at noon day, and yet this circumstances seemed never to have entered the mind of the right honourable gentleman. A third cause of the increase of offenders was certainly the lottery, which reduced thousands to poverty, the mother of all crimes: could it be contended, that because the lottery supplied the paltry sum of 500,000*l.* a year, it was to be continued? He did not wish to mingle political dissention in a question of this kind; but he could not avoid saying, that it was not the supply thus gained

gained that was the inducement; it must be attributed to the various offices of commissioners and others that were thereby placed at the disposal of the minister. The principal means of preventing crime, after all, was the instruction of the lower classes; opening their minds to a new sphere, showing new sources of happiness, and pointing out new means of gaining a subsistence. He trusted that the motion put from the chair would be withdrawn, and submitted in a much more comprehensive form.

Mr. William Smith, after complimenting sir Samuel Romilly on the speech just delivered, expressed his disappointment that he had not concluded by moving an amendment to the proposal of the right honourable gentleman, as he thought a much more extensive field of inquiry ought to be entered upon. No man who attended to the circumstances of the late barbarous outrages on the families of Messrs. Marr and Williamson, as well as to the lesser offences since committed, could doubt but that they were perpetrated by a gang of villains, of whom few or no traces had yet been discovered: if the night watch had been in its best state, how, he inquired, could it have led to the detection of the murderers? The attention of the House was about to be directed to a point of comparative little importance. However confined the motion proposed might be, he was far from wishing that the state of the night watch should be excluded from the attention of the committee, since it was a matter that deserved serious inquiry, from the evils that had crept into it.

The chancellor of the exchequer considered the present question as one of no ordinary importance,

and he could not permit it to occupy the attention of the house without bestowing a few words upon it. He confessed that he had heard nothing from the gentlemen on the opposite side, which appeared to him materially to affect the general scope of his right honourable friend's motion, which embraced a sufficiency of topics for the consideration of the committee, and those topics of great magnitude and interest. The motion, indeed, as it stood now, went to provide a practical remedy for a practical evil; and he deprecated any admixture of theoretical views, which could only clog and encumber the question in its present form. In adverting, however, to the difference of opinion which the question had excited, he was not surprised; for it was one that involved the most material interests of the metropolis, and which, therefore, could hardly be expected, from its scope, to be discussed with any thing like unanimity, or with dispatch. The first business, however, was to provide, as soon as possible, a practical remedy for what was certainly a practical evil; and he wished, therefore, that this primary object might not be embarrassed by any complication of topics, or by any consideration of those remote and theoretical causes of the late alarming increase of offences. With regard to what had been said by an honourable member respecting the offering rewards for the apprehension of offenders, much he thought might be urged upon that subject; and with him indeed it was a question, not whether those rewards should be abolished, but whether they should not be increased; whether they should not be graduated, and given in an inverse ratio to what they now are,

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are, namely, a greater reward for the apprehension of a criminal before he arrives at that pitch of enormity which now calls forth a high reward, than after he had attained to that eminence in vice. All this, however, must be matter of mature and deliberate discussion. In referring to the supposed association of the police officers with those whom they were only waiting to pounce upon as their prey, when they were arrived at due maturity in wickedness, it was an assertion which might or might not be true, he could not pretend to say ; but it was one which had been constantly made from the time of Jonathan Wild to the present moment. He could not, however, bring himself to believe that any thing was to be ascribed to the influence of the rewards offered, in producing that increase of offences which was now become so notorious. In respect to the recent murders, (the perpetration of which was a thing which no nightly watch, however vigilant, nor any system of police, however perfect, could have prevented,) the best check, indeed, upon such enormities, was to be found in the general sentiment of mankind, which hunts down such offences by the cry of universal abhorrence. He concluded by observing, that he had heard nothing advanced against the motion of his right honourable friend, as it stood, which could be at all considered as affecting it. There might, indeed, be a motive why the house should carry its inquiries further ; but the present motion, as far as it went, was practically good, and he did not wish to see the attention of the committee embarrassed by implicating it with other considerations.

Mr. Abercrombie rose, not to

state any objection to the motion itself, but to the narrow scope which it embraced. He adverted to the general increase of offences which had been taking place for some time past; and he professed his opinion that the nightly watch, however efficiently it might be constituted, would not be sufficient to meet the evil. How, indeed, was the improvement of the nightly watch to introduce a better system of police ? And he was thoroughly convinced, that what was wanted was not merely a reformation of the nightly watch, but a general improvement of the police of the country. - He therefore proposed an amendment, that the committee should inquire into the state of the police, as well as that of the nightly watch. To this Mr. Ryder assented.

Sir Francis Burdett observed, that he had not the slightest objection to make to the present motion as a practical remedy for a practical evil, and he thought that the nightly watch might be constituted in such an effective manner as almost to supersede the necessity of a police. He did not see, indeed, why, instead of a hired watch, every householder might not, in regular rotation, form the watch of their respective parishes, as was, in some sort, the practice of our ancestors. This system would, besides, have the advantage of forming a kind of military education ; a very gentle one, indeed, but yet such a one as might produce those habits in the people which would be of incalculable advantage in the event of an invasion, or of any popular tumults. Hoping, therefore, that some such plan might be in the contemplation of the committee, the motion should have his cordial support.

Mr. Sheridan began by animadverting upon what appeared to him

to be the extraordinary conduct of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder) upon a subject of such delicacy and importance. After the alarms that the recent atrocities had spread through every part of the metropolis—after the general and feverish anxiety of the public for redress and protection, down came the right honourable gentleman to that house, and, in order to remove at once and effectually all alarm and anxiety whatever, solemnly proposes that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the nightly watch. This would have been at any time the meekest of all meek propositions; but at the present crisis it was not only the meekest, but he must beg pardon if he added, the silliest proposition that could possibly have been made. The state of the nightly watch! Why, what became of the act of parliament that created in each parish the appointment and control of those watchmen? Were not the provisions of that act sufficient, if carried into effect, to provide for and maintain the peace of the metropolis? And if they were, had the magistrates, or those persons intrusted with carrying those provisions into effect, done their duty? Had not the several parishes ample powers to enforce the regulations of the act, and secure their respective peace and safety? But though, by the laws, the power was lodged in each parish, they were now called upon to inquire into the state of the nightly watch. Why not go on, and move for an inquiry into the state of the parish nurseries? But the right honourable secretary came before them brim-full of information; he told them that the act required able-bodied watchmen; and then he told them that the men employed

were not able-bodied, because, forsooth, they were weak, old and decrepid—very satisfactory reasons certainly why they could not be very active, young and vigilant; and then the right honourable gentleman told them further, that these sort of men were unfit for their situations; that the service, in short, wanted recruits; and that as at present there was no watch to protect the city at night, therefore they ought to proceed, with all due deliberation, to inquire into the state of the nightly watch. When the horrible atrocities were first committed in the neighbourhood of Shadwell, they all remembered how eager vulgar prejudice was to fasten upon a foreigner—people grew all of a sudden thoroughly persuaded that there was evidence upon the face of those murders to show that they were perpetrated by Portuguese, and by none but Portuguese:—Oh! who could do it but Portuguese? was the general cry. Prejudice, however, did not long stand still upon the Portuguese. The next tribe of foreigners arraigned and convicted, were the Irish—it was nothing but an Irish murder, and could have been done only by Irishmen. Beastly as this prejudice was, the Shadwell magistracy were not ashamed to act up to it in all the meanness and bigotry of its indignant spirit, viewing the murder in no less a light than that of a popish plot. They commenced an indiscriminate hunt after the Irish people: when they had them before them, in order to come at once to the plot, they began with the deep leader of “Are you a papist?” or, “If you deny that you are, show that you don’t know how to cross yourself.” Amidst this general suspicion of aliens and Irishmen, he wished to know if

the right honourable gentleman thought it necessary to resort to the Alien office. He asked if he had ever any consultation upon this subject with the gentleman at the head of the Alien office. Had he asked Mr. Reeves one question about this formidable proposition of inquiring into the state of the nightly watch? He asked that right honourable gentleman, if he had ever been in the same room with Mr. Reeves? if he had ever seen him for the last year and a half? From this one circumstance the house would see what sort of a head of police they had in their present state secretary for the home department. Did he consult with the head of the Alien office? Did he consult with the proper officers of the districts? Did he consult with the police magistrates of any of the divisions? Did he consult with any one likely to give him information upon the subject? If he did not, and he (Mr. Sheridan) believed he did not, then was it to be the less wondered at, that the right honourable secretary for the home department had thought it sufficient, upon such an occasion, to be delivered of his solemn proposition for inquiring into the state and condition of the nightly watch? But grave and solemn as this proposition was, the right honourable secretary had agreed to abandon it, and for what? An amendment, that was as odd, and a new proposition for amending an original motion, as any he had ever heard proposed. In general, an amendment was some small addition to, or alteration of, the words of the original motion—but here the original motion was but a small scrap of the amendment—it was like tacking the loaf to the crust, and not the crust to the loaf; so that his learned friend's large loaf had quite hid

from their view the morsel of bread the right honourable secretary proposed for their relief. It was pretty much in the same way as if the original motion had been for a committee to inquire into the amount of the pitch and tar lodged in one of his majesty's dock-yards; whereupon it should be proposed to move as an amendment, that said committee be further instructed to inquire into the state of the naval stores, victualling, manning, stations, equipment, successes, and general discipline of his majesty's navy. As to the original motion in the case before the house, the state of the nightly watch of this city, it could be inquired into within three hours; but the general state of the police of the country could not be inquired into satisfactorily within as many months. What was to be done in the interval? In the year 1780, he had submitted to that house a motion on the then state of the police; and when he complained of the conduct of the lord lieutenant of the county, for whom, however, he entertained a great personal respect, the repartee he got in return was, being told that himself, and his friend general Fitzpatrick and general Burgoyne, were put in the commissions of the peace, and were bound to do their duty—so that every man who attempted to complain was threatened to be made a magistrate of. But was there not some inherent vice in the system? Was there no jobbing in the appointment of some of those magistrates? Will the right honourable gentleman say that there are not jobs in the making of those appointments? It was an invidious thing to mention names. He would, however, name those who were in every respect exempted from such an imputation:—Mr. Graham, for instance,

instance, was a most useful and respectable magistrate, and one who had rendered the public considerable services in his conduct in the superintendence of the hulks. He thought too that the magistrates of Bow-street had been uniformly active and vigilant. But what should he say of the magistrates of Shadwell? How should he attempt to describe a conduct, in which folly and rashness were constantly endeavouring to make amends for the grossest neglect of duty? At one time we saw them mixing in the indiscriminate cry of the mob, and greedily indulging in the prodigality of seizing upon every man with a torn coat and a dirty shirt, and at another leaving Williams with all means sufficient to commit self-murder. Let one fact speak more strongly than words could do to their general conduct. It was now very well known that this Williams was *not* an Irishman; that not only no one circumstance came out to justify that suspicion, but all that did come out proved him not to have been an Irishman. However, the prejudice of the hour would have him an Irishman, and as it was once bruited about, it was infallibly believed. In the midst of the operation of this prejudice, seven unfortunate Irishmen were taken up upon the strong suspicion of foul play; they were examined, and after having been made to cross themselves, they were confined together in a close room below. The next evening some noise was heard, and perhaps no very moderate one. The magistrates inquired into the cause of this uproar, and they were of course told, "Oh! 'tis nothing but those horrid Irish, who can never be quiet." It turned out, however, that, in this instance at least, those Irishmen had no great cause

to be contented; for they had been confined in this hole of a room for 22 hours without a bed to lie upon, or a morsel of bread, or a drop of water to refresh them. And what did the magistrates do? They recollected luckily the circumstance, and told their officers, "Do for God's sake get those fellows some bread and cheese, and then bring them before us, and we will apologize for the trouble we have given them, and discharge them." This, he supposed, was what some people would call vigour. But giving them all due credit for such vigour, where was the vigour, the justice, the moral, or the decency, in that abominable spectacle with which they fed the worst appetites of the mob in the unseemly exhibition of the dead body to the multitude? Did they want to teach the people to "prey upon carcases?" Could it add to the sanctity of justice to make the passions of a mob hurry it to riot upon a senseless carcase? Was there that certainty upon which alone justice ought to act, to make such a spectacle fit? Should the people deal out the vengeance of the law by witnessing the formal procession of mangled limbs and putrid carcases? But what other was the true motive of this parade of the carcase, and the maul, and the chisel? what but a poor artifice to cover their own scandalous neglect? Why did they suffer that man to be alone? Why did they suffer him to be three days alone? Though they knew that there was a bar across the top of his dungeon, and that he wore handkerchiefs and garters, the wonder was that they did not give general orders to furnish the prisoner with a nightly supply of razors and pistols. But what could be said too extravagant, of their neglect and remissness, when

it should be known that this wretch was suffered to possess himself of a sharp piece of iron, which was found in his pocket the morning after he hanged himself! and yet after all this, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) begged to be distinctly understood, when he agreed to the amendment, that he did not thereby mean to affix the smallest imputation to the conduct of the magistracy! He concluded by stating, that he had formerly thought much upon the subject of the police; and that, as the right honourable secretary had shown to-night that he had not as yet thought at all upon the subject, he begged that the right honourable gentleman would begin to think of it with all possible dispatch, at least before he again came down to the house to move for an inquiry into the state and condition of the nightly watch.

Mr. Stephen thought the magistrates of the police office, Shadwell, had been too harshly attacked by the right honourable gentleman opposite. He had no personal knowledge of any one of them; but he could not help feeling that they had been placed in a very unpleasant situation, in a situation in which they had a most arduous duty to perform, and in a situation of such a nature that it entitled them to compassion. From all the information he had obtained on the subject, he could not but believe the wretch who had destroyed himself in confinement, to be the monster who had perpetrated the bloody deeds of which he was accused; and much as he deplored his premature death, he sincerely rejoiced that he had not escaped with impunity. One statement made by the right honourable gentleman, if well founded, was of too serious a nature not to call forth the strongest repro-

bation of the magistrates. If they had been so cruel and unjust as to make themselves panders to national prejudice; if, in the slightest degree, they had treated persons in custody with greater rigour because they were Irishmen, than would otherwise have been deemed expedient, God forbid that he should stand up as their apologist! It ought, however, to be remembered, that if several Irish persons had been taken up on suspicion, many of our own countrymen had also been charged with the same crime, and he hoped no distinction of the nature alluded to had in any instance been made. He admitted that the magistrates might justly be charged with oversight, in neglecting to appoint some one to watch Williams, when he was in prison, to prevent his committing suicide; but he denied that they were in possession of all the information when they committed Williams to Cold-Bath-fields, which they subsequently acted upon after his death. Many circumstances, after he had destroyed himself, and before he was buried, were brought forward, which more strongly impressed on his mind the guilt of Williams, than any thing which had previously transpired. Believing, as he did, that Williams was the murderer, he thought it was right to make a public exhibition of his body, as, independent of other considerations, it might be expected in some degree to tranquillize the agitated public mind, by making it generally felt that the murderer was no more, of whose former deeds the inhabitants of that neighbourhood had so long been in such a state of dreadful apprehension. He was of opinion that no measures could be suggested that would prevent such massacres as had taken place in the cases of Marr and Williamson, if a
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few ruffians like Williams were bent on so diabolical an act. But it was the object of his friend to diminish the number of burglaries which daily and nightly took place, and which had of late been observed to increase in the metropolis and its vicinity. With a view to these, he thought something of good might surely be effected by inquiring strictly into the state of the nightly watch. Adverting to what had been said on the effects of the lottery, he stated it to be his opinion, that the evil did not originate there, as was supposed. The evil formerly felt and complained of as arising from lotteries had, he thought, been in a great measure done away within the last two or three years, by the arrangement made by the chancellor of the exchequer.

The amendment was then put and carried, and the members for London, Westminster, Surrey, and Middlesex, with Mr. secretary Ryder and others, were appointed of the committee. But the business afterwards fell to the ground.

Jan. 21. Mr. Brougham, in consequence of previous notice, rose to call the attention of the house to the droits of admiralty obtained and applied by the crown without any grant from or check by the two other branches of the constitution. The importance of this subject, in a house which owes its whole privilege of protecting the rights of the people to the great fundamental power of affording or withholding supplies, need only be stated, to produce a universal admission, more especially at this period, when arrangements were making for the civil administration of the royal authority. He lamented, with unfeigned diffidence, that it should have fallen to his lot to bring forward a question of such

acknowledged magnitude, deficient as he was both in the learning or eloquence possessed by so many honourable friends by whom he was surrounded. The subject had been more than once incidentally discussed, but never until now had been brought forward as a distinct substantive motion, however deserving it was of separate and undivided attention. It was now to be determined, whether, by the law and constitution of the realm, funds of an enormous amount are to be vested in the crown, for its sole and distinct use, as a private patrimony disposable by the crown? whether the crown can raise money without the grant of parliament, and can apply that money so raised, without consulting or being responsible to parliament? And when in future we talked of the privileges of parliament, of the prerogatives of the crown, or of the rights of the subject, we should take care to whom we applied those gaudy but inappropriate distinctions. It was well known from papers on the table, that there were several sources from whence the enormous sums, the subject of this motion, were drawn. The first was the duchy of Cornwall, the funds arising from which, in defect of a duke of Cornwall, under grant of Edward III. devolved to the crown, and never had been less than 13,000*l.* a year; and as the fines incurred during the minority of the prince of Wales amounted to more than 150,000*l.*, nearly half a million of money accrued to the king in that period. The proceeds from the duchy of Lancaster had not been so exactly ascertained; but the chancellor of the exchequer had admitted that they were considerable. The duty of 4½ per cent. raised in Barbadoes and the

Leeward Islands was likewise extremely productive, for on an average of five years ending in 1808 it appears to be 35,000*l.* per annum, and in 1809 it had amounted to 61,000*l.* The origin of this duty it was unnecessary to detail; and as to its continuance, it was sufficient to say that no tax had ever proved more injurious, as was proved by the state of the trade to those islands. The excess of the Scotch revenue was another minor spring, producing 180,000*l.*; but the vast fountain from whence this immense wealth flowed, was the droits of the crown, and the droits of the king as lord high admiral. This fountain derived its waters from various sources;—from wreck, from derelict, and from forfeited goods by pirates, but mainly from prizes, from ships detained in our ports on a declaration of war, from captures made before the declaration of prize, which usually followed the declaration of war immediately, and from non-commissioned captures. By the last returns that had been made on the 13th of May, 1810, it appears that the amount then was 7,344,000*l.*, which had been paid into the hands of the registrar of the court of admiralty, of the cashier of the bank of England, and of the receiver-general of droits, or of different persons appointed at the will and pleasure of the crown for such purpose. Since the 13th of May, 1810, there was every reason to believe that great additions had been made to this amount; and he was confident that he should not exceed the actual net produce of the fund, if he stated it in round numbers at no less than eight millions sterling. Thus then it appeared that the crown was receiving an annual revenue of more than 180,000*l.* and a capital sum

said to be vested in the crown, ascending to the enormous sum of eight millions. The questions then to be decided were these—Whether by law the crown is separately possessor of these funds? and supposing that by law the crown is so separately possessed, whether it is safe for the constitution that it shall be any longer law? The honourable member then observed, that they who maintained the affirmative of the first proposition would have a task of no ordinary difficulty to perform. It was a thing highly dangerous, and he would say highly unconstitutional, that funds of such enormous value as those to which he had alluded, should be at the disposal of the crown, without any act of parliament authorizing such disposal. They were funds wholly appropriated to the crown; the crown possessed them, and no one was accountable for their application. No limit whatever was imposed upon the uses to which these funds might be applied; they might be lavished upon a favourite mistress; they might be wasted upon a favourite minister; they might be employed in the furtherance of undue elections and undue influence in that house; they might be squandered away in caprice, and in any manner, without any responsibility attaching to any person or persons concerned in them. This was what might be done, and what they who believed the possession of such funds by the crown to be legal, had to defend. But what was the obvious tendency of such a doctrine? It put an end at once to the great use of parliaments; to the salutary check exercised by them in refusing to grant supplies, when any grievance existed the redress of which they desired; and it transformed into a mere mockery the asking of supplies by the

the crown from that house, while much greater supplies may be raised and exercised without control by the servants of the crown. If this doctrine be maintained, all that we hear of the privileges of parliament is but mere words; in real fact, the crown need not come to parliament for its supplies, for it has means of obtaining them by ways that are quite independent of any legislative provisions. He was unwilling to think, however, that such a doctrine could be a constitutional one, and he would briefly state the grounds upon which he founded his doubts. In adverting to the various sources of royal revenue in the early periods of our history, he did not mean to dispute the general maxim, that all prize is vested in the crown; and a great law officer had, on a very recent occasion, declared that prize was the very creature of the crown. Yet in the statute of Edward II. which relates to the regalia, no mention is made of prize as a peculiar property of the crown, though various other droits are, in that statute, distinctly declared and enumerated; and in the statute of the second of Richard II. all prize taken at sea is expressly given to the captors. These were legal facts, not indeed to be found in ordinary statute books, but they might be seen in lord chief justice Hale. Leaving the general question, however, he would ask in what shape were these droits vested in the crown? They were so vested (and all the great law authorities prove the fact), for the attainment of certain specific purposes; and the specific purpose in this case was the guarding and maintaining the rights and privileges of the seas. Hence lord Coke has declared, that tonnage and poundage pertaineth to the lord high admiral, and there

have been times when private adventurers exercised the duties of this station in consideration of tonnage and poundage. This particularly happened in the 7th and 9th of Henry IV. when private merchants became the safeguards of the seas. In the celebrated case of ship money it was first laid down, in argument, that the natural profits of the sea are for guarding the sea: and this doctrine was maintained by baron Weston, and by all the great law authorities of the time, while lord Coke expressly declares that tonnage and poundage were always paid specifically for the safe-guard of the seas.—[Here the honourable member cited various declarations from the works of the most eminent legal writers, in corroboration of this opinion].—All these learned persons, continued the honourable member, draw no distinction between tonnage and poundage, or those funds granted by parliament, and wrecks, king's fish, treasure trove, &c. They make no distinction whatever, no difference between the two classes of supplies. Before, however, he dismissed this subject, he would refer to a recent decision of the celebrated judge who now holds, to the general benefit of the country, the situation of judge of the high court of admiralty, in which he had laid down the principle, that all prize belongs to the crown, in the following legal maxim, *Capta bello cedunt reipublicæ*. The honourable member then adverted to the gradual changes which have been taking place in the mode of raising the revenues of the crown, and showed why it was no longer necessary that it should possess such funds as those to which he now alluded. The fund now particularly under consideration, he added, gave, in the first place, to the crown an interest in going to war.

war. It gave an interest not merely in the commencing hostilities, but it gave an interest in commencing them in a way the least honourable to the national character, the least consistent with that good faith, candour, and magnanimity, which, until the present times, formed such proud and venerable features in the character of the English people.—He would not dwell upon the Copenhagen expedition, because he did not believe that, however it may have mingled, it formed the chief or the only motive of that (as he deemed it) unprincipled and ill-fated enterprise. But he would mention an event, as to the true origin of which no trace of doubt existed in his mind, the capture of the Spanish frigates. He would recall to the recollection of the house, the precise time when that affair took place—he would remind them that it was at a period when the Spanish envoy in London and the British ambassador at Madrid were employed in carrying on a negotiation, and then ask them if they could hesitate to believe that a license issuing under these circumstances, to make war on unoffending merchantmen, to destroy and burn them before any declaration of hostilities, and to bring the hulks and cargoes of the vessels into British ports, could have possibly sprung from any other cause, or have been directed to any other object?—But admitting, what in fact he never would admit, that the design was as pure as the right honourable gentleman opposite might assert it to be, was it not enough to induce them to condemn that institution as bad, and unfit to exist, which served at least to communicate suspicion, and to justify foreigners, as well as the subjects of this government, in believing, that a sordid principle had led to the pillage of foreign

vessels, and the massacre of their crews, and had at once been the cause of staining the national character, and plunging the country into all the evils attendant on a state of war? What more likely than suspicions of this kind to sow dissention at home, to embitter animosities abroad, and alienate every country from our interest? It was war of this nature which had disgraced the reign of Henry VII., perhaps the meanest and most rapacious of the race of English kings. These wars had been likened by lord Bacon “to a mixed metal, a treasure made up of a strange ore, in which iron appeared on the surface, but gold and silver were at the bottom.” If then he had been correct in estimating the ordinary revenues of the crown at the sum of 180,000*l.* per annum, and if he had been right in looking, not indeed at the person who wore the crown, because that was unconstitutional doctrine, but at ministers, and if not ministers at favourites, as men liable to err, it was unnecessary to press his argument further. The honourable and learned member concluded a perspicuous and eloquent speech, by apologizing for the time he had taken up, and observing, that at a time when a new arrangement was about to be settled with the executive, he thought the subject of much too great importance to be neglected by the house of commons, which had the right, a right which it was bound to exercise, of carrying into effect and practice those limitations, and that control, that could alone make an English king in fact what he is in theory—a limited monarch. He then moved some resolutions, which were in substance as follows:—
“That the possession by the crown of the disposal of so large a sum of money as that produced by the
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the droits of admiralty, without any control over them by parliament, is highly unconstitutional, dangerous to our liberties, and destructive and subversive of the privileges of parliament." The resolutions went on to state the amount and application of these funds, and proposed that a committee be immediately appointed to consider of the best means of withdrawing the droits of admiralty from the management of the crown, and rendering them applicable to the exigencies of the state.

Mr. Brand rose to second the motion. He thought it was absolutely necessary to take this subject into their consideration, before the house could possibly form a judgement with respect to the civil list, whether it was sufficient or not; and he, for one, was not willing to vote a shilling more for the purposes of the civil list, without knowing how much of this fund might be properly applied to the purposes of the civil list.

Mr. Courtenay said, that he differed very widely from the honourable mover with respect to the greater part of the general reasoning. He could not wholly agree with those who thought the constitution could not exist if the monarch were not a mere stipendiary king, with an income fixed by parliament, and accountable to parliament for every shilling of his income. He thought, where a certain allowance had been fixed in the commencement of this reign, that it would be too much to require that the sovereign should be dependent on the parliament for that gradual but regular increase of his expensiture, which necessarily took place yearly, from the great depreciation of money, or the great increase of prices. Every gentleman who kept a house, must

from his own experience be sensible of this perpetual increase of prices. He believed the honourable gentleman could show no instance of a sovereign of this country, who was ever restricted in that manner as to be obliged to account for every shilling of his income and expenditure. He, however, by no means wished to under-rate the principle of the necessity of the crown being dependent on parliament for its income; but, until some new arrangement was made (which in case of the demise of the crown and the succession of the prince to the throne must necessarily be made), he thought it the best way to supply the necessary deficiency of the civil list out of this fund.

The attorney-general spoke on the same side, as did Mr. Stephen.

Mr. Giddy said, that though it was not likely that these funds should be prostituted to unworthy purposes, still this was one of those theoretical cases which they were called to guard against. His right honourable and learned friend had said that a bargain, as it were, had been made with his majesty, and that it was not fit that it should be altered during the present reign. But, when the house was called on to make fresh provision for the crown, it was proper that they should look to the revenues which belonged to it. As already said, he looked upon this fund as implying co-relative duties; and, to his mind, it would be more becoming, and the crown would be more dignified by the adding of this fund to the public stock, and by having a provision in lieu of it, made by parliament, such as should be necessary to support the magnificence of the crown.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the question before the house naturally

naturally resolved itself into the legality of the existence of this fund, and the propriety of its continuance; and with regard to the legality, he was really astonished that any lawyer should have thought proper to state in that house, because the droits of admiralty were not mentioned in the statute *de prerogativa regis*, that therefore they were illegal. In what respect did the droits of admiralty differ from other prizes? All prizes whatever were vested in the crown. The fact is, that there had not been a statute passed since the reign of queen Anne, in which the right of the crown had not been recognised by parliament. Did he mean to say that it was necessary it should have been mentioned in that statute? He would refer him to the various prize acts which had from time to time been passed. If the droits of admiralty were not vested in the crown, to whom then did they belong? In whom were they invested before the establishment of the civil list? But the civil list acts did take this property from the crown. On the grants in the civil list act, there were parts of the royal revenue retained by the crown, and among others the droits of admiralty; but the arguments of the honourable and learned gentleman would go to leave so much in the situation of a privy purse, and to take out the present. Now where was the accuracy of distinguishing these droits from the other reserved parts of the revenue, from the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, for instance? It was not exactly as the honourable and learned gentleman had stated, that the magnitude of these droits in former times was never considerable; for the droits which arose out of the six years' war were really of some size, as six or seven hundred

thousand pounds were in existence at the period when the civil list act passed, which were afterwards granted to that fund, in the same manner as the proceeds in the Spanish or Dutch cases alluded to, had been applied to clearing off the debts on that fund. It was material that a question of this nature should rest on a proper foundation; but in the present case, the foundation on which the honourable and learned gentleman stood, had been taken from under him by those gentlemen who had adopted his side of the argument. They had disclaimed any intention of stating any instances of abuse, and they merely contended that there was a liability to abuse; but a very material part of the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman, which, whatever impression it might make on the house, was certainly calculated to make an impression out of it, was, that the government of this country had been guilty of successive acts of abuse—that, if any distinguished character was to be rewarded, the ministry came before parliament with the claim; but if any minion, who might excite disgust in every person who heard his name, was to be rewarded, it was done out of the droits of admiralty. But what was singular enough was, that the very first item of the debts of the civil list which had been paid from the droits—the very first item of this gross misapplication, at which all England must be astonished, was done by authority of those most unexceptionable, by those most constitutional politicians, Mr. Fox and lord Grenville.—He was not objecting to the appropriation, nor did he wish to retaliate any charge upon them; but when it so happened that that administration, of whose principles the honourable and learned gentleman

gentleman was known to be a professed admirer, was the administration which set the first example of that misapplication, and that such a practice had been countenanced by those unexceptionable characters in his estimation; this was rather a material circumstance against his argument, and was at least entitled to some consideration from him. Really, however, to do the honourable and learned gentleman justice, he did not believe that when he made the present motion he was aware of that circumstance.

Sir Francis Burdett said it was in the nature of man to desire power, and nothing could be more constitutional than to watch with an eye of jealousy over every means of revenue which was not under the control of parliament. It was a fact, that a king might as king be now poor, with his civil list in debt, yet with private property to a very considerable amount. He really could not see, though the king might have right to this property, *de jure coram*, that he could hold any property on any other tenure than for the tenure of the public. He had no right to put money into his own pocket. It was impossible to say how this money might be disposed of. It had been said it might be given to minions and mistresses; but might it not also be given to such persons as members of parliament? He might first buy all the saleable boroughs, and then procure such a parliament as would willingly sanction the most unjust measures. He must with sorrow confess, that it appeared to him that the original splendour of the crown had been diminished, and that several establishments had been laid aside, while more than three millions had been paid to the civil list. Mr. Bankes's salutary bill had been

never acted on. He maintained that the whole of the droits of admiralty ought to go to the captors; and that those who bear the burthen of the war ought to have the benefit of it. The public, as they were at all the expense, ought to be entitled to the control of what arises from the war. Upon the present system, it might happen that a civil list might be burthened with debt, while a king might engross half the landed estates in the kingdom, as his private property.

Several other members spoke; when the question was put on Mr. Brougham's motion, Ayes 26
Noes, 94

Majority 68

Jan. 23. Lord Folkestone—[the clerk at the table having read the petition of Mary Ann Dickson]—said, that it was not because his motion would be confined to the mere case of the petitioner, that he had wished the petition they had just heard to be read, but in order to open to the consideration of the house the nature and extent of the abuses to which he now rose to call their attention. When he first read the petitioner's statement of the difficulties and grievous hardships to which she had been exposed, he did not think that they made a fit case to bring before parliament, because he could not suppose that the laws of the country were inadequate to the remedy of evils so oppressive and unjust. When, however, upon further inquiry, he found that there was actually no remedy whatever, he was induced to examine into the nature, origin, and general history of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions; and the result of that inquiry impressed him with a conviction of the necessity of par-

parliamentary interposition to rescue the subject from their unconstitutional, unknown, and exorbitant power. He should take a brief outline of their history.—Here the noble lord entered into a summary of the rise, growth, and struggles of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in this country, from the Norman conquest. Before that conquest, he stated that the temporal and spiritual jurisdictions were not separated; they sat in the same court, and went hand in hand together in the joint discharge of their respective duties; they presided together in the hundred and in the county courts: but at the period of the conquest a sudden and violent change was effected. What was his motive for separating them, whether it was to be traced to his love for the fashions of his own country, or that he wished, in separating those jurisdictions, to abate the gothic defence which the institutions of our ancestors had reared around the subject's safety in trial by jury; whatever might have been his motive, it is certain their separation did lay the foundation of that future power at which the ecclesiastical jurisdictions subsequently arrived. It was therefore evident that this jurisdiction owes its origin to a design on the part of a successful invader, to overthrow our ancient establishments, and that it had been used as efficient means to fit the people of this country for easy subjection to foreign yoke. This was in itself a circumstance that did not seem to recommend such jurisdictions. The power established in the reign of William I. increased during the reign of William II. and continued still further to advance during the reign of Henry I. when the archbishop of Canterbury communicated to that monarch, that the right of appoint-

ing to sees and benefices lay no longer in him, but in the pope, who had assumed it to himself. In the turbulent times of king Stephen they were busied in taking every opportunity to exercise their power. In the year 1141, after declaring the empress Maude sovereign, they reversed their own order, and established Stephen on the throne; and every one was aware of the enormous growth of their power in the reign of even so vigorous a monarch as Henry II. who was, after so many strong but unavailing struggles, obliged to yield to the then archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas à Becket. Among the articles passed in the parliament of Clarendon, were six, securing to the clergy privileges to an enormous extent; one of these was, that every person chargeable with an offence against an ecclesiastic was to be tried before a bishop; and another was, to exempt all ecclesiastics from being answerable to any other than ecclesiastical jurisdictions. After pursuing the progressive advancement of these jurisdictions through the successive reigns of Richard I. John, Henry III. Edward I. II. and III. Richard II. and Henry IV. the noble lord passed over to the Reformation, when the clergy not being priests were made subservient to the civil power, though the dean of Winchester had preached against it, and had said in his sermon that all who had a hand in that act were liable to ecclesiastical censure: a conference ensued between the clergy and laity, of which Henry himself bore a part. The canons that were revised by the 32 commissioners, at the head of which was archbishop Cranmer, had been condemned by that commission, and yet they were some of them substantially in force at this moment. In later pe-
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riods of our history nothing had been done to bring these jurisdictions within proper bounds, but the 26th of George I. and the 27th of George III. As to the existing grounds of complaint, he thought one was, that in general the persons holding situations were not men of legal habits, nor of the necessary information. He knew, however, that to this, as a general censure, there were some eminent exceptions, and this was an objection of greater force when the power of those courts was considered: they could excommunicate, and excommunication not only imposed imprisonment under the act, but no person excommunicated could bring an action, by an advocate, witness, or juror; and if he died under the excommunication he was denied christian burial. He then proceeded to state some modern cases of extreme hardship: the first was that of a person of Bristol, who, after having been in prison for two years and a half, had to pay a taxed cost of 11*l.* 12*s.* The writ by virtue of which she had been arrested had been addressed to the sheriff of Bristol, though the prisoner was taken to Gloucester gaol, owing to an erasure of the name of the prison. If this alteration was allowable, why not change the name of the person against whom the writ had been issued? There was no knowing where an abuse of this kind might stop. He should now state other instances. His lordship proceeded to state a variety of cases which he conceived to be of peculiar hardship. A man of the name of Robins, charged with the abstraction of tithes, was proceeded against for a sum less than 40*s.* and, after a certain time, was pronounced to have been contumacious for not appearing. He was in consequence excommunicated, was im-

prisoned, and was ultimately liberated on payment of the costs, amounting to 35*l.* There was a case which his lordship esteemed more than usually hard: Thomas Lewis was excommunicated for contumacy, in not answering in writing. This was a pauper matter of 6*s.*; and being unable to pay the costs, he was excommunicated and sent to gaol, where he lay for upwards of three years, when at length his release was obtained on payment of the costs by his son. He asked, was it becoming that persons should be punished in this manner for imaginary offences? The uncertainty of obtaining justice too, in this court, he contended, was equal to a denial of justice altogether. In another case, the costs against a man and his wife amounted to 52*l.* In a case of defamation, where the defendant was excommunicated for not answering, the costs against him amounted to 56*l.* So it appeared that the amount of these punishments, for he could call them nothing else, was extremely uncertain; and that the obtaining of costs was really the object which was contended for, instead of the correction of morals. In these courts, his lordship could not help observing, there was always to be found a commutation for penance and excommunication. So much so was this the case, that sir W. Blackstone, in speaking of the proceedings of that court, says, that property is the best medicine for the diseases occurring in that court. In all cases where penance or excommunication was enjoined, they were sufficiently satisfied by the payment of costs; and if this atonement was made, the good of souls was entirely disregarded. In the distant courts no attention was even paid to the absolution of souls, nor did it seem that they were aware

aware even that such a process was required. It was evident, however, that the same publicity given to the excommunication ought to be given to the absolution. This his lordship had no doubt was to be attributed to the ignorance of those persons as to what was their duty; but still the effect of it was such as the house was called on to check. As to the case of Mary Ann Dickson, on which he had grounded his present application to the house, it was to be observed that she was a minor. This defect, however, it might be alleged, had been cured by her appearance. That non-appearance was a crime of a very deadly dye, he found, from recurring to a case where a person, for not appearing to a citation, had been confined for three years and a half. Under the civil law, however, he understood, a person who was a minor was not liable to be sued, and was not even liable in costs. So futile even was it held to sue a minor in an ecclesiastical court, that he found an instance where it was held, that a person called on to appear for accusing another of cruelty and adultery, could not be compelled to appear, in respect of minority. This being so, he could hardly think that a case could be conceived in which a minor could be rendered answerable in a civil law court. There was another great irregularity in this case of Mary Ann Dickson. She was directed to do penance generally, but she was not told in what respect she was to do it; and her mother applied again and again to be informed in what manner her daughter should purge herself; but this information was denied her. His lordship could mention other cases where proceedings had been held in some of these inferior ecclesiastical jurisdictions, even after

prohibitions of the court of king's bench. But if courts would so proceed, must not a stop be put to their actings, and to the grievances thence arising? There was a particular class of cases peculiarly deserving of attention, and of every degree of reprehension with which the house could regard them—he meant defamatory causes, which were often brought for the gratification of the worst passions of the human mind—malice and revenge. He referred to the case of a woman who, having been sued for defaming the character of a person notorious for keeping a house of bad fame, the judge of the court where the cause was brought, on the presumption that he had to provide *pro salute animi*, and having the fear of God before his eyes, ordered the defendant to declare that she had been guilty of an infamous calumny, and that the party injured was restored to her fair fame. Yet by such decisions as these were persons of the description alluded to supported. His lordship was aware he had not done justice to the cause he had espoused; but even those facts which he had stated, he presumed to think, were sufficient to ground him in moving for the inquiry which he was now about to propose. At the time of the Reformation a regulation of these courts had been promised, but no such measure had ever yet been carried into effect. It had frequently since been talked of, but nothing had followed in consequence; and the house would not be inclined to think that a system which required reformation upwards of a century ago, had got much better by that lapse of time. His lordship concluded by moving, “That a committee be appointed to examine into the practice of inferior ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to examine if any and what

what reforms are necessary in the proceedings of those courts, and to report thereon to the house."

The motion being seconded,

The honourable W. Herbert observed, that the statement of his noble friend pointed out many radical objections to the state of the law, but not to the administration of it as practised in the court over which a learned judge, whom he had now in his view, presided. He agreed that it would be desirable that the law should not continue as it was, but he thought a committee could be of no service to remedy the evil.

Sir W. Scott said he could hardly believe that the noble lord (Folkestone) was himself aware of the nature and effect of the motion he had submitted to the house. He trusted, however, that the house would pause before it agreed to go into an inquiry such as that proposed by his lordship. Let the house consider what might be the consequences to others of their agreeing to such an inquiry; let them consider the number of persons who must be brought up from different parts of the country to be examined before the committee, at an expense which their paltry emoluments would but ill enable them to discharge—and he was satisfied they would require further proof of the necessity, and also of the utility, of such a committee before they concurred in the motion of the noble lord for the appointment of it. The house, however, must also feel itself called on in justice to consider that this was a principle which attached to every court, high and low—that every court, however inferior its jurisdiction might be, was entitled to be held in a decent state of respect, till it was proved to have done something to forfeit its character. When this should be proved,

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it would be time enough to hold out such jurisdiction to public odium; but till then he could not agree to any such measure as that proposed by the noble lord. He should not follow the noble lord into those legends of antiquity to which he had had recourse. Many of the cases figured by the noble lord, now no longer existed; and the expenses of the proceedings in ecclesiastical courts were not such as he supposed.—The points which ecclesiastical courts were called on to decide, however, were not so limited as the noble lord supposed. It was their duty to decide on the matrimonial and testamentary law, and on many other of the civil rights of mankind. It was said, however, that our inferior ecclesiastical jurisdictions had acted improperly in many respects, and for those improper acts they were now, on the complaint of the noble lord, called on to hold up their hand before the bar of the country. The noble lord, continued sir William Scott, had evidently been assisted in drawing up the cases which he had submitted to the house, and he was sorry to say that the information that he appeared to have received was extremely defective. Out of the multitude of courts that possessed an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and from the whole extent of its exercise, the noble lord had been able to select only seven instances of what he called abuse or oppression. He had also greatly erred in terming those causes; they were in point of fact merely suits, the ordinary and regular process appointed for all those who claimed legal redress for an illegal wrong. The exchequer court no more than the ecclesiastical courts could get rid of the duty of granting this process, or shut their doors against any individual who sought his

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his remedy in the usual forms. Two of the cases adduced by the noble mover respected church rates, but the obligation was the same on the subject in this point, as in the instance of poor-rates. It was equally a just and legal debt in both cases. If, on issuing a citation, the person supposed to be the wrong-doer did not choose to appear, he certainly aggravated his offence; and if, appearing to the citation, he should make a dishonest defence, he again added to the causes of his own hardship and suffering. As to the subject of defamation, this was, he felt, it right to intimate to the noble lord, the only part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which he had adverted to, that was connected with the doctrine *de salute anime*. The noble lord, indeed, seemed to have been instructed very imperfectly, and he believed he was right in saying that his instructor had been a proctor of no great eminence or practice, and whose talents and acquirements, perhaps, did not entitle him to more than he enjoyed. He entertained no doubt of the noble lord's fair intention, but he certainly on this occasion had undertaken to sail under inauspicious convoy. The peculiar circumstances of this case had been asserted to be extremely severe; but was it not an important consideration, whether or no the characters and reputation of women should be insulted and reviled with impunity, and no protection be afforded by the law? Could any man of ordinary feelings endure that his mother, wife or sister, should be publicly and indecently branded with terms of opprobrium? It was no sufficient justification, on any principle of legal analogy, that the offender happened to be a minor. Minors were held responsible for all transgressions against the criminal

law. He would state to the House the usual process of the ecclesiastical courts: a citation was first issued, and in the event of non-appearance, or of inadequate defence, penance was enjoined, and if not complied with, payment of costs was then adjudged. But this penance was nothing like the vulgar conception of it; there was no such thing as standing in white sheets, such a practice had for many years fallen into disuse. The sole punishment now consisted in the offender's attendance at the vestry before the minister of the parish and the complainant, and in asking pardon of the latter, promising at the same time to observe a more guarded conduct in future. Could any means, or any recourse to a court of merely civil jurisdiction, be pointed out or imagined to afford a simpler mode of relief, or a punishment of more lenient operation? The noble lord would give him credit for some experience in his profession, and he could assure him, that he had often known the peace of families disturbed, and the conjugal state rendered miserable, by unprovoked slander and unfounded aspersions. Was it not then proper that some remedy should be provided, and could a more gentle one be devised? With respect to costs, the highest sum that could be levied was twenty shillings. If afterwards the party should be obstinate or contumacious, and himself create the necessity of summoning witnesses—then indeed his expenses might be greatly increased.—When a case of this sort occurred, an outcry was raised, and the defendant's hardship was attributed not to his own folly or misconduct, but to the oppression and severity or partiality of the courts. If the persons mentioned by the noble lord would appear to the

the jurisdiction appealed to, all would end with little suffering and little dissatisfaction to any party. The ordinary forms of the court must be observed; they were, in fact, all founded on the same principle as those of the forms and process of civil tribunals. The writ of excommunication could only be provoked by the obstinacy of the offending individual. The writ certainly, from its circuitous progress and attendant penalties, greatly aggravated the sufferings and hardships incidental to such prosecutions. This was first issued from the court of chancery; it then passed through the king's bench, and was executed by the sheriffs. The whole proceeding was carried on with the aid and instrumentality of the civil courts: and although the expenses thus incurred were great, and necessarily greater at present from the necessities of the state, yet to whose conduct but the offender's were all the evil consequences to be attributed? His conviction was, that the noble lord had not laid a sufficient ground for his motion, aided as he had been, not by his own, but by the malignant industry of others. No proof whatever had been adduced of direct or unequivocal oppression. One of the necessary effects of all law, was to press more heavily on the lower classes of society; the remedies of the law were to them least accessible, and its penalties and fines more severe. But nobody could for this reason deny that the law ought to be maintained, and its equality of application preserved. On the whole he conceived the house would act unwisely to saddle itself with this inquiry, which, without any apparent necessity, would in its effects undoubtedly prove invidious to the persons concerned.—At the same time he was willing to express his

opinion that the constitution of the lower courts was susceptible of very great melioration. He thought it would be a great improvement merely to lessen their number. The process of excommunication, too, might perhaps easily find a better substitute, one that should be more effectual, while it was productive of less expense and oppression.

Sir Samuel Romilly declared that the arguments which he had just heard from the right honourable gentleman, entitled as they were to all that weight which never failed to be attached to whatever fell from him, had not satisfied him that it was not the duty of the house to go into the proposed inquiry. It did not appear to him that this inquiry was of that extensive nature which it was considered to be by the right honourable gentleman. The motion of the noble lord imputed misconduct to no one, it merely stated that a cause of extreme suffering, as every person in the house must acknowledge it to be, had appeared; and the question was, whether this hardship sprung from the law, or from the mode in which it was administered. His own belief certainly was, that the evil arose from the defects of the law, and this opinion he felt more strongly, because he was countenanced by an authority so high as the right honourable gentleman who had spoken before him. That right honourable gentleman, in the conclusion of his speech, had distinctly expressed himself in favour of an alteration of the existing law. He hoped the house would not forgo the opportunity now presented. This subject had long worn a suspicious aspect. He believed he was correct in stating that no alteration or legislative provision whatever had been enacted with respect to the spiritual

courts, since the period of the Reformation. What was this sentence of excommunication? It disqualified the party from taking the communion, it deprived him of the rights of Christianity, and incapacitated him either to give evidence or commence a suit in any court of justice. The wretched woman whose case had been detailed, although not yet an adult, had been confined in gaol two years among malefactors, and, labouring under all her other misfortunes, was rendered incapable, in the case of violence offered to her person, from prosecuting the violator.—Had a murder been committed in her sight, her evidence must have been rejected, and the crime have thus remained unpunished. In the earlier periods of our history, this punishment had been reserved for heinous sins, it was now applied to the non-payment of costs. He perfectly agreed that a woman's reputation was a fair and proper object of legal protection; but was it just that, while calumny and slander were permitted to circulate unpunished among the higher orders of society, a coarse word or a hasty expression should draw down upon the poor and the defenceless the heaviest vengeance of the law? To him it appeared, that when it was recollected what was the habitual language of such persons, prosecutions of this nature were strong proofs of the malignant spirit residing with the prosecutor. The right honourable gentleman had very eloquently inquired, ought the reputation of women to be wantonly sported with? He thought certainly not; but he could not help feeling some surprise at the select expression and delicate colours which the right honourable gentleman had used in this instance, when it was in evidence that the abusive words

used were strictly applicable in fact, the prosecutrix in that case being notoriously the keeper of a house of ill-fame. The question was, therefore, whether these facts called for inquiry? and the probable result of such an inquiry would be some improvement, aided as the committee might be with the talents and experience of the right honourable gentleman.

Sir William Scott replied, and the debate was carried on to some length by several other members, after which the question was put, and negatived without a division.

House of lords, Jan. 31.—Earl Fitzwilliam rose to call their lordships' attention to the state of Ireland. Little did he think when he gave notice of his motion, founding his intention, as he then did, upon circumstances which had then already taken place, and which had excited the most alarming discontents in Ireland—little did he think that at the time his motion would be discussed, he should have had to lament the existence of still further and aggravated circumstances, which could not fail to add most alarmingly to the discontents already existing—which could not fail to be pregnant with danger to the best interests and hopes of the country. Little did he think that he should have had to notice a line of conduct on the part of the government of Ireland, as developed by the mail that arrived yesterday, which he believed had no example during the whole of the last century, and to parallel which he believed he must go back to the arbitrary reign of James the second. Where could the people look for protection or safety, if the great bulwark of personal safety and personal liberty, the trial by jury, was vitiated and corrupted? Yet he found, by the account which

had

had reached London, of the proceedings in the Irish court of king's bench, that the jury pannel summoned to try one of the catholic delegates had been tampered with, and that the crown solicitor had been numbering and marking and altering the list in a manner that proved the exercise of the undue influence of government—nay, that sir Charles Saxton, whom in the absence from Ireland of Mr. Pole he must consider as the chief civil officer of the government, had been modelling the list in a manner that must excite the strongest feelings of alarm for the purity of the administration of justice in Ireland. It was true that the whole of the proceedings had not yet arrived—it was true they did not know precisely the result, but enough had been developed to excite the greatest alarm; enough had been discovered to add strongly to the discontents already so unhappily existing. Take away, by undue means, the security the subject enjoyed from a fair trial by jury, and what remained to him of protection or safety? He hoped that the persons whose names had been implicated in this transaction would be able to clear themselves from the charge which thus, according to report, appeared against them; but he lamented to say, that, from what was already known, enough had been discovered to render the people of Ireland justly dissatisfied. Enough also had been discovered to show, in the strongest point of view, the necessity of the motion with which he intended to conclude, for a committee to take into its consideration the situation of affairs in Ireland. If, however, their lordships should consider these circumstances in the perhaps imperfect state in which they were known to be, not a sufficient ground

at the present moment for such a motion, still there were amply sufficient grounds previously existing for agreeing to such a proposition. That the discontents in Ireland chiefly arose from the denial to the catholic body of the same rights which were enjoyed by their fellow-citizens, there could be no doubt. This topic had been often pressed upon their lordships' consideration, and must be again and again, until the evil was redressed; for it was an evil which sorely pressed upon a large portion of his majesty's subjects, and tranquillity could not be expected until those disabilities were removed. Why such disabilities should continue to exist, he was utterly at a loss to discover. No ground on reason remained to support them. It was idle to suppose that there was a single particle of religion in the opposition made to the catholic claims. Whether a man did or did not worship the virgin Mary—whether he conceived he took the real body and blood of Christ, in the eucharist, or whether he merely received the sacrament in commemoration of the sufferings of our saviour, was a matter so wholly indifferent to all considerations of state, that it were ridiculous to suppose such differences of opinion in mere matters of religion, could influence the minds of men in mere considerations of policy; some other reasons must therefore be sought for continuing the exclusion of the catholics, but none now remained. Whatever might have been the justice of the policy which formerly excluded them from the pale of the constitution, the consideration which dictated that exclusion had long ceased to operate. The policy which dictated the enactment of disabilities upon the catholics must

he sought in the latter end of Charles the second; at that period a sense of danger had justly been raised in the public mind, in consequence of the well-known disposition of James duke of York, the presumptive heir to the crown; his well-known propensity to arbitrary power, and the support which he received from the catholic body, raised a just alarm; and the restrictions upon that body, which were then agreed to by parliament, were founded upon well-ascertained considerations of their necessity to the public safety. The subsequent conduct of James duke of York, when he succeeded to the throne, fully justified all the precautionary measures which the parliament had previously adopted, and at the same time displayed the futility of his attempts to obtain that arbitrary power which he sought. During the life of that prince also, after his abdication, the support which he received from the catholic body might justify the continuance of those restrictions. The same might perhaps be said with respect to the pretender, his son, or supposed son. But for a long time this family had become utterly extinct, and no possible reason could be drawn, from the consideration that operated with reference to that family, for now continuing the disabilities of the catholics. He could not, therefore, discover any even the slightest reason for the continuance of those disabilities under which the catholics so heavily laboured, and which naturally and necessarily tended to produce irritation and discontent. The situation of the catholics formed a cogent reason for taking into consideration the state of affairs in Ireland, but there were also other reasons which pressed in the most forcible manner, The go-

vernment of Ireland and the people of Ireland were at this moment actually at variance. By the people, he did not mean the populace, but persons of rank, consideration, and property. With these persons, with the great mass of property in Ireland, the government of that part of the empire was actually at variance. The right of petitioning, the sacred right of the people, the government had attempted to impede and interrupt, and in their efforts for that purpose the government had failed. They had brought a case before a jury, and notwithstanding the manner, not very decent, in which the counsel for the crown had challenged the jurors, a jury of twelve men had acquitted the defendant. Was not this direct variance between the government and the people of Ireland, one of the strongest possible reasons for inquiring into the situation of affairs in that part of the empire? Was it not of the greatest importance in the war in which we were engaged, that the whole united strength of the empire should be put forth, and that all ranks and classes of his majesty's subjects should be united in one common bond of union? But how could this be effected, if discontents were suffered to exist, and their causes remain unremoved? From every consideration, therefore, of policy and of safety, he thought their lordships were called upon to set about inquiring into the causes of those discontents, which undoubtedly existed to an alarming extent in Ireland, with the view of allaying and removing them by timely conciliation and concession. His lordship concluded by moving, "That the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present situation of affairs in Ireland."

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The duke of Devonshire said, he rose to second the motion with considerable diffidence, in now addressing their lordships for the first time. He could not however justify to himself the neglect of an opportunity upon so important an occasion of expressing his sentiments. He concurred in all that had been urged by his noble friend, and he trusted that all their lordships must see the necessity of agreeing to the proposed inquiry—must see the wisdom and the policy of conciliating the great mass of the population of Ireland. To such a line of policy he was a warm friend, thinking it the only means of rendering the empire safe and secure, by the firm and sincere union of all classes of the people.

The earl of Ross observed, that the noble earl (Fitzwilliam) had spoken of the discontents of Ireland, and he was not surprised that the noble earl should take a deep interest in the affairs of that part of the empire, not only from the magnificent property he possesses there, but from his serious desire for the welfare of the country. He lamented that there were discontents, but he could not agree with the noble earl in the mode he proposed of allaying them. He regretted that the noble earl should have brought forward the charge of tampering with a jury, and should have mentioned the name of a highly respectable individual. As to the discontents in Ireland, he lamented them as much as any man; but he contended that this was not the proper time to discuss the subject. After what had passed in Ireland, if the claims of the catholics were now to be conceded, it would appear the result of a timid and pusillanimous policy, as if concession had been extorted by terror,

and the government would be degraded in the eyes of the people of Ireland. On the contrary, claims illegally attempted to be enforced ought to be firmly resisted. The noble earl had charged the government of Ireland with attempting to stifle the right of petitioning. Had such been their conduct, it would indeed have been deserving of high censure; but, on the contrary, every facility had been given to the exercise of the right of petitioning. It was only when a convention was illegally attempted to be assembled, that the government felt itself bound to interfere, and to put in force the law of the land. It was to prevent an assembly thus constituted, from bearding the parliament and managing the legislature, that the government were imperiously called upon to act with firmness and decision. He did not see those grounds for alarm which presented themselves to the mind of the noble earl, and thought that, if the government acted with firmness, Ireland was safe.

The duke of Bedford expressed his great deference to the opinions just delivered, but the chief impression it had left upon his mind was, that the noble earl had not condescended to pay due attention to the able and comprehensive speech of the noble mover; and scarcely a sentence uttered had been in answer to it. The protestants of Ireland, he said, had considerably impeded the progress of emancipation: He did not mean to implicate in this heavy charge the whole of the establishment, but only that part which arrogated to itself exclusively the title of "friends to their king, their country, and the constitution," who called themselves the heads and leaders of the protestant party in that island. They indeed claim-

ed these distinctions; but from experience he could affirm, that in morality, in loyalty, in patriotism, and in fidelity, the catholics could not be exceeded. The only distinction was, that the one was basking in the golden sunshine of favour and emolument, while the other was suffering under every civil and political deprivation—the jargon of party might raise the one, but the acknowledgement of truth would exalt the other, and silence those who would countenance such gross and illiberal absurdity. He did not mean to trespass on the patience of the house, by considering further the relative situation of the government and the people, as the subject would be much more properly discussed in the committee proposed by his noble friend; but he begged leave to ask one question of the noble lords opposite, whether the sentiments expressed by the catholics now were either trifling or momentary? Did the experience of many successive years, during which this feeling had been maintained, prove that it was so? If it were not, why did not government hold out to them the hand of friendship and peace, when all hearts would be engaged in defence of every thing which the subjects of the crown of England hold dear, at a time when the exertions of a daring and insidious foe rendered it more than ever necessary that we should all be united in one common cause for one common interest? He would not thus strongly have impressed upon the house the necessity of adopting the motion, were he not convinced that the future happiness, almost the very existence of Ireland as an integral part of the British empire, depended upon the decision of this momentous question.

Lord Aberdeen was not at all

disposed to deny that the situation of the catholics of Ireland might be a very fit subject for parliamentary consideration, but he could by no means agree that the proper mode for so doing was in a committee of the house. It appeared to his lordship that the subject, important as he admitted it to be, was brought forward at a time when the discussion was certainly injudicious, if not unnecessary. The Roman catholics had in this instance given a proof (of what indeed was extremely rare, though not less praiseworthy) of forbearance, for they had not even laid a petition upon the table of the house, that their demands might be contemplated. The noble lord, however, with this good example before him, had not been in like manner restrained, but in his forward zeal, which outran even the zealots themselves, without advice or instructions from Ireland, had thought it right to make the proposition which had been this night heard.—Supposing that the period had been judiciously chosen, still, as the motion itself embraced so wide a field of inquiry into the conduct of the government of Ireland, which, instead of being reproached with invectives, should have, in his lordship's opinion, received every commendation, he thought that it should not obtain the slightest countenance or support. The question before the house was one purely of political expediency. As to religious interference, undoubtedly his lordship was ready to allow, that where religious opinions were merely speculative, and possessed no influence over the conduct of those who profess them, any interference on the part of government would be tyrannical; but where religious opinions are felt to be inimical to the existence of the government and

to the well-being of the state, they are as fit to be guarded against by a wise ministry as any species of political sentiment.—That was the point in issue, and all that his lordship wished was to set aside this claim of right, because, if it were impartially examined, it would be found to be not for a moment tenable. From the tone and manner in which the noble duke who last addressed the house spoke, it would appear as if some miraculous result were expected from the concession to the claims of the catholics. Although his lordship was favourable to a fair and even liberal concession, he did not believe that any positive immediate benefit would be found to be the consequence. If, indeed, the restrictions were in some degree taken off, it could only be considered as the removal of a barrier to some future improvement in the condition of the country and its inhabitants, which barrier must indeed be overthrown, for it was impossible to pass over it—but the present state of that country, by such an action, could not be in the slightest degree meliorated. Catholic emancipation, to use the words, indeed, in an improper sense, but to which they had been perverted, could in reality do nothing to improve the permanent prosperity of the country. The noble duke (Bedford) had adopted to-night the language of the catholic delegates, and, in his zeal for the cause, had accused the Irish government of intolerance: such charges were easily made, but the proof of them was at all times more difficult, and, surely, in this instance, impossible. He challenged the noble duke to produce a single instance of a catholic, whose freedom of speech had been less allowed, whose property had been less secure,

or whose person had been less sacred, than that of a protestant—for the convention act, it would be always recollected, applied equally to both. If any of these things could be shown, then would he (lord Aberdeen) allow that the assertion had some foundation: till then he must be pardoned if he maintained that it were both unjust and injurious. The conduct of the Irish government, if it were chargeable with any thing, it was rather guilty of too great forbearance; for the catholic committee was allowed to be formed and to proceed without interruption; and what followed? A convention was formed of not less than 500 delegates, as was stated, to give greater weight and a more respectable appearance to the petition which was to be prepared. What, 500 persons to draw up a petition! If indeed the house had, on any former occasion, refused it, as not expressing the general sense of the catholic body, there might have been some pretence for it; but such a circumstance, it was well known, had never occurred. What then might have been the conclusion of the business? Was the noble lord himself (Fitzwilliam) prepared to say, that it would not perhaps have been the establishment of a catholic government, or the installation of a catholic parliament? Much had been said during the present debate of the catholics of Ireland; but as yet the catholics of England had not been adverted to, and his lordship was at a loss to conceive what arguments could be adduced to show, that to the catholics of England should not be conceded all that could be reasonably demanded. The truth was, that for the sake of the catholics of Ireland, this most numerous and respectable body are amerced of all the

the privileges which justly belong to British subjects. Mutual forbearance is absolutely necessary, and mutual sacrifices must be made; and if the house and the empire did not proceed on this principle, his lordship had little hope that a favourable conclusion could possibly be attained.

The marquis of Downshire called the attention of the house to the meaning and operation of the act of union, as far as it has hitherto influenced the prosperity of Ireland, because he thought it connected very closely and materially with the question in debate. If indeed it should be found that his native country had been considerably benefited by this measure, and had reaped any of those advantages which had been held out to her eleven years ago, she might certainly bear, with the greatest patience and fortitude, any deprivations, which she had experienced, and which she had severely felt and deeply regretted. That any advantages had resulted to her, from the contract, was certainly not the case of Ireland, and much less of the catholics: what she had lost by the union was registered in the mind of every Irishman; but what she had gained was a matter of much more difficult calculation, if not of mere conjecture. She had been deprived of her legislature, of her metropolis, and even of her name as a nation; the commonwealth had been reduced to a dispirited population; above all, she had been most deeply wounded by being deprived of her domestic residence of the greater part of her nobility and gentry; which had tended, more than any thing, to keep the remaining population ignorant and debased. The happy fruits that had been reaped, he must leave to the determination of noble lords on

the other side of the house, who were better able to judge, having most tasted them: but Ireland was now left barren and unprofitable. It was asserted by some, and denied by others, that at the time of the union, an assurance was given to the Irish catholics that they should be relieved from the hardships and difficulties under which they laboured. Such was the statement. Whether the catholics ought to have paid so high a price for this expectation, might be reasonably disputed; but of this his lordship was sure, that without this expectation the union would never have been effected. The very essence of union is reciprocation of interest and participation in civil rights; and where these objects were not accomplished, but the prosperity of the one depended on the poverty of the other, nothing but alienation of feeling and discord of sentiment could ensue. It was for parliament to determine whether it was more advantageous that both should prosper, or one only be successful and happy. The conclusion that the contemplation of this injurious compact led to, could not be denied, that there may still be a nominal union, but that the separation of heart and mind would be real and permanent.

Earl Hardwicke spoke in favour of the motion.

Lord Sidmouth declared that he felt himself little able to do justice to the subject now before the house. The noble earl who originated the motion, and those who agreed with him, treated the subject as involving a question of right which had been withheld from the higher orders, while every thing which was necessary for them had been granted to the lower ranks of the people. In this he could not agree. He contended that,

that, where there was any thing which existed as a matter of right, it must be common to all. It was a narrow view of a subject to suppose that, where a thing was demanded as a right, the higher orders only were to be benefited by it. It was of the essence of a free constitution, that any man, however low, may rise to the highest situations in the state. This brought his lordship to consider from whence arose the unhappy state of Ireland, which all must agree in deploring. He might be told that it arose from a vicious system which prevailed throughout. For his own part, he was convinced it arose from the repeal of the penal laws, and from giving to the Roman catholics privileges which till of late years they had not enjoyed, while at the same time some further privileges which they wished, but which were withheld, lest the granting them might be attended with danger to the country in general, were denied them. Though he deplored extremely that penal laws should ever have been esteemed necessary to have been imposed, and also lamented the height to which at one time they had been carried, still he was satisfied that there was a policy, or rather a necessity, for those penal statutes at the time they were imposed. In expressing his opinion as to the relief claimed by the Roman catholics, his lordship was far from being actuated by any desire to derogate from their loyalty to the king, or regard to the constitution. If he believed they were deficient in either of these respects, he would boldly state his opinion. He was satisfied, however, that there were tennets in their religion vitally inconsistent with the constitution of these

kingdoms. He opposed the present motion, because he did not think it wise or politic in the house to endanger the civil and ecclesiastical rights of the protestant inhabitants of this country, by conceding to the Roman catholics of Ireland privileges which were inconsistent with the rights of which the protestants were now in possession, and to which the Roman catholics had no just claim. On the protection of our church, he was satisfied, in a great measure depended the welfare of the state. The more the one was encroached on, the less dependence could be placed on the solidity of the other. He must therefore oppose the motion of the noble earl for the house going into a committee.

Lord Somers was of opinion, if the claims of the Roman catholics of Ireland could be conceded to them with safety, not a single day should be lost in doing so. At the union between the two kingdoms, in which he for one sincerely rejoiced, the Roman catholics had a reasonable and a well grounded hope held out to them that these claims would not be longer unattended to. If this were so, and if this were the only reason why they were entitled to have their claims conceded to them, this of itself was sufficient cause for now conceding them. But first, as to the policy of the measure: and on this head he begged to ask what mischief could by possibility result from it? There was said to be, first, the power and right of sitting and voting in parliament. And what was there dangerous in this? Suppose fifty Roman catholic members were returned to the house of commons from Ireland, ten or twelve from England, and two or three from Scotland; what could

could these sixty or seventy men do against the 500 or 600 members of that house? Were these fifty or sixty members to overturn the British constitution? God forbid that it stood on so unstable a foundation! But another mischief dreaded by noble lords who were averse from granting the claims of the catholics, was to be found in their being rendered capable of filling offices in the state. Did it, however, from thence follow that they must be appointed to those offices? He believed that no danger was likely to result from granting these privileges. Was it not more the interest of the country to grant, than of the catholics to claim, a participation in those rights? Was there no good likely to arise from this concession? It was impossible to suppose that men should not be more attached to a government after they were put on a footing with every other person in the country, than they were while they felt, and were daily told, that they were proscribed and suspected persons. Noble lords would remove a stain from themselves by agreeing to the present motion. The penal laws which still existed in force against them, would disgrace even a Mahometan. They could not even leave a legacy out of their own family, without running the risk of its being questioned. It was indeed said, that no person ever informed on such a subject. What, however, was this, but saying, that out of the very dregs of the people there could not be found one so vile as to act on what was the law of this country as to our Irish fellow-subjects? His lordship was convinced that the government of this country would never have to complain of having acted liberally towards the

Roman catholics, or towards the dissenters.—Justice and policy demanded that we should to-day, to-morrow, or on the earliest opportunity, do away the disabilities under which the Roman catholics of Ireland laboured, and that we should do so handsomely towards them, and beneficially towards ourselves.

The marquis of Wellesley could not conceive a more important subject for their lordships' consideration than the subject of the present motion; for Ireland, whether its population, its natural resources, or its situation with respect to Great Britain, were taken into consideration, constituted a most important part of this empire, whose most essential and vital interests were closely interwoven with the safety and prosperity of that country. In considering the motion, it was proper to examine the view and object of it; the effects which, if acceded to, it would produce on the subjects of Ireland; the state of the passions, the feelings, the interests of those men who would in a more particular manner be affected by the question; what effect would be produced on the administration of the law in Ireland; what effect would be produced on the tranquillity of the country; what effect would be produced on the executive government; and, lastly, what effect would be produced on the temper of the catholics. The sentiments which he had entertained with respect to the concession to the catholics, he still continued to maintain, and should never, he trusted, depart from. On these concessions depended the safety of the empire, the continuance of its glory, and the security of the protestant establishment in church and state.

state. But, strongly impressed as he was with the necessity of admitting the catholics into the bosom of the constitution, he conceived it unnecessary to agitate the question at this moment. His lordship entered largely into the subject, and concluded with the following observations: It had been said that nothing could be more unreasonable than the desires of the catholics; that, notwithstanding all they had received, they still continued to desire more; and that, if their present desires were granted, they would also have still something to demand. Having admitted them into the profession of the law, they wish to become judges; and because you have opened the army to them, they are so ambitious, that they wish to become generals. These unreasonable wishes are stated against the catholics; they are charged against them as something too cruel and monstrous even to be entertained. He would assert, however, that these were only the reasonable results of natural causes, and that parliament themselves had occasioned them. When they got the power of possessing property, was it monstrous to suppose that they should wish to represent that property?—Could any man deny that all those insatiable notions were founded on true natural causes, and the most justifiable principles? Having said thus much with respect to the rights of the catholics, he could not help adverting to another point of view in which the subject ought to be considered, namely, the danger which might result from an unconditional yielding to the catholics of all their demands. On many of the substantial points of this question he cer-

tainly agreed with the noble earl; but there were others on which he could not help differing materially from him: in particular he could not agree that the present was a time to grant the concessions to the catholics; for in his opinion no time could be more unfavourable than the present, when the passions of men were so much heated and inflamed. And if there was an indisposition in many quarters to the yielding these concessions, this indisposition must have been so much increased by the late conduct of the catholics, in violation of the law, that that alone must form a great objection to the object of the noble earl at the present time. He would advise the catholics, if they wished their cause to be attended with success; if they wished to induce their fellow subjects to believe that they might be admitted without danger into the bosom of the constitution, to conform themselves to the laws, and to let their behaviour be distinguished for order and sobriety. If they should in this manner afford an example of due submission to the laws of their country, they would come forward with their petition under every advantage which might be supposed capable of inducing the legislature to accede; whereas, by the adoption of a different line of conduct, they would only close against themselves every avenue of access to the constitution.

The marquis of Lansdowne and lord Carysfort spoke in favour of the motion, and lord Westmoreland was decidedly against it.

Lord Moira said, it had been asked upon what grounds their lordships were to go into a committee? Surely the very terms of the

the motion were an answer. The object of going into a committee was to discuss the state of Ireland, and any one of the circumstances that had been enumerated was sufficient to call upon their lordships to adopt that measure. Who could look at the state of that country, and not say that it would be the extreme of folly, madness itself, to shrink from the discussion? The noble lord (Westmoreland) who spoke last had confounded the natural and the civil rights of the Irish catholics. Standing upon the birth-right of Britons, they had advanced their claims with confidence: they had said, "Feeling ourselves Britons, we address you as Britons, and we ask you whether or not we are to stand upon an equality with you?" This is the sentiment which a man born in a land of freedom ought to feel, and this is the sentiment which they have avowed. They have always addressed us in the gesture of humility; they wish to receive as the boon of our generosity, what they have a right to demand as a justice at our hands. He would exhort those who shut their minds and hearts against the condition of Ireland, to consider well what they were doing. He would implore them to weigh accurately what would better effect the inertness of Ireland; and he would then have them think what its disaffection must be. At a moment like this, when a force the most gigantic was prepared to act against us; a force under the guidance of a man whose sagacity, whose activity, whose resources were confessed great, was it prudent to throw from us the energies of Ireland? Was this an hour to cast away our strength; to

pluck off our breast-plate before we descended into the lists? The noble lord had said, that the sentiments of this country were changed with respect to the catholics. It was no such thing, and the belief of it was a miserable delusion; they too who cherished that clamour would perish in the storm—they would infallibly be among its victims. He was utterly unable to conceive, indeed, why the refusal to grant any concessions to the catholics should be so pertinaciously persevered in. The necessity for the penal statutes was now entirely passed. What danger could there possibly be to the established church? There was nothing in the quality of those statutes, the repeal of which can affect the security of the church. A greater peril was incurred in the present system of intolerance; for, in proportion as the Roman catholics were rendered disgusting to themselves, in that proportion they were rendered dangerous. The boast of the church of England had always been, that it appealed to the hearts and minds of Englishmen, and it had hence become one of the main bulwarks of the freedom of this country. It was an establishment so wisely constituted, so admirable in all its relations, so powerful in its component parts, that the greatest curse which could fall upon this country would be its overthrow. Yet, if it rested upon temporal power, it would have the fate of every religion so supported; it would have the fate of that very catholic religion which was now the object of their discussion. He should decidedly support the motion of the noble lord who opened the debate.

Lord Mulgrave believed that if they

they went into a committee they would go there not to deliberate, but to surrender at discretion; to surrender the church of England to the catholic dominion. It became them then to consider whether it was worth while to do any thing for the church of England, or whether we should supinely surrender those privileges and rights she received from our ancestors. He should be at all times, and under all circumstances, averse from going into a committee, without any outline of what plan was to be pursued, as it could only tend to excite the expectations of the people of Ireland, without, perhaps, offering any certainty of doing that which they would anticipate. He thought it necessary that a stand should be made where we now were; nor could he consent to go any further, till he was convinced that it was a boon which they asked, and no sinister motive lurking beneath it; till he was convinced that they would be satisfied with what was to be granted.

Lord Erskine and the earl of Darnley spoke in favour of the motion; and the earl of Buckinghamshire put it to the house, whether they would take advantage of the continued indisposition of the king, to do an act which they knew from the commencement had met with his majesty's positive and uniform refusal?

Earl Grey most ably supported the motion for going into the committee. He said that he had seldom before addressed their lordships under feelings of greater embarrassment—not that there was any thing on the subject before them peculiarly difficult, clouded, or mysterious—not that he felt that

there were any considerations of peculiar delicacy or caution, that might deter him from a full and frank discussion of its merits. And sure he was that this embarrassment did not arise from the consciousness of having to contend with any formidable reasoning against the motion; for he had hitherto listened to catch one argument against it, and he had listened in vain. His difficulty therefore lay in attempting to answer what did not admit of a reply, and to refute by argument what defied all argument. His lordship having examined the subject in all its bearings, and investigated the several points connected with it, asked, with much animation, what was the object of the catholic committee? The most laudable—the gratification of an honourable ambition. Could the Roman catholic be tame, cold, or indifferent in such a pursuit? He would be unworthy the privileges he looks for; he would not be worthy the few privileges that are left him; without the ambition of a freeman, he could be fit only to be a slave. Was there then any thing in the object of the catholic committee that made this interference on the part of the Irish government a measure of policy? No man would be bold enough to say that there was. If there was nothing in the object, was there any thing in the means by which they endeavoured to effect that object? This might be as easily answered, as they were told that Ireland was unusually tranquil. Then why impose restraints, unless they felt in that tranquillity the stillness of despair? But there were other dangers as great, as awful, and as pressing, as any that weak-

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ness and intemperance have accumulated in Ireland. We are contending for our existence as a people with the most formidable power; a power that was growing in the double ratio of her advance and our decline. If at this hour of peril we could be suddenly scared from our follies and alarmed into wisdom—if bigotry should drop its hold of the national good sense, and an enlightened tolerance bring back her train of virtues, beneficence, conciliation, and justice—"Good God!" exclaimed lord Grey, "what might we not then hope for! What could we have to fear though France is Europe—though Europe were another France?" But if, while we are lavishing our resources with a desperate profusion; while we are drying up the source within us, an excessive taxation operating on diminished wealth; while we are on the eve of a war with America, we are to have any thing but peace or union in Ireland, I know not what we can hope, or what we may not fear. The noble earl proceeded to allude to some of the observations of a noble lord opposite (Ross), which, he confessed, surprised him, recollecting, as he did, to have read some eloquent speeches of that noble lord's, when sir L. Parsons, in favour of the catholic cause. Now, for the first time, had a measure of unusual coercion and severity against the catholics been resorted to, which, with all the feelings against the catholic claims which were supposed to animate his majesty, had never been thought of when he was in a situation to judge of the interests of his kingdoms. This measure had been reserved to darken the prospects of the govern-

ment of a prince to whom the Irish catholics had been accustomed to look up as their brightest hope.

The earl of Liverpool could not see any ground for going into a committee. Indeed, if he were, in that house, the most zealous advocate for the catholic cause, he would not allow a convention. If their claims were to be granted, it would be as a boon, and not to be extorted by such means as those now pursued. If the house meant to proceed with this question, he hoped they would never think of going into a committee, till they knew what it was that was expected from them. Let the advocates for the catholics lay on the table of that house a bill which should unequivocally show what they meant. Catholics and protestants would then know the real truth, and all persons might form a judgement of what they were about.

Lord Grenville rose at five o'clock in the morning, and began by stating, that the moderation and humility of the noble earl's (Liverpool) speech formed a decided contrast with that strong spirit of bigotry and intolerance which distinguished his entrance into office, when the worst passions of the people were excited, and the nation disgraced by the scandalous "No popery" cry excited by himself and his colleagues; his moderation would then have done him credit, but the catholics, he believed, entertained a very just sense of his lordship's kindness. During the whole of his administration he did not think they had received one act of kindness. His lordship accused him of the deepest malignity and rancour to that body. He denied that by remov-

ing the disabilities which affect the catholics, any security would be taken from the established church. On the contrary, he should regard the very measure proposed, the full concession of the catholic claims, to be the highest security that could be given to the church establishment of the united kingdom. The question was every day becoming more pressing, and could not be delayed. Their lordships would soon have to direct to it all their attention and all their wisdom. He hoped, therefore, when the crisis came, they would then have wisdom enough left to drop generalities; and if they continued to refuse what was asked, to say in what way it was that granting the catholic demands was to prove injurious to the church of England. It would be necessary then to prove, that what was required for the safety of the whole empire was unsafe for the established church. There were two descriptions of opponents to the catholic claims. The one would make no concession; the other thought the present an improper time. He wished to know from the latter what reason they had for further delay. He observed, that the best way to remove the irritation and suspicion which was complained of, was to treat them kindly. Show that you have confidence in them, and they will place confidence in you. He urged their lordships to be no longer misled by delusions, which prevented them from adopting that measure which could alone knit together the hearts of all the population of the empire: that measure would give to the protestant a security which he never could obtain by oppression, while it would en-

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sure the attachment of the catholic, by presenting to him the charter of his emancipation. The question being loudly called for, a division took place on earl Fitzwilliam's motion.

Contents	-	-	-	-	-	42
Proxies	-	-	-	-	-	37

Total	-	-	-	-	-	79
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Non Contents	-	-	-	-	-	86
Proxies	-	-	-	-	-	76

Total	-	-	-	-	-	162
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Majority against the motion 83.
Adjourned.

House of commons, Jan. 31.—
Mr. Lockhart rose to call the attention of the house to the consideration of this question, whether any or what members of that honourable house had a right to sit and vote there, after they had been regularly declared bankrupts? In the time of Edward the first, a proclamation had been issued, directing sheriffs not to return persons who were bankrupts as members of parliament. That proclamation, however, had not been properly attended to, and therefore that did not go to disqualify persons so situated from sitting in parliament. The disqualification, if any existed on that ground in law, arose from the circumstance of the parties so situated not retaining that qualification which was required by law to sit and vote in that house. Now he conceived that the law not only required that a member of parliament should have that qualification at the time of his election, but that he should retain it so long as he retained his seat. It would be but a mockery if the law required such qualification in the first instance, and afterwards dispensed with it, so that a

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person could be invested with it for one day, and, though he lost it for ever on the next, continue a member of that house. He did not presume to say that an inquisitorial power should be given to look into the qualification of a member at any time; but he thought it might be right, when it was notorious that such qualification had been publicly taken away by the operation of the law, that a member should no longer retain his seat. Such a regulation, however, he did not say could be extended to the whole house of commons. The Scotch members, and the eldest sons of earls, he moved as exceptions. The hon. member then cited various statutes on the subject of the qualification of members of parliament, and concluded a very able speech by moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire if any and what persons, being members of this house, and becoming bankrupts, are capable of sitting and voting therein."

Sir C. Price seconded the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, it was clear, from the hon. gentleman's own arguments, that at present the house could not come to a resolution that bankrupts were excluded from sitting there by any existing law. If it could at all be contended that a bankrupt was by law incapable of sitting there, it was only by an inference that his qualification was affected by his bankruptcy; but still, as persons had seats in that house, who had no qualification by property, their qualifications could not be affected by bankruptcy, and therefore by law it could not be maintained that bankrupts were excluded from parliament.

It was another question, whether or not there might be reason for making a law to exclude bankrupts from sitting there; but as the law at present stood, they could not by any means be excluded. A member of parliament might become a bankrupt after the close of parliament, and might get his certificate signed by the time the next session commenced, and gain new property to qualify him to hold his seat, and was he then to be dispossessed of it on such grounds?—In cases of fraud, any one could move the expulsion of a member on that ground. A member of that house might lose his property after one session, and yet, by the death of his father or relation, or by some other circumstances, he might by the next session be a richer man than he had ever been before. A person might be a bankrupt, without being insolvent, and insolvent without being a bankrupt; so that the mere circumstance of his being made a bankrupt was not of itself enough to disqualify a man from holding a seat in that house. He objected to the motion before the house, which was for appointing a committee to inquire if any and what persons were capable of sitting and voting there after being made bankrupts, or in other words (he was sure his hon. friend would know he meant nothing disrespectful) the motion was for the appointment of a committee to read an act of parliament. This he thought unnecessary, as he could not see that this house could entertain any doubt of what the law was on that subject. If any doubt existed, it might be proper to appoint a committee to search the journals; but on the present occasion

casion he could see no necessity to appoint the committee proposed. Whether or not it might be expedient to bring in a bill to alter the law, was quite another question, on which at present he had no disposition to pronounce an opinion. The motion was negatived.

Feb. 3.—Lord Morpeth rose, pursuant to his notice, to make his promised motion respecting the state of Ireland. He wished to call the attention of the house at once to the propriety and expediency of admitting the catholics of Ireland to the full benefits of the British constitution, and he called upon all those who entertained no other objection to their claims, than the apprehension of abandoning the protestants of Ireland, to bear in mind that those very protestants were now as zealous in promoting those claims, as the catholics themselves, and considered the favourable reception of them as essential to the security of the protestant establishment in Ireland, and to the general prosperity of the empire. It had been objected, that the granting these claims could render no real service to the great body of the catholics—would it not, he asked, be removing from them a ground of justifiable discontent? Was it nothing to the private soldier to see the officer who had led him to victory, raised by his merit to command a regiment or an army? Was it nothing to the peasantry of a country to see their gentry occupying the highest political stations? There were two classes of objectors to the catholic claim; the first composed those who objected to the principle, and who would perpetuate for ever the exclusion of the catholics from the constitution—such persons dreaded the subversion of church and state

from the alleged designs of the catholics, in contradiction of all the most solemn tests and declarations made by the latter; but even though they did indulge in this illiberal and utter disbelief of the catholic, who owed his exclusion from that house to his conscientious regard to truth?—if, however, the catholic was not to be believed, did those gentlemen believe it possible that, looking at the catholic religion, counterbalanced as it was by the great body of dissenters in this empire, a class of men certainly not interested in building up a catholic hierarchy upon the ruins of a protestant establishment.—He contended that the catholics could not do it if they would. He next adverted to the measure of union, and thought that the consent of the catholics had been secured to that measure by an understanding that their emancipation should be the consequence. The greatest statesmen of modern times, however they differed upon other points, agreed as to the necessity and justice of conceding a participation of the constitution to the catholics. The great mind of Mr. Fox never made a nobler display of its great powers than in advocating the claims of the catholics. He trusted that gentlemen would at least give the question a fair investigation, and not look at it through the mist of their prejudices. Sooner or later the cause of justice and of the catholics must prevail. It was most desirable not only that the concessions required should be granted without delay, but that they should be granted spontaneously. The manner of giving was often as important as the gift itself. After some other observations, the noble lord concluded by moving, "That this house

house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present state of Ireland."

The marquis of Tavistock seconded the motion.

Sir John Nichol said, he could not look upon this question without considering it as one that involved in it the security of the constitution. He was anxious not to be misunderstood: every enlightened man held bigotry in just abhorrence; but he trusted that it was not necessary to cease to be a christian in order to cease to be a bigot. He flattered himself he had no religious prejudices, but he should be sorry if he had not religious preferences. In this spirit, and with this feeling, he would frankly say, if the concessions now sought for could be granted to the catholics with safety to the constitution, that reason and justice required they should be granted. But if, on the other hand, they could not be granted with safety to the constitution, then reason and justice to the catholics themselves required that they should not be granted. But the catholics, they were told, came before them not to solicit concessions, but to demand their natural rights. The natural rights of the catholics! It was now too late to be dragged back by any new philosophy to those exploded notions that went to the root of all social compacts, by making the individual morally independent of society. But others contended, that what was now sought for was nothing more than the constitutional privileges of the catholics. Where do these privileges lie? In what part of the constitution are they to be found? If they are privileges, they are conferred by the laws.

Where are the laws which so con-

fer them? But in fact they are not in the constitution; the constitution not only does not give them, but refuses them: consequently, to grant those concessions, they must first change the constitution: therefore the question before them was not whether they should give certain rights to the catholics, but whether they should alter the constitution. The thing proposed was neither more nor less than an alteration in the constitution. And now, if that was the proposition before them, it was materially necessary to bear in mind throughout the discussion of it, that no proposed alteration should be allowed to impair or destroy any of the great leading essential properties of that constitution. This being granted to him, he would ask if the ascendancy of the protestant church was not an essential property of that constitution, and then the question would be, how far the granting of those concessions would affect that ascendancy? It was here to be recollected, that that revolution, so fondly and so justly called the glorious revolution, did not go to establish merely a protestant king, but to surround him with a protestant council, a protestant ministry, and a protestant parliament. That glorious revolution was not founded merely on religious preference, but our national religion was preferred, among other reasons, because it had been found at all times most favourable to the cultivation and the maintenance of the most rational principles of civil liberty. The honourable gentleman concluded with saying: When the state of the catholic changed from ignorance to knowledge, from turbulence to order,—when he grew more enlightened, less bigoted, more civilised,—then, perhaps, the attempt

attempt might be made more auspiciously ; but at present, to make him equal with the protestant, would be to prepare the way for the destruction of the protestant ascendancy. The catholics themselves would make the attempt—they must do it—it was not in human nature to suppose they would not. The two religions could no more go hand in hand, equally together, than two stars could move in the same sphere. Let the catholic be instructed and enlightened by constant and familiar intercourse with his protestant countrymen, let him be taught the value of the blessings of the British constitution, and then, and not till then, it might be safe to grant him conditionally what he sought for. But as circumstances now stood, he trusted that parliament was not to be teased, much less intimidated, into a premature and dangerous compliance. Where could they stop more safely than at that point at which they were now arrived ? The circle round their protestant establishments had been gradually diminishing—let it contract no further, lest it should reach that vortex, within whose sweeping violence a protestant throne, a protestant parliament, and a protestant constitution, might be engulfed for ever !

Mr. Canning could not but regret that the question had been brought into discussion at the present moment. He regretted it, because he could not but feel that animosity might be created against the claims of the Roman catholics of Ireland, after the speech of his right honourable and learned friend. He was aware that the agitation of the question at the present moment brought along with it disadvantages from which he should have wished to see it re-

lieved ; but by the speech of his right honourable and learned friend it had been encumbered with additional disadvantages, which ought not fairly to have belonged to the object now in view. Here Mr. Canning very eloquently expatiated on the subject, and finished a masterly speech with saying : I firmly believe that the time is now come when this great work may be, by the exercise of prudence and temper, at length accomplished ; and when all those who do not, with my right honourable friend, think the restrictions essential to our constitution, may, by the gradual dissipation of hostile prejudices, no longer find any difficulty or insuperable obstacles to encounter. Considering still, however, that a general concurrence of sentiment should be first manifested, and that the measure now proposed may be attended with the various practical disadvantages, I must give my vote against the motion.

The honourable C. Hutchinson, lord George Grenville, Mr. Herbert, and sir Arthur Pigott, were for the motion.

Mr. Wellesley Pole justified all the measures of government. He then entered upon the general question of the propriety of conceding the demands of the catholics, and declared that he never was one of those who thought that no further privileges should be granted to them, but at the same time he was fully convinced of the impossibility of putting them on the same footing, in relation to the church and state, as the protestants. He thought that the catholic body had pursued a line of conduct, and exhibited a tone of temper, which put it beyond the power of parliament, at present, to alter their condition. He concluded by expressing

ing his decided hostility to the motion.

Mr. Sheridan replied, and the question was adjourned till next day.

Feb. 4.—The order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate on the state of Ireland being put and agreed to,

Sir John Newport begged the indulgence of the house, being much indisposed, while he defended himself against an attack made upon him, on the former night's debate, in his absence—a defence which, he trusted, he should always be able to make in regard to his public conduct. He should always, he trusted, entertain a due respect for the legal authorities of the country, but in doing so, he must be allowed to say, that the privy council could not make law; and that when it issued any declaration as law, any person, or body of men, had a right to remonstrate against it, doing so in decent and temperate language. It was true, as had been said on the former night, that he did attend a meeting of the catholics of Waterford; and he did tell the people assembled at that meeting, that it was from that house that they were to look for redress of their grievances. He was never one of those who would turn away petitioners or complainants from the door of that house. There was a time when the disaffected did instil into the public mind, that the door of that house was shut against them; and lately government, in an infatuated moment, seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to turn them away from the doors of the house. What! Did they think there was safety in refusing to listen to the petitions of four millions of their fellow-subjects? Did they think that that was a line of conduct which would tend to tranquil-

lize them? In this house there were fresh views of a subject every year; their minds were never to be supposed shut against conviction; their sentences were never to be conceived as definitively given; but what they had refused one year they might grant the very next. He called on the house, therefore, to meet the just and moderate demands of the catholics while in their power, and thus to unite the empire in harmony and reciprocity of interest.

Mr. C. Adams, and several other members, spoke strongly against the motion; Mr. Parnell was in favour of it. After this, lord Castlereagh spoke at length. He said, he did not feel it necessary to press his view of the subject in detail upon the house, but he could not help thinking that the present moment for agitating this question was most inauspicious. The catholic mind was not prepared for the concessions, nor had the feelings of the protestants been duly consulted in the late proceedings in Ireland; but he was perfectly ready to acknowledge that he had always had a feeling of reserve in pressing this question, which he never was disposed to disguise, in which he was fully justified by his duty, and warranted on constitutional principles. He did undoubtedly consider that there was an insuperable difficulty to concession at the period when his lordship retired with Mr. Pitt from office in 1801, in a very high quarter, to which he felt it right to pay implicit deference. This opinion was not founded upon any idea of the importance of the general objections urged against the claims, but it arose entirely from different considerations—it originated in the respect which his lordship felt dis-

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posed to pay to the sanctity of an oath, which, with the distinguished personage who conceived himself bound by it, left no choice. The crown deemed itself prevented from acceding by this sacred bondage, and his lordship on this occasion felt it to be his duty to stand between the crown and the people; not that he felt that there was any expression contained in the coronation oath, which did not leave the king at free liberty to legislate upon this subject, as had been done when former important concessions were made to the catholics, which he was convinced were still remembered by them with gratitude. Still, however, there was a conscientious belief that the measure would militate against the security of the established church; and although his lordship was firmly convinced that the oath itself was imposed upon the king more in an executive than a legislative capacity, yet this opinion was not to be superseded. With regard to the proceedings in Ireland during the last summer, his lordship felt anxious to say a few words. He was willing to put the most favourable construction upon them; nor were, in his mind, the charges of intemperance, or want of prudence, to be made against the whole body of the catholics. After observing upon the disposition shown to support these concessions by the protestant part of the community, his lordship entered into the question, whether the quantum of power, which the catholics would thus obtain, could be safely intrusted to them? and although it could not be denied that there was some danger attending it, yet the balance was certainly much in favour of the catholics, and no evil had yet been found to result from the grant to them

of the elective franchise. Such were his views of this important question, which he was the more anxious to state, as he had to make out a defensive case, the *onus probandi* being undoubtedly with those who supported the propriety of granting the concessions. He strongly deprecated, in conclusion, going into a committee, without any definite plan being proposed, only guided by the unintelligible discussion that had taken place on this subject both within and without the house, which he entreated gentlemen no longer to countenance.

Mr. Whitbread was now, as he always had been, most desirous that the house should concur in the motion proposed, and he agreed with many of the general propositions stated; but he begged leave to give his most unqualified dissent to the assertion made by the last speaker, that the discussions on this subject had retarded the object the catholics had in view. Discussion alone, he maintained, had raised them from that state of abject slavery in which they were once plunged; and to repeated discussions they would owe their ultimate and complete liberation, which the noble lord himself, after balancing the difficulties and dangers with the advantages, had confessed ought to be accomplished. Mr. Whitbread adverted to the consequences of the catholic disabilities, as they affected military men, and prevented them from rising in the army beyond a certain rank. Irish brigades, he continued, are formed on the continent, because Irishmen, ardent, brave, and enthusiastic, full of honour, and eager for distinction, could not submit to those restrictions which limited their views of promotion in the British service.—

What were the consequences? In almost every battle which this nation had fought on the continent, at the battles of Blenheim, of Ramillies, and of Malplaquet, Irishmen had been brigaded against us. This had hitherto been the case, and this would still be the case; for what was now being done? The same barrier was interposed, and the same effects would follow.—Step by step the Irish had acquired what privileges they possessed, and those acquisitions were the result of successive discussions. In 1793 their intellect was allowed to have birth and expand; now it had arrived at maturity, and he would ask, if it was intended to brigade that intellect in our service, or was it to be turned against us? Alluding to the speech of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) on the preceding evening,⁴ he was happy to add his testimony of the singular eloquence by which it was distinguished. With that right honourable gentleman he perfectly concurred in every thing, except the commencement and the conclusion of his speech. An honourable member had declared his opinion of that speech in these words: *satís eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum*: he would rather say, *satís eloquentiæ, sapientiæ satís*. He was not surprised, however, that the arguments of the right honourable gentleman had not produced conviction in the house, for they had not produced conviction in the speaker himself. Ye he (Mr. Canning) was in a situation last night, when something different might have been expected from him—last night he was himself emancipated. He was under no control from office feelings: he was under no restrictions from the influence of his colleagues; his genius took its full flight;

his plumage displayed all its brightest hues: and what was the consequence? Labouring to convince every body else, he could not at last obtain his own vote!—Was this the man who had hitherto been the enemy of the catholic claims? Was this the man who when in office had distinguished himself as the strenuous opposer of catholic concession?—Was this the man who had concurred in that vote which went to disqualify a catholic from being a bank director in Ireland?—Alas! such is the inconsistency of human nature, this was the same man!—We were now told by him, he would be ready to accede to the catholic claims, provided certain animosities were allayed, certain prejudices done away, and tranquillity restored. These conditions were certainly as unreasonable as those of the learned civilian who succeeded him in the debate. There were no more grounds for supposing that tranquillity could be restored till these concessions were granted, than for believing that catholic emancipation would be decreed by the removal of delegates from Ireland to Norwich. The right honourable gentleman stipulated, as a preliminary, that certain prejudices should be removed; but who had concurred so much, who assisted so much to generate those prejudices as the right honourable gentleman himself and the noble lord (Castlereagh) with whom he had acted? In 1807 these prejudices did not exist; in 1807, the whole of the country was tranquil; but in 1807 the member for Northampton aroused the one, and violated the other; and yet now he was an advocate for catholic emancipation, with certain preliminary provisions! Might he (Mr. Whitbread) not exclaim, as he contemplated this circumstance,

stance, O innocent inconsistency of human nature! Much had been said about the menacing attitude which Ireland had assumed, and the impolicy as well as the degradation of submitting to this threatening aspect. To him it appeared, that we first made the attitude, we first drove them to the necessity, and then we declare that we will not yield to it. But did not historical evidence go against the right honourable gentleman in his declaration of the impolicy of acceding to menacing attitudes? In the reign of Elizabeth great concessions had been made to the Irish, and surely their attitude was as menacing as now. But she was a sovereign who knew how to give; she knew how to bestow as the boon of her free grace, what, when she gave, was received with gratitude. Other sovereigns only knew how to withhold, and at last they have been forced to yield to menacing attitudes. Had not this been the case in the Low Countries in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and had it not been the case with America? And yet, at that period, there were persons in that house who talked as big about menacing attitudes as they did now. America, however, had now grown to a state of importance, and with America there seemed to be no prospect of avoiding a war—a war with an independent people, and not with rebels, as they were called at the period he had alluded to. The right honourable gentleman said, that a new era had dawned upon the Irish—the day-spring of their liberty had appeared. And was it not to be supposed that the people of Ireland had watched this new era with the fondness of devotion; that they had hailed it with the ardour of gratitude? They supposed it to be commenced;

and they asked, Can you now take our claims into consideration—can you now listen to our grievances? No, replied the right honourable gentleman: you must remove your prejudices; you must allay your animosities, and then we will listen to you. Did he think what would be the disappointment of the people of Ireland at this? Did he think the whole business was not watched in Ireland? Would they hear him talk of the signs of the times, and yet suffer him to neglect them? The advice contained in the right honourable gentleman's conditions seemed to him to be, that effects should precede causes. The cause that would remove the prejudices, the cause that would restore tranquillity, was concession: grant that, and the effect would necessarily follow. But, it had been asked, what have the Irish Catholics to give in return for this concession? They would be able to give us all their energy—they would be able to give us all their loyalty—and they would be able to give us an united empire. Were not these exchanges worth obtaining? The right honourable gentleman had illustrated his argument by an allusion to the reign of Henry IV. of France. But what did that monarch do? He conceded the claims of the Hugonots, and then all dissatisfaction ceased. The Hugonots were not, as had been represented that night, a small and unimportant body—they were numerous and powerful; and Sully, that admirable minister, that pattern of all ministers, that upright, honest, wise, and conscientious adviser of his sovereign, had declared, in that very page where he records the edict of Nantes, that the insolence of the protestants had never risen to such boldness as at the very moment when this edict was

was granted. But supposing the right honourable gentleman had been the minister of Henry IV. what would have been his counsel? True it is, (he would have said) that your majesty is well disposed towards your protestant subjects:—true it is that all your majesty's subjects, and your protestant subjects in particular, thought the time was come for discussing their claims, and listening to their grievances; but certain petty objections exist, certain little prejudices must be removed, certain paltry animosities must be allayed; and I advise your majesty, therefore, not to suffer the question to be now taken into consideration. Such would have been the right honourable gentleman's advice. But Henry IV. would have spurned such a minister from his presence. But, it had been said, if the claims of the catholics of Ireland be granted, the same must be granted to the catholics of England. Certainly, and it ought to be so. Nay, more: the test acts must be repealed, and the dissenters would have their immunities also. And where was the danger to the established church from all this? He (Mr. Whitbread) was a member of the established church, and he wished to see it fortified by the removal of all those restrictions which were only a weight and an incumbrance upon it. These fears about the established church were always sounded in our ears, as often as the present question was agitated. If the catholic claims were granted, the church would be overturned; if the dissenters were relieved from tests, which were virtually abrogated every year, the church would be overturned. In fact, however, the church of England, from the purity of its principles, from the firm root

it had taken, never could be overturned but by its own indolence, its own want of foresight. The alarm about the church of England, however, was not a peculiar one. We had seen it stated by a grave divine, that giving away the bible, the pure fountain of all our religious knowledge, without gloss or comment, would overturn the church of England. The honourable member concluded an eloquent and most animated speech, by adverting to the opinion expressed by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning), that concession might be delayed till the catholics were in a state of flat despair, and when their petitions would be a species of revenge. Good God! continued Mr. Whitbread, might I not exclaim here, O wonderful ignorance of human nature! Could it be supposed that men exasperated by disappointment, furious from oppression, and intemperate from necessity, would employ the whining accents of petitioning? He feared they would not; he feared they would adopt a different language; and lest, therefore, they should be driven to that extreme, he thought that parliament should gratuitously accede to their claims.

The attorney-general replied. Mr. Ponsonby argued in behalf of the motion, and was followed by Mr. Perceval, who declared that he gave the noble lord who brought forward the motion credit, both for his motives and for the ability he had displayed in its support. He was sure he was not paying an ill compliment to that noble lord to say, he deplored, however, in common with other members, the calamity which had taken it out of those hands which were fully competent to do it justice. This he thought he might say, for it belonged

loaged to feelings which the sentiments or differences of party ought not to influence. But at the same time he could not withhold his strong disapprobation, both of the mode adopted on this occasion by the other side of the house, and of the object which that mode was selected to accomplish. Upon the general subject of the catholic claims, said Mr. Perceval, "my opinions are well known—I have seen no reason to alter them—I have before said that I could not conceive a time, or any change of circumstances, which could render further concessions to the catholics consistent with the safety of the state, and to those opinions I continue to adhere." The right honourable gentleman then entered into an argument, in order to show that the *veto* was the only security that had ever been suggested—and that this had been refused by the catholics, who, though willing to receive concessions, were not quite so willing to concede. Some securities, however, were deemed by all men (and particularly lord Grenville, who had stated in his letter that he must despair of the success of the catholic cause, unless some arrangement of this kind was acceded to) to be essential conditions; and as these were not likely to be granted, he could not think that this was a fit time for any further discussion of the question.

Mr. Grattan said, if the conduct of the catholic body had been more vehement than that of men in the full enjoyment of their rights would have exhibited; if it was not altogether constitutional in every point, parliament themselves were the cause; they had deprived four millions of people of their rights, and they were not to be astonished that these four millions of people had

spirit enough to feel the injury. The catholics were called upon to triumph over their prejudices, as if the prejudices were altogether on the side of the catholics. It should not, however, be a victory of one sect over another sect, but of both against common prejudices; and the result of this mutual victory would be, the establishment of public tranquillity. The conduct of parliament towards the catholics was injurious to the best interests of the nation. It taught them to consider that the principal argument against their cause, however invincible, was not to be defined; but if the people were to be familiarized to repeated defeats, they would destroy that spirit by which the liberties of a people were to be protected. The refusal of the catholics to take the oath wished to be imposed upon them, was the strongest argument in their favour; for a deist, an atheist, nay, even Lucifer himself, might take that oath which the catholics would not take. He did not consider the catholic oath intended as an evidence of the catholic conviction, but as an evidence of their political disaffection; and whenever this disaffection ceased, the principle on which the oath was justifiable ceased also. It had been said, that concession to the catholics of part of their claims formerly produced no good, and that they were dissatisfied at that government under which they were granted. Did the concessions produce no good effect? What! was it no advantage that the soldiers and sailors, after the repeal, shed their blood with pleasure at your command? Although the ministry who granted the concessions derived no advantage, the ease and facility with which the army and navy afterwards were filled, was an advantage

vantage to the country. A right honourable and learned gentleman (sir John Nichol) thought it would be advisable to wait till the Irish were better informed, and less disorderly and less barbarous. But this was a reflection on the English government. However hard the laws under which they suffered, still an affectionate peasantry filled the armies of their country. With respect to the danger of the church—the church establishment was not made for the ministry nor the king, but for the people. It had been thought proper to give the religious establishment of England to the people of Ireland, in which, perhaps, they were right; but they were wrong if they imposed upon the people of Ireland the English church, and then made that a reason for disqualifying them for the enjoyment of their rights.—Was it to be said that the establishment of the English church was not compatible with the liberties of the people? He had never seen any alteration proposed in church or state, without going into a committee; and he lamented to see the manner in which the ministry were raising up imaginary difficulties, for they seemed to embrace the difficulty merely because they were in opposition to the principle. Any thing might be food for opposition to an unwilling ministry. He remembered, when the Irish reform was proposed, no plan could be found practicable; but when the union came, it was all done in less than a week. Upwards of twenty-five law-suits existed at present in Ireland. They had gone to law with the whole people of Ireland, and they had gone to law with individuals, and no less than five actions had been brought against the lord chief justice; there were suits on all sides,

and able lawyers on all sides: lawyer against lawyer: evil against evil: longrobe against longrobe; but would the fire which raged at present in Ireland be extinguished by all the twenty-five law-suits, or by all the sufferings of the members of the Irish committee? The evil did not exist in this or that chief justice, or in this or that secretary, but in the law itself; and in order to produce satisfaction it was necessary to repeal the law. When an artery in the political body was tied up, that body naturally fell into convulsions. The Irish catholics exhausted their treasure and their blood in the defence of the empire; the people of England were not insensible to their merits, nor unwilling to acknowledge their merits; and supposing the minister should procure a temporary triumph, he would tell him, that the honest feeling, that the honour and honesty of the people of England, would not long support him in that triumph. Whether this country should stand or fall in her struggle with the enemy of Europe, he wished it might stand or fall with Ireland—but with Ireland in the possession of equal privileges and equal rights.

For the motion - - - 195

Against it - - - 229

Majority against the motion 94

Feb. 6.—Mr. Whitbread noticed the riotous proceedings which had prevailed three months at Nottingham, and inquired if ministers were prepared to go into an inquiry upon the subject.

Mr. Ryder said that those riots had greatly subsided within the last few days, and that an opportunity would be afforded of examining the subject when the police bill, which was now in preparation, should be produced.

Mr.

Mr. Wallace then moved the appointment of the East India committee; which being opposed by Mr. Creevey,

Mr. Grant said that the company would not oppose the extension of commercial intercourse with India: of the advantages likely to be derived from laying the trade with India open, he believed that the sanguine expectations now entertained on that head would end in disappointment. The European traders in the ports of India and China had more goods in their warehouses than they could sell; and they found that European goods were becoming more and more unsaleable. The Americans managed this traffic with more advantage, because they were neutrals, and could carry Indian commodities into the ports of France.

Generals Tarleton and Gascoigne said that the merchants at the out-ports would be greatly disappointed if the trade with India was not laid open: the former laid great stress upon the commercial distresses of the town of Liverpool.

The motion was agreed to.

Feb. 7.—On the motion for the second reading of the bill for preventing the granting of offices in reversion, Mr. W. Dundas and the chancellor of the exchequer opposed it, as holding out a hope which would not be realised, of a reduction in the public expenditure, and tending to excite a popular clamour.

Sir Samuel Romilly, sir J. Sebright, lord A. Hamilton, colonel Bastard, Messrs. Ponsonby and Elliot, considering the bill as a measure of economy, supported the second reading.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that

the only two gentlemen who had spoken against the bill were two very principal reversioners. The second reading was then opposed by 50 to 54.

Mr. Perceval then moved that it be read a second time on this day six months; to which Mr. Banks moved an amendment, that it be read a second time this day fortnight. The amendment was lost by 52 to 55.

Mr. Ponsonby then moved that the house should adjourn immediately; which was likewise lost by 45 to 59.

House of lords, Feb. 10.—The earl of Liverpool, in moving the thanks of the house to lord Wellington for the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, dwelt on the importance of that fortress as opening a way into almost the centre of Spain. The capture of it in 1810, when Massena with 110,000 men made his attack on Portugal, was owing to the very inferior force which lord Wellington commanded, not exceeding 17,000 British and 14,000 Portuguese. But though the British commander thought it necessary to limit himself to the defence of Portugal, by retiring behind the lines of Torres Vedras, he never lost sight of the necessity of recovering it. His first step was to restore the fortifications of Almeida, in order that it might serve as a depôt; and he was happy to state that that fortress was in a respectable state of defence. His lordship here paid a handsome compliment to the different departments of the army, which had, under the disadvantages of a siege in the depth of winter, taken the fortress by storm in so few days, which had cost the enemy a month. This was a blow to the enemy which he did not expect;

pect; the calculation upon scientific grounds being, that it might hold out twenty-five days; Marmont had therefore calculated on being in good time on the 24th. His lordship concluded by moving the thanks of the house to lord Wellington, for the skill, ability, indefatigable exertions, and consummate wisdom manifested by him in the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. This and other motions of thanks to general Graham, the other general officers, and to the engineers of the artillery, British and Portuguese, were agreed to *unm. diss.*; as also a tribute to the merits of major-gen. Mackinnon.

In the commons, the same day, after a speech from the chancellor of the exchequer, in which he dwelt upon the skill and valour displayed at Ciudad Rodrigo, votes of thanks were passed to lord Wellington, generals Graham, Picton, Colville, Craufurd, Vandeleur, and Pack; likewise to the officers and privates of the artillery and engineers, and to the officers and privates of the Portuguese army serving under lord Wellington.—An address to the prince regent, for erecting a monument to the memory of major-general Mackinnon, was then voted.

Feb. 11.—Mr. Creevey, after an historical account of the imposition of the 4½ per cent. Leeward Island duties, and the abuses which prevailed in regard to that fund by the numerous pensions paid out of it, such as 3000*l.* per annum to the earl of Chatham, 1500*l.* to lady Grenville, and 9000*l.* a-year to the late duke of Gloucester, for twenty years, moved for a committee to examine into the nature of this revenue, its amount and application.

Messrs. Long and Perceval opposed the motion, alleging that

these duties formed part of the hereditary revenue of the crown, and could not be diverted without an express act of parliament.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that the purity of the opponents of this motion was questionable, as they had each a pension of 1500*l.* a-year from the fund.

Mr. Marriott suggested, that as the duties were a voluntary gift on the part of the people of Barbadoes in the exuberance of their loyalty, they should be dispensed with now that the colonies were so heavily taxed, and reduced to such distress. The motion was then negatived by 50 to 19.

Feb. 13.—Mr. Whitbread, after a prefatory speech, in which he inferred from the official papers published by the American government, that there had been a want of conciliation on our part towards the Americans, and that Mr. Pinkney, during his mission to this country, experienced much neglect and incivility from marquis Wellesley, who did not return an answer to many of his notes until after the lapse of weeks, moved an address to the prince regent, for copies of the correspondence between the two governments, and the different ministers, on the part of both countries.

Mr. Stephen declared that the charges made by the honourable mover were unfounded. America had advanced extravagant and unheard-of pretensions, which were incompatible with our maritime rights.

Mr. Curwen spoke with much warmth against the orders in council, and the measures of government. He concluded by expressing a hope that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) would not continue much longer to direct the councils of the country, and that

that his removal would lead to an entire change of measures.

Mr. Perceval said, it was not his wish to enter into a discussion now of those points for which the honourable gentleman wished those papers to be produced; and he should vote against the production of them, because he thought that ministers ought not to consent to lay a foundation for a discussion which, in their opinion, might do harm at the present moment, and could be productive of no good. The honourable gentleman seemed to think that the correspondence between the two countries was now finally closed, and that therefore there could be no danger in their production. He, for his part, hoped that the correspondence was not finally closed; and while a hope of that sort remained, however slight, he would wish to cherish it, and do nothing which could increase irritation. He thought it possible that there were points in those discussions which might still be brought to a favourable issue, and which could hardly be expected if those matters were publicly discussed in that house. He was extremely desirous to believe that the final issue might be different from what appeared in the present state of things, and therefore he did not feel himself at liberty to go freely into such a discussion until the final determination. There

were many points in the conduct of America which he could not now characterize by those epithets that he would conceive himself justified in using, if an amicable settlement of those points became impossible. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Curwen) had more than once, in the course of his speech, expressed a hope that his majesty's present

ministers were not likely long to hold that situation. Whatever golden dreams might be indulged on this subject, he must say, as far as he knew any thing about the matter, he rather imagined that the honourable gentleman would find that his consolatory prospects would not open upon him so pleasantly as he imagined. But if the system which the honourable gentleman so strongly recommended were to be a system dictated to the government of this country to pursue, then indeed he should feel happy to quit his present situation, and not to form a part of any administration which should pursue a course so hostile, as he conceived, to the true interests of the country.

Mr. Baring said that, notwithstanding the moderation expressed by the tone and manner of the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer), still he felt perfectly confident, from the state of the discussions between the two countries, and from the prevailing feeling in this country, that it was hardly possible that war could be avoided. If it were carried on in the spirit and tone expressed by an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Stephen), he augured most serious mischiefs from it. The honourable member then proceeded to contend that the system introduced by the orders in council was in itself an evil, leaving out of view the imminent danger of their involving us in the calamitous contest with America. Nothing could more surprise him than to hear an honourable and learned gentleman talk so loudly of our commerce being prostrate before these orders were adopted, and asserting that they had produced great commercial prosperity. He could

could hardly believe it possible that any man should be so utterly ignorant of the state of our trade; so utterly unacquainted with all that was going on around him, as to bring forward such an assertion. The number of bankruptcies every day taking place—the crowds of starving manufacturers in our towns—the circumstance of whole regiments being necessary to keep the peace in one of our large manufacturing districts—and the petitions sent up from the potteries, from Sheffield, and Liverpool—all proved the calamitous effects of the orders in council on the commerce of the country.

Mr. Wilberforce said that, for his part, he was ready to admit that there was scarcely any measure consistent with the honour and security of the country, to which he would not resort, rather than engage in a war with America; but at the same time he must be permitted to add, that he did not regard this motion as calculated, in its effects, to promote conciliation. Neither was he prepared to throw the blame of our commercial distresses entirely upon the orders in council. These orders had at first been very popular among the mercantile classes; and though many outcries should now rise against them from the same quarter, yet the house ought not, when discussing their policy, to be influenced by feelings which such complaints were apt to excite, but to look back on the past, as well as forward to the future, and form a comprehensive view of what would be most beneficial to the country under all circumstances. He felt that a war with America would be extremely hurtful to this country; but he believed it would be still more cala-

mitous to America. He was also of opinion, that among all thinking men in this country there was the strongest disposition to maintain peace between the two nations. Of this the honest and cordial warmth with which Mr. Pinkney, the late American minister, was received at all the public meetings which he attended in this country, afforded a strong proof.

Several other gentlemen spoke, and Mr. Whitbread replied; after which on a division there were

Ayes 28

Noes 136

Majority 108 against the motion.

Feb. 14. Mr. Ryder called the attention of the house to those acts of outrage and disturbance which had for a considerable time prevailed in and disgraced a part of the country. In the course of the proceedings, which were already well known to the house, private property had been violated and destroyed, and the dwellings of individuals forcibly entered by armed men in disguise. Soon after the first manifestation of this disorderly and insurrectionary spirit, the militia of the county of Nottingham had been called out, and the progress of the rioters was for some time arrested. The same turbulent and outrageous proceedings were afterwards renewed; and application being made to government, several squadrons of dragoons were ordered to march to the scene of these depredations. Fears began to be entertained lest a similar spirit of tumult should pervade the counties of Leicester and Derby. No requisition for military assistance had, however, been neglected by government, and in the month of December last there were not less, in addition

dition to the militia and cavalry, than 1000 regular troops in that part of the country in which the outrages had been perpetrated. He could venture to say, that no application for military force had ever been made unsuccessfully, the force having almost always been supplied on the very day of the application. He had dispatched an intelligent magistrate, for the purpose of inquiring into the most desirable and speedy way of putting an end to the disturbances. On the 18th of December a reward was offered on the conviction of any of the rioters; a measure, he was willing to admit, of doubtful policy, and which it would have been better perhaps never to have resorted to. About the 13th of January, two magistrates were again dispatched, with a number of police officers. These things he stated, not for the purpose of answering any charge which he supposed his conduct might be liable to, but merely out of respect to the house, conceiving that, when any new measure was called for, it was necessary to show that all those which were compatible with the existing laws had been fruitlessly employed. It was, he feared, but too true, that in many cases the master had been an active accomplice with the workmen in the destructive practice of breaking of frames; and this would account why, with all the exertions of the magistrates, so little had yet been discovered. The whole had been carried on and organized in a way such as he had never heard of before. Such had been the management at every one of these outrages, that nothing had ever transpired to allow a magistrate to apprehend any individual. The outrages were generally committed

about the close of day, by persons assembled in small numbers of three or four, who entered a house without exciting any suspicion, and, holding a pistol to the owner, broke the machinery without noise, while a party of military was often in sight, or within 100 yards distance. At other times a village would be entered by about 30 men, who had previously placed sentries around the village, to the number of about 20, making in all a body of 50 men; and yet not the slightest knowledge of the mischief could be obtained, till after all the individuals had effectually retired from the work of destruction. He did not conceive it necessary for him at present to enter into any discussion respecting this business. As far as his information reached, the causes of these disturbances had arisen from the immense trade in Nottingham three or four years ago. At that time a great extension of manufactures took place from the exportations for South America. Not only all the ordinary workmen were even then employed, but a number of independent frames, as they were called, were let out to different individuals throughout the country. This state of things began to cease about two years ago, when a number of the manufacturers discharged their workmen, and a great degree of distress was the consequence. These, he believed, were the real causes of all the distress and disturbances which had taken place. But whatever distress might be felt by individuals, it was impossible to countenance the mode of proceeding which they had adopted, and which would have the effect, perhaps, of driving out the manufacture itself from the county of Nottingham. On this subject it was

H import-

impossible to have two opinions. The question for the house now was, to provide some legislative enactment, to put a stop to the outrages. The house were aware, that by the 28th of the present king, cap. 55, the breaking of frames was made felony, and punishable by transportation. This enactment had proved completely insufficient to deter from the commission of the offence guarded against; and it was his intention to propose that it should now be made capital. He was, in general, no friend to the increase of capital punishments. The offence in question must be committed from some of the basest motives which can possibly actuate the human mind, and deserved a proportionate punishment. The principle on which he went was, that this offence was one which was dangerous to the best interests of the country; and such an offence, according to the definition of one of the greatest lawyers and best men of this country, sir Mathew Hale, was deserving of death. He would read to the house his definition of the offences which merited capital punishment. — [Here he read an extract from sir M. Hale.] Frames to the number of above 1000 had already been destroyed, and property to the amount of from 6 to 10,000*l.* thereby lost. The great difficulty was detection. It might be said, perhaps, that this severity of punishment would not remove the difficulty, and that it would remain precisely what it was; but he apprehended that the risk which the guilty person must incur, would be the paramount objection in his contemplation, and would probably deter him, while a more moderate punishment would be outweighed by the principles of

malice and revenge by which the rioters were actuated. There was another measure which he had already spoken of to the house, and that was, to renew the old system of watch and ward throughout the country, with such alterations as would accommodate it to the existing state of the country. If this system had been introduced previous to the disturbances, it was probable that they would have been crushed in their commencement.

Colonel Eyre (member for the county of Nottingham) seconded the motion. He could not but think the present would prove a salutary measure. No alteration was proposed to take place, but such as was necessary to bring into action the old and established law of the land. It might, perhaps, be thought that this measure was not equal to the emergency; but as it was consistent with the common law of the land, he hoped it would have a trial.

Mr. John Smith (member for Nottingham) joined with those who had preceded him, in thinking that these disturbances were of the most alarming nature, and would have been still more alarming had they been allowed to spread over the neighbouring counties. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder) in thinking that the mischief was really dreadful; but yet he was extremely unwilling that the punishment of death should be resorted to, because he was afraid that such a punishment would, instead of promoting, contribute very much to retard conviction. Something, however, he was willing to allow, must be done; and if terror would put down the mischief, he was ready to support it. There was another point he wished to advert to. There was

no law existing against the destruction of lace-frames, a branch of manufacture of as much consequence, he believed, as the manufacture of stockings. On this subject he might be mistaken, but he believed there was no law existing against the breaking of lace-frames. He did not think, considering the present state of the country, that he should oppose any thing which had a tendency to put an end to it. He thought the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Ryder) had shown, throughout the whole of this business, a degree of zeal, perseverance, and talent, which could not be sufficiently admired. With respect to the other measure, he would not say much, as it was not necessary in Nottingham. The magistrates of Nottingham had, from the beginning, conducted themselves with a vigour which he could wish to see every where imitated. They had divided the respectable inhabitants into detachments of fifties, who were ready at all times, day and night, when requisite; and such had been the good effects of these efforts, that in a town of 40,000 inhabitants, containing more misery than he had ever before seen, the magistrates had hitherto been able to preserve the public peace, with a few exceptions which no mortal vigilance could have prevented. The town of Nottingham had therefore gone beyond the measure of the rt. hon. gentleman.

Mr. Whitbread wished that there was a standing order of the house, that no enactment which involved capital punishment should be made, without previous inquiries by a committee as to the necessity of such enactment; and with regard to the infliction of the punishment of death, so far from its operating as a check upon crimes, they had

rather increased than diminished. It had been observed by the honourable member for Nottingham, that the disturbers went about armed; but it was to be remembered, that the penalty of death now proposed to be inflicted was for breaking frames, and not for using arms. He regretted that distress should have driven them to such acts; but the question for the house to consider was, whether the punishment provided by the present bill would prevent the repetition of such excesses. Would the facilities of conviction be increased by it? Certainly not. Was there any occasion for haste in passing the bill? Certainly not. He repeated his wish, therefore, that a committee should be appointed; that no penal enactment should pass without such solemnity and such inquiry as might leave recorded evidence of the grounds upon which they had acted. Might it not otherwise be thought, as it was too generally thought by all who had written upon the criminal code of this country, that we inflict the penalty of death too slightly? If a committee were to be proposed, he should certainly vote for its appointment. He was the first who called the attention of that house to the Nottingham riots, and on that occasion he expressed something like a doubt whether the secretary of state for the home department had done his duty: he was happy, however, now to add, that from inquiries which he had made, he was convinced the right honourable gentleman had done his duty in a most exemplary manner; and this was the opinion of all who had opportunities of knowing the fact. The magistrates of the town of Nottingham had also done their duty in a manner no less exemplary,

plary,—and what was the consequence? The evil had been cured. No frames had been broken in that town for the last month; and there was every reason to believe that, if no legal enactment were to take place, no more frames would be destroyed. With regard to the country, however, there might be reasons for the adoption of a different system.

Mr. Herbert thought, that before the present bill was allowed to be brought in, the house ought to know whether such laws as at present existed, applicable to the evils under consideration, had been found insufficient upon trial. This was what they did not know, but it was what he had told them. He conceived the appointment of a committee necessary; and if no one else would move for that committee, he would himself take this opportunity of doing it.

The question was then put, that leave be granted to bring in the bill; when the house divided,

Ayes 49

Noes 11

Majority 38

The bill was accordingly brought in, and carried through both houses in a few days, though not without opposition from sir Samuel Romilly, sir Arthur Pigott, and others, in the commons, and in the lords from the earls of Lauderdale and Grosvenor, and the lords Holland and Grenville.

House of lords, Feb. 18.—The earl of Liverpool presented a message from the prince regent, stating that his royal highness, in consideration of the eminent services of lord viscount Wellington, had been pleased to confer on him, and the heirs male of his body, the dignity of an earl, by the name, style

and title of earl of Wellington; and that his royal highness was desirous that an annuity of 2,000*l.* should be granted to the said earl of Wellington, in addition to the annuity before granted to him.

Feb. 20. The message of his royal highness the prince regent having been read by the lord chancellor,

The earl of Liverpool said, that in calling their lordships' attention to his royal highness the prince regent's most gracious message, it must be present to their minds, that the conferring the title alluded to was, the first act of the unrestrained prerogative of the crown vested in the prince regent; and he was convinced that no act could have given more universal satisfaction, in whatever point of view it was considered. To the military service it would be a test of the disposition of the prince regent to confer rewards where those rewards were earned by meritorious acts; and it would operate as an additional stimulus to those services, when they saw that their exertions would meet with those rewards to which they looked up with satisfaction. All classes of the public also, he was convinced, must contemplate with satisfaction the honour conferred upon the noble lord alluded to—an honour which was most justly earned, and where the conduct of the individual receiving it reflected splendour upon the honour conferred. He avoided saying any thing that could tend to produce any difference of opinion; and he thought that, with reference to the merits and services of the noble lord alluded to, there could be none; nor did he imagine that any one could doubt that the honour conferred had been most justly earned; in which case, the proposed

proposed grant of an annuity followed as a necessary corollary for the due support of that honour. His lordship concluded by moving an address, declaring the readiness of the house to concur in making good the proposed annuity.

Earl Grosvenor said, he did not rise to oppose the motion, but to suggest that the grant ought to be extended to enable lord Wellington and his posterity to support the title conferred, and that his posterity might not, by the want of means to support the title, become dependent on the crown. He instanced the case of the duke of Marlborough, in which a large estate had been granted to support the honour conferred; and that of lord Nelson, in which a sum of money had been granted for the purchase of an estate, for a similar purpose. Contrasted with these was the case of the late earl of Chatham, to support whose title a provision had been granted, which had failed to his posterity. In this view of the subject, therefore, he thought that 50 or 100,000*l.* ought to be granted to lord Wellington, in addition to the 2000*l.* a year: or that instead of 2000*l.* 6000*l.* or at least 4000*l.* a year ought to be granted. He was afraid that he could not now make any motion to the effect he had mentioned, but when the bill came before the house the opportunity would be afforded. He could not, however, suffer an expression in the address to pass without notice, in which it was stated that the series of exploits in the peninsula had been eminently beneficial to the interests of the country. Whilst he acknowledged the high merits of lord Wellington, and the army he commanded, he could not agree to the assertion contained in this expression. Although the capture of

Ciudad Rodrigo had covered our army with glory, and crowned them with a wreath of never-fading renown, still he could not consider it as of much importance with a view to the great objects of the war. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were said to be the keys of Portugal; but were they the keys of Madrid, or of the passes of the Pyrennees? He thought that either a great and combined effort ought to be made in the peninsula, or that we should confine ourselves altogether to a maritime war. He thought it necessary to say thus much, in order that he might not, by his silence, be supposed to concur in the expression to which he had objected.

The address was agreed to *nem. diss.*

The same subject was brought by Mr. Perceval before the commons on the following day, who after expatiating on the merits of lord Wellington, said, "Sir, I am convinced that the committee will unanimously agree with me that we have but one duty to perform on the present occasion, and that is, to adopt the recommendation of his royal highness the prince regent, with respect to the proposed grant to the earl Wellington—I therefore move, That it is the opinion of this committee that a net annuity of 2000*l.* be granted to his majesty, out of the consolidated fund, for the purpose of enabling his majesty to grant an annuity of a similar amount to general the earl of Wellington, in addition to the former annuities granted to him, and subject to the same limitations."

Sir Francis Burdett expressed his doubts whether the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) was sufficiently skilled in military science to render his opinion a perfectly

safe guide for the direction of the committee. For his own part, not being disposed to rest his faith upon the mere assertion of the right honourable gentleman, on a question of this nature, he should not do his duty, if, without better evidence, he assented to the propositions. As to the real merits of lord Wellington, the honourable baronet declared himself totally incompetent to judge of them, because he was not sure that he knew all the facts necessary to enable any one to form a correct opinion on the subject. He had the army estimates at hand, however, and from these it appeared that lord Wellington had at his command a much greater force than any that could be brought against him. He really thought that the test of distinguished merit was to perform great things with inadequate means; but here it was almost impossible to conceive that less should have been done when the means were so ample. (*Hear! hear!*) Gentlemen might cry "*Hear! hear!*" but he should be much better pleased to hear their reasons than their noise. Their cries were, indeed, marks of disapprobation, but they were nothing more; they certainly contained no argument, and might therefore, perhaps, as well be spared. It appeared that lord Wellington had 54,000 British troops, and 33,000 Portuguese in British pay, who had been characterized as being equal to any troops in the world. Here was an army of 87,000 men; but besides these, there were 18,000 said to be in the Portuguese pay; and in addition to all this, there was the Portuguese militia, amounting to 80,000 men: so that his lordship must have at least 160,000 men in arms, independent of a numerous body of ordenanza. Yet,

with all this immense force at his command, his lordship had suffered a French general to penetrate into Portugal with an army of 60,000 men, and to maintain himself there till he was at length driven away by famine; and when at length driven away by famine, the French general retreated 300 miles without material loss of any description. When he looked at all this, he could not see any ground for the exulting manner in which the exploits of lord Wellington had been celebrated. Then, with respect to the present campaign, he was at a loss to discover the reason of the terms of applause and admiration with which it had been characterized. He might be told of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo: but he believed it was the opinion of many military men of great skill in their profession, that nothing was more sure to be lost than this fortress, whenever our army sat down before it. Whoever could bring an army to that spot, and keep possession of it for any time, was sure to have the fortress. It appeared that it had no proper out-works; and yet that the place was of such a nature, that it required a large garrison to defend it—4000 men at least. In this instance, the garrison amounted, at most, to no more than 1500; and indeed it was so very weak, that even the attack, which was only designed as a feint, succeeded in taking the place. (*Hear! hear!*) He repeated that these expressions of disapprobation were no argument. He was perfectly open to conviction, and might possibly alter his opinion, when better informed; but he was speaking from the only facts within his own knowledge, or that of the committee. The garrison must be admitted, on all hands, to have been very weak, and lord Wellington

Wellington had an army of 12,000 men at the siege. He always heard with exultation of the valour displayed by the British troops; but whatever that valour might have been, the very circumstance of a fort having been turned into a real attack, was a proof of the weakness of the garrison. Under these circumstances, he could not see the ground for all this exultation. Then, by way of comparison, it might not be improper to see how the French had conducted the same campaign. Suchet had taken Tarragona and Valencia, and sent away into France 47,000 prisoners, including Blake, and some of the most distinguished Spanish officers. This was a most important fact, and one which could neither be denied nor understood: and then, in the campaign of Massena, it must be remembered that the enemy took Badajoz, a much more important fortress than Ciudad Rodrigo. The former was only 120 miles from Lisbon, with an easy communication; whereas the latter was 300 miles from Lisbon, with a difficult communication in every respect. Besides, it ought to be recollected, that this very place had been lost: Lord Wellington had left it to its fate, and we ought to balance accounts with him. He took Ciudad Rodrigo, and we were granting him an annuity; but then he had lost Ciudad Rodrigo, and yet he had not been deprived of his pension. There was another consideration very material, in his view of the subject. Even if this exploit has been as splendid as it was represented, he should feel a strong objection to voting away the money of the people in their present distressed situation. They were at this moment legislating to repress those acts to which certain classes were

driven by hunger and despair. They were making it a capital offence to break a stocking-frame, and some even went so far as to describe this as a species of constructive treason. With these scenes passing around us, we were called upon for such grants as this! The people called to us for relief, and we gave them a halter! He was in hopes, once, that the house would have agreed to a committee, to examine into the situation of these poor people, before they proceeded to hang them—or at least to pass a law for that purpose. He repeated that they were driven to these acts of desperation by hunger and despair; and in such a state of things he could not agree to load them with additional burthens. But suppose this achievement had been as splendid as it was represented, and the condition of the country had been at the same time as flourishing as it was really desponding, still he should object to the mode in which this grant was to be made. While the ministers had immense sums at their command without the control of parliament, out of which they granted pensions at their pleasure that never met the public eye, he should say that no additional burthen ought to be laid on the consolidated fund, till these sums were properly applied. They were large enough, he was sure, to recompense all the merit that had ever existed in this or any other country.

Mr. Canning declared that for such a species of dissent as this, and the reasons on which it was founded, he certainly had been totally unprepared. He did not pretend to any great skill in military affairs, but he did not think it possible for the most ignorant on that subject to look at what had

been done,—to look at what was the state of the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, and what were the feelings of the country with regard to it, at the time lord Wellington had been appointed to the command of the army, and to compare it with what it was now,—he did not think it possible for any impartial person, however ignorant, with these things in view, to withhold the homage and admiration so justly due to the consummate skill and ability which lord Wellington had displayed in the execution of his charge. It required no small degree of critical discrimination to find out any shadow of reason for refusing that applause which belonged to such distinguished merit; and he trusted that the arguments of the honourable baronet were not of a nature to raise any doubt on the question in any English breast. One ground of objection with the honourable baronet was the state of the labouring manufacturers. Good God! was the period then arrived when England was unable, not to purchase service, but to pay her debts of gratitude for eminent services performed; because, forsooth, a particular class of their community laboured under temporary distresses which all must deplore, but which, in his conscience, he believed, must be severely aggravated by the degradation which the country must experience if such hardships were to be made the ground of refusing to merit its appropriate reward? The honourable baronet had said that there were other funds in the hands of the ministers—funds which they applied to the payment of pensions that never met the public eye; and from these it had been said the services of lord Wellington might be rewarded. But if there was such

a fund, he would not agree that the annuity of lord Wellington should be paid out of it. The reward of lord Wellington ought to be like his services—clear as the day, and open to the eyes of the nation and the world. His recompense must not be connected with the mysteries of iniquity, if there were any such. He could not suffer a fund of that description to be improperly screened from inquiry, by ennobling it with so distinguished a name. The honourable baronet had declared his opinion, that the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo was an affair of trifling importance. He did not profess to be competent to decide on the importance of that operation in a military point of view, nor did he suppose the present a proper time for the house to pass a judgement on that subject; but this he would say generally, that lord Wellington was sent out to rescue Portugal from the hands of the enemy, and this he had not only accomplished, but had placed that country, at least for the present, in a degree of security from the French army; and this surely was no trifling merit! Neither should it be forgotten by the house and the country, that after rescuing Portugal from a foreign yoke, his lordship did find opportunities of extending a very considerable degree of protection to Spain. In truth, it might be justly said that the services which lord Wellington had performed since he first entered the peninsula, were to the Portuguese the salvation of their country, and to the Spaniards a source of hope which he trusted would ultimately ripen into completion. Did it then, he would ask, belong to us to be calculating the amount of this or that success merely, when so much had been already

already achieved; when the national mind, as he believed, was made up on the subject of the importance of these services; and when the first act of the regent's unrestricted government was to mark that distinguished name with new honours, as it had been almost the last act of the sovereign's exercise of authority to recommend it to the gratitude of parliament? Did not every man, he would ask, hail this exercise of one of the noblest prerogatives of the crown? and yet the honourable baronet would begrudge the man who had received the gratitude of his country this small grant of 2000/. With regard to the last achievement, he meant the recapture of Ciudad Rodrigo; he viewed it as calculated to produce a great moral effect on the minds of the people of Spain. It took place at a most critical moment for that country; at a moment, if not of despair, at least of despondency; and when the minds of the people were liable to be strongly influenced by the dazzling successes of the rival general. In this point of view, it was an achievement calculated to counteract the paralyzing effects of the enemy's successes in another quarter: and as to the recapture itself, whatever the honourable baronet might think of it, it had certainly outrun, in rapidity of execution, the expectations and even the fears of a not improvident adversary. As to the affairs of Spain generally, he did not even now despair of the ultimate triumph of that heroic people. He now alluded to the late reinvigoration of the Spanish government, from which he was prepared to augur the happiest consequences; and which, in his opinion, not only called upon this country not to cir-

cumscribe its succours, but even to extend their supplies with a more liberal hand, if possible, than we had done before. By so acting, the house and the country would pursue the safest and the wisest policy, and their conduct would stand justified, not only in our own times, but in the page of history. This, however, was a subject foreign to the merits of lord Wellington; and he must be permitted to add, that, looking at the amount of the grant now proposed, he thought it hardly adequate to his lordship's deserts; for it should never be forgotten that his lordship had declined accepting any pecuniary reward from our allies, and looked to this country alone to appreciate his services. But as unanimity was peculiarly desirable on a subject like the present, he would not press the adoption of any additional sum, and trusted that the house would cheerfully adopt the present motion.

Lord Temple and sir H. Burrard spoke on the same side; and the question was carried, with the single negative of sir F. Burdett.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the house would join with him in lamenting the account which had lately reached this country of the death of general Craufurd, in consequence of the wound he received in the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo. He was an officer whose merits could hardly be appreciated too highly, nor his loss too deeply regretted. When mounting the breach, at the head of the storming party which he led, he received a wound, which unfortunately proved fatal a few days after, and deprived his country of a brave and able officer.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved "an humble address to the prince regent, praying that he

numerous marks of affection, of grace, and of delicacy, as to impress in the deepest manner his whole heart, and life, and soul, with the kindness and favour of his royal highness. If he was correctly informed, general Fox enjoyed this place after he had risen to his high rank and emoluments in the army. Though he was far from claiming any rewards, yet he had the good fortune, if he chose to do so, to be able to appeal to different commanders under whom he had served, from the rank of ensign up to that of colonel, during twenty-one years, to say whether any man saw more service, or conducted himself with more personal credit. He was seven years in the American war; and ill health at length compelled him to quit the active scenes of the military profession, or he should at that moment have been a lieutenant-general in the king's service. He begged further to say, that in the acceptance of this office he had vacated his seat, and had gone through the unavoidable difficulties of a new election. He was himself thoroughly satisfied that the office he held was an efficient and important one. He had to keep the regular accounts of sixteen hundred widows, having letters and affidavits to attend to, which required necessarily clerks and assistants, and demanded the superintendence of the principal. He would always bow to the sentiments of the house; for the recollection of the manner in which his name and character had been treated by some of its most distinguished members, was to him a richer reward than all the offices that could be bestowed upon him.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that when the grant was made it was not only not accompanied

with any agreement or instrument which could entitle the colonel to hold it in opposition to the wishes of parliament, but it had been expressly stated to him, that it was an office likely to undergo a full investigation in that house, and subject to abolition. That if any proposal for reform or abolition should arise, he was not to consider himself entitled to oppose such proposal. This being the case, there was nothing to prevent any member from giving a free uninfluenced vote on the subject; nor was there any thing in the manner of conferring the grant which could at all be construed to go in the teeth of the parliamentary resolutions. Those resolutions had suggested that sinecures ought not to be abolished till some provisions were made for substitutions to indemnify the persons to be dispossessed; and the office in question had been granted, not in opposition but in conformity to those resolutions, subject to discussion—subject to the discretion of the house, either to ratify or abolish the appointment. He could see no reason why civil personal services of long continuance should not entitle a man to high remuneration from his master; nor why that master, when regent or king, should not bestow a reward for attentions paid to him as prince. Nor was he precluded from thinking that the present office was one which, upon consideration, the house might suffer to remain. It was natural for his hon. friend (Mr. Banks) to feel considerable warmth on the subject of resolutions of which he was the author; but he could not agree with that right honourable gentleman that there had been shown any offensive resistance to the wisdom of the house.

Several other members spoke;
after

after which, on the resolution for granting 61,000*l.* for widows' pensions, Mr. Banks moved as an amendment, to omit the 2000*l.* to colonel M'Mahon for the paymastership, and thus to make the sum 59,000*l.* A division ensued:

For the original motion 54

For the amendment 39

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Majority 15

The remaining resolutions were then agreed to. When, however, the report was brought up, Mr. Banks renewed his amendment, and carried it in the teeth of administration by a majority of 3.

Feb. 25.—Mr. Banks, in order to establish the case which he was about to bring before them, respecting a certain member of the house, wished to move for—1st, a copy of the recorded conviction of Benjamin Walsh—2d, an humble address to the prince regent, for a copy of his pardon, and of the letter from the judges in consequence of which that pardon was granted. This he conceived to be necessary, in order to repel any suspicion that the proceedings in the case of the gentleman in question were not such as ordinarily take place in similar cases—3d, a letter from Mr. Walsh to his brother, acknowledging the foulness of the transaction, and produced at his trial; and that Mr. Jenkins, the solicitor, do attend with the said letter. He had also to move, that Mr. Walsh do attend in his place in the house on Thursday next.—The result of this motion was the expulsion of Mr. Walsh from the house.

Mr. Drummond rose to move for leave to bring in a bill to pre-

vent bankers and others from embezzling securities for money intrusted to their care. Without referring to a late case which had made much noise in the country, it was well known that a number of instances had occurred within these few years, of violations of trust, for which there was no existing punishment; and it became therefore necessary for the legislature to interfere, that the subject might have that security for his property to which he was entitled. The bill now proposed to be brought in could hardly be said to be an addition to the criminal code of the country: it was more properly an extension of an act already in existence, by which it was made felony for servants or clerks to embezzle or misapply the property of their masters intrusted to them.

Mr. John Smith seconded the motion. The bill was, in his opinion, very properly extended to all classes of persons to whom moneys or securities might be intrusted. It was well known, that though in general property might be deposited with the bank of England, yet that, in the cases of exchequer bills and India bonds, the bank of England would not take any charge of them, so that the subjects were compelled to intrust these to individual bankers. They are, therefore, out of the protection of the law. As the law stood, the servant was guilty of felony; why, for a similar offence, was the master not to be equally punishable?

After some discussion, whether it would be advisable to make the penalty felony or misdemeanour, the bill was ordered to be brought in.

CHAPTER III.

Debate on Sir Thomas Turton's Motion on the State of the Nation—in the House of Lords, on the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion on the Orders in Council—in the House of Commons, on Mr. Brougham's Motion on the same Subject—Debate on the Mutiny Bill—Nottingham Riots—Debate on the Allowance to Maynooth College—on Lord Folkestone's Motion respecting Foreigners employed in the English military Service—on Mr. Abercrombie's Motion on the Enlistment of Convicts—on Sir F. Bardett's Motion on the Mutiny Bill—on an Address to the Prince Regent.

SIR Thomas Turton began by observing, that when he considered the importance and magnitude of the question to which he was about to call the attention of the house; when he considered the present critical state of public affairs, and the alarming aspect under which they now presented themselves to the contemplation of the country; and when he at the same time considered that the present question had hitherto been introduced to their discussion by some leading member of either of the great contending parties; and that the humble individual who was on that night to bring it before them was wholly unsupported by the aid of any party, or the authority of any influence; when all these considerations crowded on his mind, he confessed that he was but too justly apprehensive of appearing to have acted with a hasty indiscretion and a presumptuous confidence. But the time was now come when public duty should be discharged, independent of every personal consideration. It was not his intention to weary the indulgence of the house, by any very detailed examination into those topics which had been already so amply discussed, or again to tread over the ground long trod

before. He should, in the course of his observations, touch upon the war in the peninsula; but he should not confine himself to that part of the subject—he should take a short review of the leading public events since the right honourable gentleman came into office. He should endeavour to show them what appeared to him to be the awfully alarming state of the country; and what in his mind was not the least alarming symptom, the lethargy of that house, for so long a time, and while such events were passing. He should call upon them, in the name of their country, to rouse from their lethargy, and ask every unprejudiced man, if, seeing the condition to which they were at last reduced, he could conscientiously lay his hand upon his heart, and say there is not sufficient ground for going into a committee. The year 1806 had terminated most disastrously for the liberties of Europe. He should not stop to say any thing upon the ineffectual struggles of Russia against France, or upon the selfish and dastardly policy which at that time dictated the perfidious conduct of the court of Prussia. In the following year the battles of Eylau and Friedland, the last of which was fought, he believed, after the

the right honourable gentleman had come into power—those battles might be said to have decided the fate of the continent, and to have fulfilled the prediction of Sully, that France would one day arrive at the universal dominion of Europe. The peace of Tilsit left France no enemy to contend against but England; all her means were immediately directed against our commerce, and the Berlin and Milan decrees had about as much effect against us, as ours taken in retaliation had against them. The first expedition sent out by the new administration was that of Copenhagen. All the applause he could give ministers, they should have from him most willingly—he regretted that their conduct had rendered the portion he could spare them so very inconsiderable; but of the Copenhagen expedition he had originally approved, and his opinion remained the same. If the merits of that expedition were to be considered according to the naked abstract principle merely, nothing could be more atrocious or more prodigate; but where was the maxim, however generally true, that must not give way to necessity? and in that case he thought the necessity justified the expedition. He next alluded to the breaking out of the war in the peninsula. A right honourable gentleman, whose fervour on all great public questions was so well known—he meant the member for Ilchester—had come down, and in his place in that house had called the immediate attention of ministers to the critical state of Spain. There was, in short, but one heart, but one mind, but one feeling within that house and throughout the country, as to the necessity of giving Spain the most speedy, cordial, and effectual assist-

ance. Ministers might be said to have been almost invited by parliament to ask for their aid. In such a state, the first duty of ministers was to have so arranged with Spain, as that the assistance of this country might be given and applied in the best and most efficient manner; but there was no such plan resorted to—no method, no regulations or arrangements were thought to be previously necessary. Ministers did nothing in co-operation with the Spanish government, to collect all the feelings of the Spanish people into one energetic form, or to give that effort one great and uniform impulse. Nothing had been done to give tone to the Spanish government—they were left to themselves—for their first act was the publication of their “precautions,” calling upon the people to fight as mere partisans, not to hazard a general action, and to think of nothing more than hanging on and harassing the enemy; and this was the government that called for an army of 550,000 men, of which 50,000 should be cavalry. He blamed not ministers for the errors of the Spanish government; but he thought that they were responsible to the country for not providing, as far as they could against the possibility of those errors defeating our co-operation, or rendering our assistance altogether nugatory. Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed on the 28th July, 1808. He should briefly run over the two first campaigns. He was sent to assist the Spaniards, and he landed at Corunna; where, however, he afterwards re-embarked, and sailed for Mondego, where he effected a landing. On the 17th of August the affair took place which was followed up by the battle of Vimiera on the 21st. Sir Arthur Wellesley was the next day superseded

superseded in the chief command by sir Harry Burrard, who was himself, shortly after, again superseded by sir Hugh Dalrymple. Such fluctuation was there in his majesty's councils, as to the selection of a fit person for this command. He should not dwell upon the disgraceful convention of Cintra, which, amongst other mortifying conditions, stipulated to place general Junot at the head of 25,000 men, in that place from whence he could most speedily march to that part of Spain where he could act against Spain and her allies most seasonably and effectually. From the 30th of August till the 16th of October, when sir John Moore was sent out, no one step had been taken by ministers, though there was not, for the same length of time, a period since the commencement of the war in which so much might have been effected. He then adverted to the campaign of sir John Moore, who, he contended, had received no sort of co-operation from the Spaniards. He had reached Salamanca before he met with a single Spanish piquet. He thought the conduct of ministers, in risking the safety of the British army, without any knowledge of the intentions of the Spaniards, extremely reprehensible. He then passed to the battle of Talavera; and, giving lord Wellington every credit for his skill and conduct in other particulars, he could not help censuring his march to Talavera as a most imprudent one, when, even after a repulse of the enemy, he was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, to the desertion of the sick and wounded in the hospital. The remaining campaigns had, in every respect, the character of the two that preceded them: hard-fought battles terminating in the repulse of the enemy—brilliant

perhaps, but certainly very unproductive. He came now to that memorable expedition, of which it would hardly be necessary to remind the noble lord opposite (Castlereagh). It surely never could be out of his recollection. He was astonished to see the noble lord smile at any allusion to the dreadful tragedy of the Walcheren expedition; though, indeed, that noble lord might well smile to think that he had himself escaped the ruin to which he had devoted so many thousands. The avowed object of that expedition was to create a diversion in favour of Austria—and how had that object been answered? The battles of Essling and Asperne had been fought on the 21st and 26th of May; and on the 28th of July, three weeks after the battle of Wagram, that laid Austria at the foot of France, sailed the Walcheren expedition, to co-operate at Flushing with the ruins of the Austrian army in Bohemia. But he should not dwell on the melancholy catastrophe—11,000 brave men left, for three months, to rot in the most pestilential climate in Europe, and then the whole object of the expedition totally abandoned. Though, indeed, they had been gravely told by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Yorke), that the expedition had in part succeeded in its object, because, forsooth, we had destroyed a basin! As to the present state of Spain, though he had no hopes, he would not even yet abandon it, if the Spanish government could be brought to do its duty. He next went to Sicily: things there, at all events, could not be worse, and yet this alliance cost the country 300,000*l.* a year subsidy, and a million and a half a year to support an army there. He should pass to the East Indies. He had long thought that

that the extension of our territorial possessions in India was working the ruin of our national character, and essentially impairing the financial produce of our government in that quarter. The question of character, likely so soon to be agitated, was one of extreme importance. He complained in strong terms of the interference, on the part of the government in India, with the criminal judicature, instanced in the punishment of jurors for the conscientious discharge of their duty. The discussions with America had been an idle war of words. The rule as established in the war of 1756 he thought a just one, but denied that we had adhered to it. He regretted that, when the Americans had notified to us the repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, we did not then repeal our orders in council. We had no right to insist upon neutrals first touching at our ports. The belligerent could not relieve itself from the pressure of war, by departing from those navigation laws efficient in time of peace with respect to neutrals. Hostility with America was, in his mind, big with ruin to this country. He adverted next to the affairs of Ireland. He was grieved at the late debate upon that subject, for it appeared to him to be a mere dispute whether the conventionists or the anti-conventionists should triumph. This was not the way to come at a great national question of such vital importance. As to the stipulations previously required, he admitted that some security might be necessary; but surely he was not to refuse going into a committee, because he might wish for certain regulations, which it would be the business of that committee to adjust; and as to the impatient conduct that had been imputed to 4 or 500 men as-
1812.

sembling in one room, that could never be admitted as a grave argument against the constitutional claims of a whole people. The honourable baronet said he should now proceed to take a view of the situation of this country, and of her commerce, &c. Our army, it appeared from the returns, amounted, including local militia, to 807,000 men. Now, he asked, what population had we to support such an immense military establishment, and to carry on the agriculture of the country? Our male population was calculated at 6 millions, and taking that of Ireland at 2 millions, this formed a total of 8 millions; so that our army of every description constituted one in ten of our whole male population. He should be told, that this was a war of an unusual character, and that it had become necessary for us, in a great measure, to become a military nation. He regretted that it was so; and he was sorry to observe, that while we were decking our warriors with laurels, we had also too frequent occasion to plant their tombs with cypress. He begged to press it on the consideration of the house, that this was a war which could only be supported by economy, and by husbanding our resources. An armament so much above our population, he contended, this country could not continue to afford. Again, as to the expenses of the war, the estimates for the present year, so far as they could be calculated, might amount to 31 millions, or about 7 millions sterling more than its amount for the last year. This was an expenditure which, he needed hardly say, the country could not bear for any length of time. What then was the state of our revenue? Our funded and unfunded debt amounted to 650 odd mil-
I lions;

lions; and it had increased 114 millions in the course of the present war. With whatever spirit, therefore, the war was carried on, if we did not begin to husband our resources in time, we should not, in all probability, have the means of prosecuting it to a conclusion, and might be obliged eventually to stop short at the very moment when victory was within our grasp. The necessity, therefore, of at least inquiring into our situation, he submitted, could not but be apparent. He knew it would be said, nobody was with him; the country was against him, and did not wish that the cause of Spain should be abandoned. Neither did he wish this, if he saw any likelihood of rendering the Spaniards effectual service. Might we not try what could be done by peace? In the speeches from the throne we heard not a word of peace: but ought the house not to inquire if something might not be effected by a pacific spirit? He had heard the right honourable gentleman opposite say that government had no personal objection against Bonaparte. Then why did he hear so much of his *mala fides*? If this country ought not to make peace with bad monarchs, why should our ancestors have made peace with Louis XIV. at the time he was oppressing this very country, Spain and the Palatinate? Why, on the same principle, had the powers on the continent made peace with this country during the usurpation of Cromwell?—Might they not have held out to him, in terms of reproach, that he had murdered his master, and that he was a canting hypocrite? If they had, would this country have tolerated such language? And why should we use such taunting expressions, which could be of no use but

to irritate? Peace with any of the Bourbons, he was satisfied, would no more be to be relied on, and would be of no longer continuance, than peace with Bonaparte. Then why not try to meet him in the spirit of peace? If this country chose to conciliate America by repealing the orders in council, a measure from the adoption of which nothing but false pride prevented, then would an opening be once more given to our commerce and manufactures, and we should find the people of that country anxious to throw themselves into our arms. This was a measure peculiarly required for the preservation and prosperity of the country. If we talked of the prosperity of the country at the present moment, where was it to be found? In a high-minded aristocracy? No; our nobility were content to hide their heads in retirement, or to seek refuge at a watering-place, instead of keeping open house, and showing the ancient English hospitality. Was it to be found among our great capitalists? They indeed had for a time employed their wealth in swelling the customs, and had since unfortunately swelled the columns of the gazette. Was it among our manufacturers? Their trade was at a complete stand, themselves were starving, and were thrown a burden on the community, or had become inhabitants of the workhouse! Was it to be found in the trade by licenses—so hurtful in itself and so disgracefully abused? Or was it to be found in the total disappearance of the legal current coin of the realm? an evil which had grown to such a height that we might expect, if the system were persevered in, to see our circulating medium more debased even than that which had caused such complaints in Sweden.

Sweden. The honourable baronet declared that he had no intention to exaggerate in his statement. On the present occasion, if the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval) did do his duty to his country, he would agree that the house should go into a committee to consider of the unprecedented situation in which the nation was placed. If the right honourable gentleman resisted this measure, then ought the house to address the prince regent, to inform him that he was wrong in giving up his own judgement to those who counselled him to persevere in the present system; that economy was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the country; that reform in every department was required; that a perseverance in the present system would overturn the constitution—would overturn the throne which his royal highness was called on to fill! It would be the duty of the house to state these things to his royal highness in respectful yet in firm and bold terms, and to recommend to him to adopt the very reverse of the system now pursued. He concluded by moving, That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the state of the nation.

Mr. Tighe rose to second the present motion. In doing so, he may be allowed shortly to express the motives by which he was actuated, but he should confine himself to a more humble walk than that taken by the honourable baronet who had so ably opened the question. He should not follow that honourable baronet in his course round the world, but should confine himself more particularly to the internal state of these kingdoms. He wished to awaken the first lord of the treasury from the golden dreams

which visited his pillow, and to admonish him that never was there an æra in the history of this country in which we were so surrounded with difficulties. All that the right honourable gentleman seemed to think the house had to do was, to furnish him with the ways and means for all the supplies he wanted. It was first the duty of the house to inquire into the ability of the nation to grant what was asked. For what other reason were the members of that house assembled, from all the different parts of the kingdom, but that they might be able to judge as to the ability of the people in each particular district? Having entered at large into the distressed situation of the country, he asked, What should be said of the government, however, when they could find no cure for hunger but the gallows, or for famine but a halter? He was sorry to observe, that the person invested with the regal government had been advised to take on himself the task of endeavouring to form a junction among ministers. He as sovereign could do no act for which he was responsible; there must, therefore, be some person who was responsible for that act; and he had no hesitation in saying, that whoever did advise that measure gave his royal highness most insidious and treacherous advice. Was his royal highness to be made the go-between to the parties, the mediator between the factions? The choice of his ministers the king ought always to have; but the adjustment of terms among his servants was a thing which, till now, had never once been attempted. This was like two other pieces of advice which the regent had on two former occasions received; the one as to the proclamation issued in Ireland, and the

other of a private nature, in appointing his own private secretary to an office against which there was a parliamentary interdict, and against which that house, two days ago, had set their face, by refusing the ways and means for discharging the salary annexed to it. In all these respects had the prince regent received most mischievous and insidious advice; and if he continued to be so advised, he (Mr. Tighe) did not know where his royal highness, his ministers, or the country would end. A perseverance in the present system might have gone down during the reign of terror, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt; but it could not come to good now that things were under the management of his puny successor. The honourable member concluded by expressing his opinion, that if the house refused to go into the committee moved for by the hon. baronet, the country might fairly think that parliament wished to blind both themselves and the people, and that, sensible of the difficulties which surrounded them, they were afraid to look them in the face.

The honourable Mr. Robinson regarded the motion of the honourable baronet as one which would place the house in a situation of all others the most embarrassing. He knew, indeed, that similar motions had been often before made; and he knew too that they had seldom or never been acceded to. He believed that such motions had been generally rejected on grounds that appeared to his mind quite satisfactory. It would at least be a more intelligible proposition, if, instead of this extended inquiry, involving, amidst an infinite variety of questions, many not only of the most important and interesting but of the most delicate nature, some

specific proposition upon a distinct subject had been submitted, and the house required to take it into consideration. Such an inquiry as the house was now called upon to enter into, embraced not only questions which had been the subject of past, but many that were to form the subject of future discussions. He was far from having any wish to disguise the difficulties of the country, and far from any disposition to shut his eyes to its dangers. It was his desire to look them in the face, not indeed by a confession of weakness, but by an exertion of strength. It was, he believed he might assume, pretty generally admitted, that the war in which we were engaged was one into which we had been forced. (*Hear, hear!*) He imagined he understood the meaning of that cry. But he was justified, he conceived, in saying that the country at large was at least satisfied of the necessity of the war at the period of its commencement, as well as at the subsequent period for the negotiation for peace. The only thing that remained was, how best to carry on the war. Was it by adopting an offensive or defensive system of warfare, that the country enjoyed the surest prospect of succeeding in its objects? It appeared to him that the former was the most advisable policy; and it had been well characterized, in contrast to the opposite system, by one of the ablest writers on our military relations and resources, as a war of hope against a war of fear. When the present war in Spain first broke out, there never perhaps existed in the country so strong and universal a sentiment in favour of granting to that nation every assistance, and in every mode. He did not feel it necessary to go with the honourable

able baronet through the first two campaigns; but supposing there had been errors, were these errors to plead for a correction, or to be adduced as arguments against the policy itself? Was the system to be entirely condemned on account of a few accidental defects? It might be urged, undoubtedly, that we had met with some reverses, that we had been sometimes disappointed; but was it a solid objection to the continuance of a just and expedient war that we had not been invariably successful? Was this an argument for deserting a contest in which our best interests, no less than our truest glory, were at stake? If we abandoned Spain, in his opinion she must fall, and from an ardent friend become a vindictive enemy. Bonaparte had often accused us of a disposition to embroil other states, and to desert them in the hour of trial and calamity. This would be to substantiate the truth of the accusation, and to proclaim our perfidy and our weakness to the world. If, by so unwise a policy, we should forfeit that proud consideration and that high character which we had hitherto maintained among the nations, the consequence would be to precipitate our own fall, and that fall would then be unpitied. The future historian would then say, that England was indeed once great and noble, the protectress of the liberties of Europe; but she closed her career by deserting her friends in the hour of danger, because she trembled for her own safety.

"Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

He might be told that these were unanimous sentiments, but ill suited to times and circumstances; to which observation he should

only reply, "Screw your courage to the sticking-place," and they will not prove unavailing.

Mr. Lambe entertained no wish to hold a desponding tone, or to think meanly of the public resources, but he could not perceive how any such feelings or opinions could be implied by acceding to the present motion. He did see, however, powerful arguments for going into the proposed committee. Among these were the extensive distresses of our commerce, the decay of our manufactures, a perilous foreign war, and unappeased discontent in Ireland. If any combination of circumstances could be imagined to create a necessity on the part of the house for entering into a grave consideration of the condition of the country, such a necessity did now exist. To every other motive was to be added the consideration that the country was now governed by a divided, distracted, and inefficient administration. As to what had fallen from the honourable gentleman on the principle of offensive and defensive warfare, he had no objection to make to it; and notwithstanding the many errors in the conduct of the war—great and grievous errors—and more particularly while the noble lord (Castlereagh) was at the head of the war department, he still thought there were great subjects of pride and consolation. He did think too, that they never could have stood exculpated in the eyes of the country, if they had not freely rendered all that assistance to the Spaniards which their cause so well deserved. He did not understand it to be the honourable baronet's intention to propose in the committee the abandonment of our allies, and he would therefore support his motion, not from feel-
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ings of despondency, but from a wish to see a vigorous policy pursued abroad, and a liberal one adopted at home. He at the same time always wished to see the distinction observed between what belonged to the bad conduct of ministers, and what grew out of the character of the times. Unless this distinction should be properly understood, no change of councils could prevent disappointment.

Lord Dysart and Mr. Herbert of Kerry condemned the motion, as leading to an inquiry of unlimited and useless extent.

Mr. Matthew Montague said, the inhabitants of this country were now carrying on a war against an enemy more difficult to resist than any who had hitherto appeared in modern times. Was not this a time, he would ask, when every honest man would wish to give strength and efficacy to the empire? Was this not a time for every well-wisher to his country to rally round the councils of his sovereign, and to support that august personage, who till lately had been so much the theme of the panegyrics of the honourable gentlemen opposite? Why did these gentlemen not come forward and give him their assistance when they were asked? (*Hear! from the opposition.*) The honourable gentlemen might cry Hear, hear, hear; but he would ask them, had not that august and exalted person opened his arms to them?—and was not the manner in which he had been refused a dereliction of public duty? On what grounds did they refuse to join the present administration? It must be either on account of foreign politics, with respect, for instance, to the degree of vigour with which this country ought to assist Spain and Portugal; or it must be on account of our

home policy, particularly with respect to the removal of the disabilities affecting the catholics of Ireland. But if the right honourable gentlemen now at the helm of affairs were to throw up the government to them, were they, he would ask, capable of forming a more able, a less weak, or a less divided administration? (*A laugh.*) Nothing could, in his opinion, be more strong, or less divided, than the present government.

Mr. Whitbread, alluding to the speech of the honourable gentleman who spoke immediately before him, said he had never witnessed a more universal laugh than it had occasioned throughout the whole house. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Montague) had professed himself the champion of the present administration, and he had arraigned the conduct of those who had refused to join that administration. For a person like himself, to whom no offer had ever been made, it was impossible to accept any offer; though, if any offer had been made, he certainly never would have accepted it; and if character, and principle, and union, constitute the strength of an administration, no person who thought as he did could ever conscientiously coalesce with the present. He had not been courted to accept of a place; but had he been courted, as my lord Grenville and my lord Grey were—“No, so help me God!” said the honourable gentleman, “I would rather sink ten thousand fathoms deep, than make a part of any administration of whose principles I could not approve.”—The state of the nation, he said, was really most alarming; and the house had always, when difficulties were such as they were at present, thought it advisable to go into a committee.

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Why, said an honourable gentleman in the early part of the debate, why will you harass the minister? It was his duty not to harass the minister, but to give such a vote as he considered for the good of his country; but harassed he must be, and greatly harassed at present. He must be harassed by the falling off of friends who have deserted him in his utmost need, and obliged him to take up with any person who could make up any thing like an administration. He must be harassed both in that house and out of the house; for they who imagined all his difficulties were in that house knew but little of his real situation, which certainly was not to be envied. With respect to the noble lord (Castlereagh), who was at present as it were suspended between two situations, he should wish to know to which of those situations he was destined. Much had been said against the honourable baronet for what he had said respecting the war in the peninsula; and, in his opinion, what the honourable baronet had said on this subject had been much misrepresented. He would not now go into the conduct of the war in the peninsula; and when he considered the manifold distresses of this country at the present moment, it was not necessary to go into it. But there were those out of this house who might think the affairs of Spain and Portugal would not be much improved by the management of him who had already displayed his skill in Holland. The noble lord might shelter himself under the vote of the house; but did the house, did the noble lord himself, really believe that the country would wish to see the war and colonial department filled by the man who conducted the Walcheren expedition? did he

really lay that flattering unction to his soul? Did he think it would make no impression on the people of Spain and Portugal, to know that my lord Wellesley, the brother of that gallant general who had gained such immortal honour for himself, and glory to his country, by his brilliant achievements in the peninsula, had quitted the councils of the nation, and that he was to be replaced by that person under whose auspices was conducted that disgraceful expedition, on which so much of the blood and treasure of the country was fruitlessly sacrificed? The golden dreams in which the catholics had so long indulged must now vanish; the bright prospect which hope had illumined, was now darkened by the approach of the noble lord (Castlereagh), who was surrounded only by the dark clouds of defeat and despair, his usual attendants. If, notwithstanding this great accession, there were a man in the house who thought that the present government was inefficient, it was his duty to vote for the appointment of this committee.

Lord Castlereagh said, that he should have lamented if a division had taken place without having an opportunity of addressing the house; but being confident that the honourable gentleman who had just sat down would not suffer a division to take place without first making a speech, he had restrained himself till it was concluded. He was the more ready to do so, since there was no gentleman in the house that he was more desirous of following, from the manly and direct manner in which all his attacks were made, so that the real object of them could never be equivocal. The question had been put on its true foundation, viz. to what set of men the government of Great Britain should be

committed? to whom the safety of the empire should be intrusted? and not the general topics urged by the honourable baronet, which had little to do with the main subject of discussion. On that question his lordship was perfectly ready to enter the lists, and he should barter his principles, and abandon the firm convictions of his judgement, if he were to give up the present system of administration for that which had uniformly met with the concurrence of the opposite side of the house. Those who, on perusing the important correspondence recently published, imagined that any middle course could be pursued, which might produce a combination of talent, were, by the address just delivered, completely undeceived, and every hope of that kind, that some had perhaps too fondly cherished, must now be forever blasted. Those who before were inclined to impartiality, must now once for all decide under whose banners they would enrol themselves. In his opinion, a coalition on the part of lords Grey and Grenville would not have been a greater inconsistency, than when on a former occasion many of the party opposite consented to act with them. The principles of those two noble lords would not have been injured in the opinion of any good or wise man, nor would the sacrifice of personal or of political honour have been required in order to form a government of the united of both parties, to rule over the affairs of state. Such delusive prospects had now vanished; and perhaps it might be considered of much importance that an understanding should be come to, that every man must make a dry option between the two systems so diametrically opposite. Upon the subject of the war in the peninsula, to which so much reference had been made, he put it to the honourable baronet and to his friends round him, whether, in the mode they had hitherto treated the question, after the desponding language they had held, and the determinations they had expressed, either Great Britain or Spain herself would believe that her cause was safe in their hands? Would it not, as it were, kill the whole of the peninsula, and paralyse the efforts of a brave and deserving people? It would be impossible for minds lowered as those of the opponents of the system now adopted had been, to work themselves up to such a state of enthusiasm and energy, as would be requisite for the spirited prosecution of the war. The noble lords Grey and Grenville had shut out hope, and, putting an end to an intercourse with the administration which might have led to a coalition beneficial both to themselves and their country, had consequently debarred themselves equally from any co-operation with the present supporters of government. (*Cries of No, no!*) The noble lord admitted that he had overstated the fact, for they declared that they had no personal dislike, and that their objections were not to men, but to measures. All gentlemen, therefore, who chose to desert their principles, might, if they pleased, unite themselves with administration. Here the noble lord entered into a vindication of his own conduct, and concluded by saying, I wish to state the governing principle which has actuated my mind in uniting myself to the existing government. I find that two systems are in being, supported by directly opposite interests; and during the former administrations with whom I acted, whether of the present chancellor of the exchequer,

exchequer, or of lord Sidmouth, a great variety of opinions prevailed on the principle of catholic emancipation; but what all of us concurred in was this, that it was not the fit moment for forcing the question—we differed as to principle, we concurred as to time. My reason then for inclining to this side of the house rather than to the other is, that my sentiments more nearly accord with those of my friends around me, because the wish of gentlemen opposite is immediate and unregulated emancipation, to which it is impossible I should accede, unless indeed I should falter most essentially in those principles which it has been, and will continue to be, my pride to maintain unaltered. If, indeed, a government of united integrity and ability should have been formed, I should have been one of the last to discountenance it, and one of the first to offer it my weak support and assistance.

Mr. Tierney expressed his happiness at hearing what were called the dry principles of the noble lord who had just taken his seat; they had undergone no change, and needed none, for any that were more convenient for every emergency it was difficult to devise. His principles on the catholic question were the same, viz. a principle which allowed him upon one occasion to be for the catholics, or on another to be against them. All that was known was, that as the noble lord came out so he went in. The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Perceval) was doubtless happy in his assistance, for the noble lord had been out to grass for about a couple of years, and fresh and vigorous for action he had been now caught and brought back again to his old work.—Mr. Tierney had no doubt that the statement of the noble lord, that

he had not entered into any stipulation with ministers, was true; but having it from authority the most unquestionable, he (Mr. Tierney) asserted most distinctly, that in the cabinet there is an understanding regarding the agitation of the catholic question; he was convinced that at least some stipulations had been entered into between a portion of the servants of the regent; and he took upon himself most peremptorily to affirm, that in the highest quarter there had been a misunderstanding of a most extraordinary nature. The question was not, who shall form the government? but whether there shall be any government at all—for at present none existed. Having adverted to the state of the present administration, and to topics descanted upon by preceding speakers, he said, he desired it to be distinctly understood, that he never maintained that it was necessary to withdraw the British army from the peninsula; all he requested was, that the subject should be soberly and deliberately investigated, and that the house should not be led away by the enthusiastic spirit which the noble lord had so much admired. If indeed this enthusiasm so much pervaded the ministry, he should be glad to learn why marquis Wellesley had deserted them in their utmost need? He claimed an answer from the chancellor of the exchequer on behalf of the country, since it would tend to throw much light upon subjects which a strong disposition had been shown to keep in the shade. It seemed to him a singular determination, reflecting on past events, that Mr. Perceval should be the *sine quâ non* of every new administration, particularly when he was almost the only decided enemy of the catholic claims, the concession of which would

would be the salvation, or the refusal the ruin, of the nation.

Lord Temple felt it necessary only to say a few words. It was difficult, he said, to account for the late conduct of the regent—he believed it was purposely involved in mystery; but of this he was certain, that the proposal made to the noble peers he had named was intended only as a mockery, which merited, and could only receive, rejection.

Mr. Perceval would not detain the house by many observations; and he commenced by the denial of an assertion made in the previous part of the debate, that any actual inquiry was to be expected to result from the motion for a committee on the state of the nation. The real point to be decided was, who were to be the advisers of the prince regent? For himself, he could have little difficulty in determining on this point, and he trusted the house would feel as little embarrassment. Much had been said on the subject of the expedition to Copenhagen, some gentlemen applauding, and others reviling, the conduct of ministers. He (Mr. Perceval) should be ready, on all occasions, to vindicate it, although after the previous solemn decision a defence might be little required, founded, as the achievement was, on the very principles of the laws of nations and of justice. He then entered at large upon the catholic question, and concluded by saying that he begged leave distinctly to state, that all his colleagues, whatever shades of sentiment there might be upon particular points, concurred in this opinion, that at this present time, whether from the state of the catholics of Ireland—whether from the state of the pope—in this they were concurrent, that this was not the proper

time for concession. In saying this, he begged to be rightly understood: he had no knowledge, nor had he the presumption to know, what the opinion of his royal master, whom he served, might be upon this question at a future period. For the present, that royal person had consented to accept his advice, and he had given it with a conscientious feeling of what he solemnly believed to be his duty: but whenever he should think that advice not for the benefit of the country—whenever he should feel himself inclined to dismiss him from the station which he now had the honour to hold, he should make his bow, retiring out of office with the same gratitude and the same respectful deference for the distinguished favours he had received, as if he were entering into office. Why he was retained as minister might seem to some a matter of surprise, when they recollected the letter addressed to him by his royal highness at the commencement of the regency. However painful that letter might be from its frankness, yet it was gratifying, because clear and explicit upon points where explicitness was desirable. If, however, his royal highness had seen, during the time that had elapsed, services performed by that administration useful to the country; if during that period of unexampled splendour in our military achievements, considering the time in which they were performed, he had seen cause to repose his confidence in us; who could accuse him of insincerity, when he had the glorious magnanimity to declare, at the end of that period, that he could not consent to dismiss those from their situations who had thus conducted themselves? With regard to the objects with which the honourable baronet introduced his motion,

motion, he hoped to be excused from entering into them, not because they had not been well advanced or supported, but because they did not seem to require any reply. He would refer the honourable baronet to past events, as a reply to some of them, and to future ones for a reply to others.

Mr. Canning and sir Samuel Romilly spoke on the subject; after which the house divided,

For sir T. Turton's motion, 136
Against it 209

Majority 73

House of lords, Friday, Feb. 28.

— The marquis of Lansdowne said that he rose in pursuance of his notice to call the attention of their lordships to the orders in council, and to the system of policy which had resulted from those orders, so injurious to the manufacturing and commercial interests of the country, and to the welfare of the state. Previous to entering upon the discussion, it would be of importance to state what the orders in council were, to which he referred; and first it would be worth while to observe, that with respect to the blockade in May 1806, (from the Elbe to Brest,) it was intended to be a real blockade, and a force was ordered for that purpose; but that was now at an end, being merged in the orders in council. With respect also to the order in council in January 1807, prohibiting the trade from enemy's port to enemy's port, the object of it was now at an end, in consequence of the annexation of Ham-
burgh to France. The orders in council, therefore, to which it was his object to call the attention of their lordships, were those issued in November 1807, prohibiting the

trade to France and the countries dependent upon her; and at the same time insisting on American vessels coming first to our ports, and paying a tax there; and also the order of April 1809, partly revoking the former orders, by opening the trade with the north of Europe. It was his intention to consider these orders, first, with respect to their operation on the enemy; secondly, their operation on the neutral; thirdly, their effect on the commerce and internal resources of the country; and fourthly, on the maritime policy of the country. On each of these heads the noble lord descanted at considerable length, and concluded by asking, what was the effect of those orders, but destroying the trade of America and alienating her disposition, although it was pretended that they were to benefit the neutral, whilst they benefited the trade and aided the resources of the enemy, which it was pretended they would totally destroy and annihilate? Let the ministers then pause long before they forced America to war. Was it any ground for triumph that they would thus distress America? Undoubtedly they would: but should we not, in the sequel, be deeply distressed by the consequences of such a war? Suppose that by unexpected success we should sweep the American commerce from the surface of the ocean, would not their 140,000 seamen man a predatory force against the commerce of this country? He trusted that means would yet be sought to avert the interminable evil of a war with America, although he admitted that, if the great interests of the country were at stake, war could not be avoided. Had we, however, allowed their carrying trade, instead of attempt-
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ing to destroy it by the orders in council, the profits of it would have been brought back to the parent stock, increasing and benefiting our manufactures and resources, and the harmony between the two countries would have led to the most beneficial results. He would not now contend that we had gone too far in our demands on America, in asking her not to demand freedom for her trade in the ports of France : but he would say, that the best chance for the restoration of amity with that country, so highly to be desired, was the repeal of the orders in council. That the repeal of those orders was now, in every point of view, called for, he trusted was rendered abundantly evident ; every plea on which they had been founded was proved, after an experience of upwards of four years, to be erroneous. His lordship concluded by moving for the appointment of a select committee to take into consideration the orders in council, the state of our commerce of license, and other facts connected with those orders.

Lord Bathurst thought it impossible to enter into such discussions as might naturally be expected to arise from the speech of the noble marquis, without a full disclosure of the whole conduct of the United States towards this country ; and that disclosure, he feared, would tend to deprive us of the little hope which there still remained of the success of the negotiations now pending between the two countries. With regard to the orders in council, he had on a former night asked of the noble lord what those orders were which had caused all this commercial embarrassment, but he was not prepared to answer him. The orders in council, however, had become such a cant phrase,

and the noble lords had acquired such a habit of using it, without distinctly knowing what orders they meant to allude to, that he was not much surprised at the silence of the noble marquis himself to the interrogatory that had been put to him. He had this night also stated, that he wished to have the orders in council repealed, and yet he (lord Bathurst) was, at this moment, still unable to imagine what the particular orders were, for the repeal of which he was so anxious. Were we or were we not to repeal the order of January 1807 ? If the noble lord did not wish that to be repealed, then one bar would still be left to our reconciliation with America ; for they have stated distinctly, that they conceive that order to be as much against their neutral rights as the order of November 1807 : it was equally a blockade by notification, and a blockade by notification was what America complained of. Either, therefore, the noble lord must make up his mind to be excluded from the American market, or he must consent to the repeal of the order of January 1807 ; and if that repeal took place, it would then be for the house to consider in what state the trade of this country would be placed. His lordship next adverted to the principles upon which licenses were granted ; and he said he wished to ask, whether it was the intention of those who opposed that measure, that we should abandon the whole trade of the continent ? This they surely could not mean. But it had been said, Why not employ America ? What ! A trade which was described as not fit for a British merchant to be concerned in, to be transferred to a neutral, as if that neutral were only in its proper vocation when carrying it on !
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This was the inference that might be drawn; but the whole matter simply amounted to the question, whether the trade should be allowed, or whether it should be wholly abolished. If we refused to grant a license to a British subject, he would carry it on under the cover of an alien; and in fact, therefore, we only permitted him to do that openly, which he would surely do clandestinely, and necessarily with aggravated circumstances of fraud and dissimulation: we only allowed him to do that legally, which he would be under the necessity of doing illegally, adding perjury to deception, and multiplying every species of trick and artifice to escape detection. The effects of licenses, therefore, so far from encouraging immorality, manifestly tended rather to repress it. The noble earl then went into a comparative statement of the amount of imports and exports, which his lordship deemed the true criterion. In the year 1805 they were, perhaps, highest; and the goods supplied to North America were afterwards re-shipped by them for South America. If, therefore, we were prevented from transmitting them by that circuitous route, we had it in our power, in case of a non-intercourse act being passed, to send them direct to South America ourselves. Although it might be urged that the markets of that vast continent had been glutted, yet by comparing the exports of the three last years with the exports of the three years preceding, it would be found that there were ten millions in favour of the former, and the exports to Canada had been nearly doubled during the latter period. He begged the house to recollect, that between the 1st of March 1809 and the 1st of May 1810, with the interruption of only two months,

the embargo in the ports of the United States was in force; and yet, in that space, the trade of the country was carried on with greater success than at any other that could be pointed out. In the succeeding year the embargo was removed; and it was then that the greatest commercial embarrassment was experienced. For this distress, of which so much use had been made, two causes might be assigned:—

1. The disappointment experienced in the Baltic trade during the year 1810, when immense shipments were improvidently made, in consequence of great success during the year preceding. In that year nearly 700 ships were captured and sequestered by the French who entered Stralsund, and various parts of the gulf of Bothnia.—

2. The immense speculations sent to South America, the markets of which had been so overstocked, that the shippers in England were disappointed of their remittances, and thereby many most opulent merchants were ruined. Although, however, this last cause had created a severe blow, he was happy to say that its effects were but temporary: the trade in South America was fast reviving; remittances long withheld were now pouring in; and the effect was, the revival of many of our manufactures. Such being the favourable prospect which had opened upon us after the gloomy clouds of disappointment had been dispelled, he could not concede to the proposition submitted to the house.

Lord Holland and lord Lauderdale spoke warmly in behalf of the motion; and the earls of Westmorland and Ross against it. The motion was negatived by a majority of 61.

On the 3d of February the same subject was brought before the

other house by Mr. Brougham, who moved that a committee might be appointed to take the subject into consideration. The object of this committee, he said, will be, to inquire into the effects of the orders in council of 1807; to inquire whether they have counteracted or assisted the policy of the enemy; what is the nature, the cause, and the extent of the distress felt throughout the country; and what is the most advisable remedy to be applied; whether it may be most expedient to retrace our steps, or prosecute the same course with additional vigour and effect. If we are to tell the people that the evils of which they complain are great but irremediable, that they are not merely to be deplored but endured, this language will not be the worse received for being prefaced by an impartial and accurate investigation into their causes. I have thought, sir, that thus much might tend to clear up the preliminary view of the question, by stating the case exactly as it stands among persons entertaining a diversity of opinion on the subject. The fundamental principle on which this new system of commercial policy is founded, has always professed itself to be a retaliatory principle. It is of indispensable importance, therefore, to understand what that system was on which it was pretended to retaliate. The end of our orders in council, says the right honourable gentleman, is to retort upon the enemy the evils of his own injustice. Their object, says lord Bathurst, is to counteract the designs of Bonaparte; their principle, as sir William Scott pronounced, is to produce a reflex operation upon the trade and manufactures of France. Without knowing, then, fully and precisely what this system is, of

which the obstruction and turning back form the basis of our own policy, it is utterly impossible that we can arrive at any safe or sound conclusion, or that the discussion can serve any useful purpose. Now this system of policy may be distinctly traced to one of the first principles of the French government, the principle of destroying the commerce of its enemies, although its own trade should be the necessary sacrifice. That this is the principle which lies at the bottom of its whole policy, there is abundant evidence to convince us. A long train of measures have, for a long period, been directed to this exclusive object. Undoubtedly Bonaparte has expressed a wish for ships, colonies, and commerce; but he was no sooner awakened from the vision by some new victory of our navy, than he found that the only means left him of accomplishing his ulterior designs, and of gratifying the first passion of his mind,—unceasing hatred towards this country,—was to sacrifice all his commercial views and interests to the destruction of ours. I am borne out fully by his acts, and justified by the whole tenour of his government, in asserting that the French ruler looks upon commerce in general as necessarily hostile to his interests—the conscription alone might serve to convince us of this.—What was his conduct when you first determined to hamper the importation of colonial produce into his dominions? “With all my heart,” said France, “your colonial produce shall not enter my ports at all.” We had long employed ourselves in devising schemes for preventing the introduction of cotton into the enemy’s ports. In August 1810, after the revocation of the French decrees had filled the ports of France with American merchant-

merchantmen laden with this commodity, a duty of 60 sous per lb. was imposed on the import, amounting to nearly a total prohibition. The inhabitants of Bourdeaux represented their distresses to the government, but their representations were made in vain. The merchants of Hamburgh poured in their complaints; in answer to which they were told, that the French emperor wished to see among his subjects none but soldiers and peasants. In order to gloss over this system with the tinsel of theories, we find the French ministers declaiming on the advantages of agriculture. A book has been published by Talleyrand, in which he labours to show that the exclusive encouragement of agriculture is the true and natural policy of the French government, since the stormy period of the revolution. Commerce he represents as leading men into large societies, while agriculture disperses them, and fits them for submission. Thus it appears that the enemy's policy is war no less on commerce than on liberty, on the parent and the child, as indissolubly connected, and nourishing and supporting each other by a natural and reciprocal operation. Thus it appears that, in the view of his stern and merciless policy, commerce is as hostile to all he aims at, as it is friendly to all he hates—the freedom and the happiness of mankind. If no commerce exists within the territory of France, and her system is as repugnant to it as I conceive it to be, it does not necessarily follow that it should be extended to all her allies, because she well knows that, by indulging their trade, she is preparing seamen for her own future navies. What, then, in the situation of things which I have described, ought to have been the policy of a state so

situated as ours? Ought it not to have for its object to support and encourage our own commerce, and to foster neutrality wherever found? not to hazard both in the weak attempt to inflict upon the enemy injuries which he does not feel. If we had adopted the principle of encouraging neutrality, what description of neutrals would it have behoved us chiefly to favour? the dependents and allies of Bonaparte, those whose seamen are his seamen, and whose territory he might, in a moment of caprice, render an integral part of his own dominions? or ought we not rather to have looked to a people separated from that enemy by an ocean to him impassable; a people having a common origin, and speaking a common language with ourselves? Let it be recollected, too, that this was a people who could not rival us in the most insignificant manufacture; a people every way so closely connected with us, that nothing short of the extremest madness and folly can ever produce a rupture between us; a people that cannot send out scarcely a ship of war to oppose us until they shall be driven into hostilities, and whose political state is such as to indispose them to war, unless compelled to a premature exertion of their strength. Instead of a policy leading to such results, I humbly apprehend we should have acted more wisely in holding up the neutral character to respect, in avoiding all that had a tendency to injure or destroy it, because, next to the calamity of a war with America, the greatest that can happen to British commerce is a war between France and America. Such a war must cooperate with the designs of the enemy in destroying and excluding our commerce from every part of the continent

continent. Such a war must immediately deprive this country of all those advantages which she enjoyed while America remained uncontrolled, and which rendered the French decrees almost as nugatory as the blockade of the British isles. It is lamentable to look back at the reverse of all this, to find that, instead of conciliating and neutralizing other states, our policy has breathed nothing but hostility to neutrals; and the whole series of our measures spoke but one language—that they must take part either with the one belligerent or the other. I wish not to enter upon the subject of the negotiation that is still pending. I rejoice that it is yet pending; but if I could suppose that America was as willing to acquiesce in our system, as we are strenuous in acting upon it, I should still contend that it would be wise in us to abandon it, and that by no other system is France so likely to succeed in her ultimate designs. So much was said on this subject four years ago, at a period when I had the honour of raising my voice at your bar against this policy, that I shall compress into one sentence the sum and substance of that argument. It was then said that under the new decrees of France, the test imposed upon American vessels in French ports would be solely,—had they touched at the British isles? This was a question which the Americans could at any time evade. The fact of having entered a British port was one which the enemy could not possibly ascertain. Under these circumstances our orders in council were issued, and every American vessel compelled to enter and pay tribute in a British port, previous to her entrance into any of the ports of France. Let us for a

moment attend to the effects of these edicts, as evinced in the first year after their proclamation. In the returns for the year 1809 it is stated that the amount of exports and imports fell short of the amount of the preceding year 15 millions. In April 1809, therefore, these orders were in a great degree modified, or rather rescinded. The only order now in force was then issued; and to this the attention of the house should be particularly directed, as in place of the former sweeping principle it substituted a blockade of limited extent, including Holland, the coast of Germany as far north as the Ems, and that portion of Italy which lies between Pesaro and Orbitello. Thus the original principle was completely surrendered; for what was the object of that principle, but to make Donaparte feel and repent of the operation of his own policy? What was it but an avowed struggle between him and us who could play at this game the longest? Were we not told by the right hon. gentleman opposite, that he could never hold out against the effect of our new scheme, and that the result must be, that he would be compelled to revoke his own decrees? What then was done by the order of April 1809? You must not, said this order, export your coffee, your cotton, or your sugar, on this side the river Ems; but go to the north of it, stretch your course a few leagues further, and you may trade at your discretion. While the north of Italy and the south of France were labouring for a vent to their manufactures, the language of this order was, You shall import nothing from Toulon, no nor from Genoa; but, a few miles to the southward, all restriction ceases.

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We regret that we cannot follow the honourable member through the whole of his eloquent speech: we must omit altogether a great number of the topics on which he dwelt with much energy and effect. Let us (says he) next inquire what are the effects produced by this licensing system on the enemy, on neutrals, and on ourselves. What are its effects to the enemy? Why, it at once gives up to him all that remains of the principle of the orders in council; because, if the principle is to be relaxed *ad litem*, it those who apply for licenses, if every man who wishes to trade with the enemy, has only to go over to the right honourable gentleman to attain his object, what, I will ask, is to become of the blockade of 1809? The relaxation, therefore, I contend, eats up the very system itself; and we are now carrying on a trade which is open to the enemy, but shut to all neutrals except those who choose to be partakers of the licensing system. I ask, therefore, if it is consistent with the policy of this country, which has always aimed at engrossing the carrying trade of the world, to endeavour by every means to increase our own marine, and to take all means to prevent the increase of that of France? Is it consistent, I ask, with this policy, that we should hold out every encouragement for the increase of the shipping of those neutrals who are under the dominion of France, or under the influence of her power? It is by their interference alone that the trade of the enemy can be carried on. The flags of Kniphausen, Pappenburg, and several little places, which it is difficult to know where to look for in the map of Europe, and those of the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, equally carry on, by

1812.

means of our licenses, the trade between France and their own country, and the trade between this country and France. For how is it possible, if the person furnished with one of these licenses has an interest to go direct from Pappenburg to Rotterdam, to prevent him from doing so? Those who are acquainted with the proceedings in our admiralty courts know well how often the license is used in this manner, and that the vessel describes the string instead of the bow, if I may use the expression. There is no possible way of preventing this, but by covering the whole of the enemy's coast with your ships, and to set a real and not a paper blockade on foot. And it is to be borne in mind, that there is not one of those cargoes which are allowed to be imported into France, which is not attended with as much gain to the enemy as to us. And here I ask, What is the effect of all this? The effect is, that the number of seamen and amount of tonnage of this country, compared with that of the foreigners engaged in our trade, which in 1806 and 1807 remained nearly the same, in 1809 assumed a very different proportion: and in 1810 there was an increase in the foreign shipping of upwards of 1,100,000 tons, and an increase of foreign seamen of more than double the number which the enemy had in the Scheldt and elsewhere, only four short years before. If this fact does not dispose us to inquire into the consequences of these measures, I know not what will. No wonder that the ship-owners of Hull and Shields complain of the measures. If such be the ground of their complaints to parliament, and if these complaints are even borne out by the custom-house papers of the right honour-

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honourable gentleman opposite, I think I ought to expect even the support of that right honourable gentleman. It appears that even the ship-building is falling off considerably in this country; and that, comparing 1809 with 1806, there is a decrease of one-half. The tonnage of 1811 is not yet presented. Such are the grounds on which I call on the house for inquiry. Now, sir, let us inquire what is the complexion of this licensing system. Sure I am that it is altogether novel in this country—not that trade should not be interfered with, for that has formerly been frequently done, generally by laws, and particularly by orders in council; but that this interference should be systematical, and that every day in the year trade should be controlled by the executive government. The trade of the country at this day is not carried on by merchants residing at Liverpool, London, or Hull, but by the president or vice-president of the board of trade. That body, for whom, as individuals, I have the highest respect, is not now employed in devising means of hostility towards the enemy, or of protection to our own trade; but the whole of their mornings are occupied with the assortment of cargoes, and inquiries after what goods are best calculated for this or that market; and whatever respect I may otherwise entertain for them, I cannot but think, that of all human beings they are the most incompetent to this task. The whole of the license trade may, therefore, be styled a trade between Lombard-street and the board of trade at Westminster. But who were the persons who would be found thus waiting on the right honourable gentleman? There would not be found the honourable member near me (Mr.

Baring), nor the honourable member for Worcester, nor any of the members for the city of London. You would find that those who are to be seen there, consist of neutrals under the control of the enemy, and their jobbers, Jews who have their residence in Duke's-place and Lombard-street; persons from the north of Germany having their broker here. These are the persons with whom the vice-president of the board of trade consults. In this manner you furnish the enemy with the means of knowing the course and current of trade at every instant. The orders in council and the navigation laws are general measures; but here you have another system by which the enemy has the means of knowing at all times what articles you wish to have exported, and what you wish to have imported from the continent; and by this means it is his own fault if he does not put that commerce completely within his control. But the last of all, and most deplorable consequence of this licensing system, is the effect which it is still making on the morals of the trading part of the community of this country. Here I implore the attention of the house, and the attention of the honourable gentlemen opposite, (would to God I could appeal to them in a more effectual manner!) and entreat them to consider the consequences of giving countenance to a traffic which has so often been described as dissimulation from beginning to end. These are the words of the respectable judge who presides in our courts of admiralty, who, as he owes in that capacity allegiance to no particular sovereign, is bound to mete out justice equally to the subjects of all nations who come before him. This is the language of the

the right honourable gentleman alluded to ; but in my opinion it would be still more accurate to say that it begins with forgery, that it is continued by perjury, and ended in enormous frauds. But what are we to say when we find that the government of the country lends the sanction of its authority to such expressions as the following, in the licenses from port to port : " Notwithstanding all the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same to be destined to any neutral or hostile port, or to whomsoever such property may appear to belong." Notwithstanding, says his majesty in council, (at least his majesty is made to use such language,)—notwithstanding, says this paper, which is countersigned by his majesty's secretary of state, this trade is carried on by fraud and perjury, we will sanction that foulness, and we will give orders that these ships shall be enabled to pass through the British fleets. Perhaps the full import of this clause is not known to the house. It is proper to be aware that papers are put on board, bearing the place from whence the ship cleared out, signed in the proper and usual manner, and letters from the ship-owner to the proper persons ; and that their real documents form what is called the ship's papers. In case this ship should happen to be overhauled, they were enabled to take on board another set of papers, which were a forgery from beginning to end. If the ship happened to clear from London, it was said to clear from Rotterdam, and the proper description was made out, as nearly as possible, in the hand-writing of the custom-house officer at Rotterdam, and countersigned by the duke of Cadore, or perhaps, as I happened to

see the other day, by Napoleon himself. Not only were the names forged, but the seal was also forged. But this was not enough. A regular set of letters was also forged, containing a good deal of such news from Rotterdam as might be supposed to be interesting to mercantile people, and a letter from a merchant in Rotterdam to the ship-owner. If all these were not forged, the vessel would otherwise be seized. This is what is meant by the general expression of " notwithstanding all the documents which accompany the ship and cargo may represent the same." So much for the system of forgery on which this license trade rested. But all this is not enough : all this must be done with the privity of the merchant here, and of his clerks. That most respectable branch of society, and these young men whom they are initiating into trade, are no longer at liberty to follow the system by which our Childs and our Barings rose to such respectability and eminence, but from their very outset in life all are now to be initiated in the mysteries of this fraudulent commerce. The captain of the ship is obliged to swear to every one of the documents. He is obliged to swear in words as awful as it is possible to conceive, that all these letters are genuine. Every sort of interrogatory is put to the captain and the whole crew, which is calculated to discover what is the real port from which the vessel sailed, and what the port of destination ; and to all these interrogatories the captain and the whole crew are obliged to swear. If the vessel came from London, for instance, they must say it came from Amsterdam ; and, to give a colour of truth to this, they must tell what was the state of the wind at the time

the ship set sail. All this, and a number of other particulars, they are obliged to asseverate on the most solemn oath which it is possible to conceive : so that, under this system, the whole crew and captain are under the necessity of perjuring themselves, if they wish to act up to their instructions. A letter of a most curious description has been put into my hands, written to an American merchant of the highest respectability, the contents of which would be extremely ludicrous, if the contemplation of them were not accompanied by a feeling of disgust at the moral depravity it displays. It is written by a professional man,—not that he is either a lawyer, a physician, or a divine, for he would be a disgrace to either of them,—but he is a man who has made the forgery of ships' papers a regular and organized trade. I shall omit the names of any of the parties, because I should be sorry to injure individuals, whose only connection with the writer has been that he has dared to send them this most atrocious circular. It is as follows :

“ Liverpool, ———

“Gentlemen,—We take the liberty herewith to inform you, that we have established ourselves in this town, for the sole purpose of making simulated papers, which we are enabled to do in a way which will give ample satisfaction to our employers ; not only being in possession of the original documents of the ships' papers, and clearances to various ports (a list of which we annex), but our Mr. G—— B—— having worked with his brother, Mr. J—— B——, in the same line, for the last two years, and understanding all the necessary languages. Of any changes that may occur in the different places on the continent,

we are careful to have the earliest information, not only from our own connections, but from Mr. J—— B——, who has proffered his assistance in every way, and who has for some time past made simulated papers for Messrs. B—— and P—— of this town, to whom we beg leave to refer you for further information. We remain, &c.”

[Then follows a long list of about twenty places, from and to which they can forge papers, having all the clearances ready by them, from the different public agents, the moment they receive intelligence that any merchant may need their assistance in this scheme of fabrication.] Is not this, I ask the house, a trade most degrading to the nation ? Is this the way in which we are to defeat the designs of Bonaparte ? Is this the mode by which we are to make him bite the dust ? Which of the two contending powers is subdued by the respective systems adopted against each other, that which has openly sacrificed its commerce, which says, “ We will have soldiers and peasants, but no traders ;” or that party which, to the sacrifice of all national honour, maintains such a foul, such a filthy commerce, as that on which the other side contend our subsistence depends ? If this be the triumph of England and of Englishmen over the continental system—if this be all for which our soldiers cheerfully bleed on the fields of victory,—I shall soon be ashamed of the title which I hope still to boast ; and representing free, independent, honest, British traders, I will not be one of those who will go in procession to grace the statues of our heroes with laurels, when I know that, however glorious may have been the deeds they are to commemorate, the place they fill should rather be occupied

cupied by a gibbet and a halter. I know that the right honourable gentleman will tell me, that if these crimes were not committed by us, they would be perpetrated by others; that if our merchants in Liverpool refused fabricated papers, those of Boston would not be so scrupulous. In answer to this assertion, I shall merely say, that the argument is not new. It has been hackneyed over and over again, in the absence of a better, on other subjects. I remember it, and in the recollection of the honourable member for Yorkshire it must still be fresh. It is the old argument used on the long debated question of the slave-trade, by which the ministers of the day were scandalized, and by which, if by nothing else, the memory of lord Sidmouth will be perpetuated as long as a sense of shame is retained by this or any other country. "Oh!" said they, "if we abandon the slave trade, it will be carried on by others, and perhaps humanity will suffer in the exchange." It may be so; but I repeat, as applied to this subject, what my honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce) then so forcibly and truly urged on that occasion, "Let it be carried on by others, we will no longer let our hands, stained in human blood, be the accusers of our eyes." I say, let this nefarious practice be adopted by any other country,—by America, if it be not too honest,—by Papenburg, or some of the dirty ports of Denmark; but let it not receive the sanction of the British government. Let it be no longer said that England, whose merchants in former and happier times were held in universal estimation for probity and honour, have forfeited a character by the preservation of which they can only claim a just right to the privileges of humanity. Weighing,

therefore, all these circumstances, which I am too much exhausted, and the house too much fatigued, to recapitulate, I ask any honest and impartial man, whether sufficient ground has not been laid for inquiry, in order to ascertain whether there be or be not any remedy to the grievous evils, some few of which I have enumerated? The honourable member concluded by moving, "That a select committee be appointed for the purpose of taking into consideration the present state of the commerce and manufactures of the country, particularly with reference to the orders in council and the license trade."

Mr. Rose was not disposed to deny that the condition of the manufacturers in various parts of the country was much to be commiserated; but their discontent did not arise so much from a want of work as from a diminution of wages. The case of the inhabitants of Birmingham was perhaps stronger than any other, because the trade there greatly depended upon a continued intercourse with the United States. It was urged, that since the orders in council were issued, trade had declined. This was equally unfounded; for in 1807, the year of their promulgation, the amount was 34,500,000*l.*; in 1808, the same; in 1809, it rose to no less than 50,000,000*l.*; and in 1810, it fell to 45,000,000*l.* It was asserted that Bonaparte, in 1810, grasped British property to the amount of 9,000,000*l.*, by suspending, for a moment, the operation of his decrees. How did the fact stand? They were relaxed from the end of 1807 to 1810; and for two years previous to the seizure complained of (the utmost amount of which might be reduced to 7,000,000*l.*), the trade to the Baltic had been

conducted with the utmost advantage; and it only arose from accidental causes of wind and weather, that Bonaparte was enabled to apply the cargoes of several hundred ships to his own use: but the truth was, that this trade had nothing to do with the orders in council; and the destruction of the trade so vehemently enforced was, in truth, an augmentation from 25 to 30,000,000*l.* A few years since, it had been as boldly said as it had been to-night repeated, that our trade with America would be annihilated; and he (Mr. Rose) then took occasion modestly to express his opinion, that if a non-intercourse law were passed in the United States, the commerce with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies might be carried on directly from Great Britain. Experience had fully confirmed his opinion. The honourable member had said that he (Mr. Rose) associated with improper persons. How such intelligence was obtained, he (Mr. Rose) was at a loss to conjecture. What information others might gain for particular purposes from door-keepers, he could not tell, but he disclaimed any such acquaintance. The next position was, that the board of trade occupied itself from morning till night in assorting cargoes for exports, assisted by Germans, Jews, and brokers; whereas the anxiety of the board had been constantly directed to ascertain what articles it was safe and fit to allow to be imported. He was willing to admit that foreign shipping had increased in a more rapid proportion; but if we had not employed it, he should be glad to be informed what would have become of our commerce, since trade to enemies' ports could only be conducted in foreign ships. The question, there-

fore, was, whether we should allow our manufactures to rot in our warehouses, or employ foreign vessels to convey them to the continent. It was impossible for men in cold blood to stand by and witness such a melancholy sight, when so easy a remedy could be applied. The amount of freight, which had advanced on transports from 20*s.* to 25*s.* per ton, was a further proof of the fact. All the British shipping, in the mean time, had been fully employed; and even in Hull, which had most suffered, there was not a ship at present disengaged. If we had not employed the means offered to us, France might now have been furnished with every article from America which she at present unwillingly derives from Great Britain: if the orders in council had not been resorted to, America might have flourished, but Great Britain would have languished, since France determined that voluntarily no trade should be allowed with England. The only object was to protect ourselves, and America should not be placed in a situation where she might act as a neutral, and show more favour to France than to Great Britain. The conduct of this country had been marked with singular forbearance and kindness towards the United States. Mr. Rose hoped he should be able to prove it, and that the conduct of France had been diametrically the reverse. Had Bonaparte seized none of her shipping, and had he not gone beyond what the laws of nations allowed and decreed, that every ship coming from England should be confiscated? An immense confiscation of American property was the consequence; but the United States passed over the insult unnoticed. Encouraged by this supineness, Bonaparte went further,

further, and, on advice of his court of admiralty, determined that any French cruizer that fell in with an American vessel, which she supposed was on a voyage to England, might burn and destroy her. Then followed the Milan decree; and on a remonstrance being sent in by general Armstrong, the duke of Cadore the French minister replied, "that the conduct of France was consistent with the eternal principles of justice." The decree of Rambouillet was the close of that scene of iniquity, which America had tamely allowed to be acted before her eyes. The orders in council, on the contrary, were not promulgated until it was perfectly well known in the republic that such would be the conduct of Great Britain. Much had been stated with most imposing eloquence on the evil consequences resulting from the system of licensing. The plain truth was, that all these disadvantages, all this system of fraud, as it had been called, existed to its full extent before the orders in council were issued; and they and the licenses united had assisted greatly in diminishing the crime of perjury, instead of increasing it. He had inquired much into the facts, and he had heard nothing of perjury; nor could he imagine from whence the honourable gentleman (Mr. Brougham) had derived his intelligence. Before the orders in council, captains of ships were compelled to make a solemn oath as to their ships, crews, &c. which had been often evaded by those who pretended to belong to neutral nations. This inducement to perjury had now been removed, as well as other oaths required in Doctors' Commons. That it prevailed as a system before 1807, was notorious; and a house at Embden was established, who for frauds of this kind

received a regular commission of 2 per cent. It was the first time he had heard of any oaths or affidavits being required in the courts abroad. The honourable gentleman had told the house that an immense number of petitions had been sent from various parts of the country against the orders in council. He admitted it, and that there was some cause for them: but in all these cases experience had proved that considerable art was used to procure signatures, as well as to misrepresent and exaggerate facts. In general, the persons petitioning were of the lower order, who, beyond their own immediate personal wants, could take no view of the general welfare of the nation. Under all circumstances, therefore, he saw no ground for desponding. Had it not been for these orders in council, however, now so much decried, we should have been counteracted every where: they had been and still were our only protection. He would ask, in reply to the honourable gentleman who had so strongly condemned the license trade, as employing foreign seamen and vessels, and which he described as proceeding from the orders in council, in what manner our trade was to be carried on? It would be, in his opinion, a deplorable trial for our manufacturers, were we to suspend all trade, all commerce, while we were endeavouring and contending for the admission of British ships into the ports of the continent. Considering, therefore, as he did, the orders in council to be a measure of sound policy and manifest utility to the country, he should conclude with expressing his anxious hope that the house would not go into a committee to inquire into a question which lay wholly upon the surface, and amounted simply to this, whether

ther we should open the trade of the world to France or not?

Mr. Baring, Mr. Canning, Mr. Whitbread, and others, spoke for the motion; Mr. Stephen, sir Charles Price, and Mr. Perceval, were against it; and it was lost by a large majority, there being

For the motion 144

Against it - 216

Friday, March 6.—A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships had agreed to the frame-work bill, with several amendments, to which they desired the concurrence of this house. After some other business, the house went into a committee on the mutiny bill.

Mr. Whitbread said, he wished to call the attention of the committee to a circumstance which he thought deserved their most serious consideration. It was the constant practice in the army and militia to establish schools to enable soldiers, who had unfortunately received no education, to make themselves capable of discharging the duties of non-commissioned officers. There was an order from the commander-in-chief, issued to the commanding officer of every regiment, to make the soldiers attend these schools. I had, however, happened in the regiment which he commanded, that a soldier had refused to go to school when ordered so to do, and he sent him to prison for disobedience of orders. The man afterwards brought an action of false imprisonment, and the judge who tried the cause had given it as his opinion, that the order to go to school was an illegal order, and the man was not bound to obey it. He hoped, therefore, the noble lord (Palmerstone) and his colleagues would form a clause, before the report on the third reading of the

bill, to protect officers in enforcing their duty.

Lord Palmerstone (secretary at war) said, he believed the attendance of schools by the soldiers was meant to be entirely optional, and he thought it would be extending the matter too far to make it a part of military discipline. He thought, if the soldiers were told that unless they made use of those means of improvement they could not have the offices of corporals and sergeants, it would operate as a sufficient stimulus to their endeavouring to improve themselves.

Mr. Whitbread said, that the order only says the officer shall establish the school. When he had done this, and ordered the soldiers to go to it, they refused. If he did not enforce the order, the officer was liable to be tried by a court-martial for neglect of duty. If he did enforce it, he was liable to an action at law, and a judge has already said the order was illegal. He was no more interested in the matter than any other officer; but he hoped the matter would be considered, and, before the present bill passed, that the opinion of headquarters would be made known, whether this order was to be compulsory or not.

The chancellor of the exchequer shortly expressed his opinion against making the attendance of the soldiers at school a part of military discipline.

Mr. Brougham observed, that as he should be prevented by accidental circumstances from giving his opinion when this question would be agitated before the house, he should now enter his protest against military flogging. It was a subject of importance, not only to the army, but to the judicial system of the country. No punishment was more inconsistent with the object of punishment, which was either to amend

amend the culprit, or to deter others from offending. That the first result did not occur, experience had sufficiently proved; and also the testimony of those gallant officers, sir R. Wilson, general Stewart, and general Money, who had all given their decided opinion that flogging only degraded and debased the military character. As to its operation as an example, he asked whether, by inflicting torture as a punishment, there was not produced greater evil than good; as such an exhibition either tended to make the spectators forget the offence in their sympathy with the sufferer, or, what was worse, ultimately hardened and brutalized the people. He wished, therefore, that the amendment should go further, and that corporal punishment should be totally abolished. There was another subject on which he wished to put a question, whether it was intended to limit and regulate the power of the crown in the enlistment of foreign soldiers? He felt all the old jealousy on this point, he meant the jealousy felt at the revolution. The act of settlement expressly stated, that no office of trust, civil or military, under the crown, should be given to a foreigner, whether naturalized or denizenized. The 44th and 46th of the king had, indeed, relaxed this restriction; yet the preamble of those acts sufficiently proved that the power of the crown was not protected, except in regiments entirely composed and officered by foreigners. He understood, however, that the 10th regiment, one of the best and most accomplished in the service, was in the course of being completely Germanized: that foreigners by 50 and 60 at a time were enlisting into the prince of Wales's regiment; that this body-guard of the prince was

in fact to be converted into a foreign corps. He objected also to the recruiting regiments from the hulks. A gallant officer had stated in that house, that his men had come to him heart-broken, at being obliged to associate with these branded persons, the influx from the refuse of the hulks. He dared to say, that these persons selected were the best behaved that could be found. (*Hear! hear!*) Yes, the best behaved; for he did not suppose that they would send out monsters whom it would not be safe to have loose upon society: but really he did not see that it was any great thing for an officer to be allowed the pick and choose of the hulks, or even to be favoured with all the best men from such a place.

Mr. Manners Sutton said, that as the question now put would soon be before the house on another day, he would not then trouble the committee at any length; he should merely state, on the subject of corporal punishment, that it did not occur, either to his mind or to his noble friend, that it could practically be abolished. Last year, when the matter was discussed, all parties had concurred in stating that there did not exist any predilection for this sort of punishment. It had been, therefore, determined to try whether imprisonment would not be a good and safe substitute. He had now the satisfaction of telling the house, that from January to December 1811 only eight corporal punishments had been awarded; and since March 1811 only one: and that one had been inflicted, but with an offer to the individual to commute the flogging to general service, which he refused. [How many lashes? asked Mr. Brougham—700, replied Mr. Sutton.]

ton.] The honourable gentleman had expressed his wish for the abolition of it, but should not something be substituted? And what could that substitution be? It was impossible to inflict imprisonment when men were in actual service; for instance, in Spain and Portugal: and accordingly it appeared that while only eight floggings were adjudged in England, during the same period forty had been inflicted in Portugal. On foreign service it did not appear that any substitution was practicable; and he really thought that the abolition would be impossible, unless some adequate substitution (and none such had been mentioned) should be proposed to their consideration. He could not help, therefore, regretting, that such exaggerated descriptions of the torture and barbarity of this infliction should be made, when, as it appeared to him, without this punishment, or some substituted one not yet proposed, no military discipline could be enforced.

Mr. Brougham said, that he had not stated that the punishment should be abolished without a substitution; on the contrary, he had insisted that flogging was itself an improper substitution for another punishment. It was not the punishment, but the kind and shape of it, to which he objected. In great crimes, such as mutiny, &c. let the culprit be shot; in smaller, imprisoned; and surely, if abroad, there were a number of menial and degrading offices which might be imposed for different offences. The honourable member then expressed his grief, that those to whom the country was indebted for this service, he meant Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Drakard, should now for that very service be languishing in pri-

son. (*Hear, hear! and a laugh.*) He supposed that hon. members sneered at the obscure situation of those individuals, and he hoped that he should never see those hon. members in a situation equally obscure; but he maintained that Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Drakard were the authors of this service. The press first spoke to the people; it was fully discussed out of doors; and then, and after the eloquent address of the member for Westminster, this punishment was to a certain degree abolished.

Mr. Manners Sutton said, that it was to the wishes of members of courts-martial, and not to Mr. Cobbett or Mr. Drakard, that the army was indebted for the clause of last year. He then proposed a clause for the purpose of allowing seven to form a court-martial in places beyond the seas, when on actual service. He stated, that in Lord Wellington's army it had been frequently found inconvenient to assemble thirteen officers at every court-martial, and on a march some violations of discipline took place, which on that account often escaped punishment.

The clause was brought up and agreed to.

On the clause for allowances on quartering soldiers,

Sir John Newport rose, and expressed a wish, that the same appeal to magistrates against abuses of this power should prevail in Ireland as it did in England. In Ireland, the soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants at large, and not on innkeepers, and he had known the greatest abuses take place. Quakers had generally more than double their proportion quartered on them, as it was known that they would pay almost any thing to get rid of the soldiers. He also knew that in corporate bodies this power was

was much abused. Those men in the city he represented, who voted for him, were much more burthened than their neighbours.

Mr. W. Pole said, that no complain's of this nature had ever reached the Irish government.

A long conversation then took place, in which it appeared to be understood that there would be no objection to a separate bill to remedy the evil complained of, and give an appeal to the magistrates, as in England. The clause was then agreed to.

Another clause was proposed by Mr. Sutton, and agreed to, for suspending the pay of soldiers imprisoned under sentence of a court-martial, during the period of their imprisonment.

After a few more clauses had been agreed to, the report was ordered to be received on a future day, when the bill was passed.

House of commons. Monday, March 9.—A message from the lords acquainted the house, that the lords had agreed to the framework bill, with an amendment, to which they required the concurrence of that house.

The speaker thought it necessary to call the attention of the house to the nature of the amendment. That house had made the penalty in this particular part of the bill to be fine and imprisonment, to which the lords had added, "or either," which in substance did amount to this, that that house had prescribed the penalty in such cases to be by fine, and the lords had voted that it should not: an amendment upon fines or forfeitures had never been permitted by that house, such being their rightful and peculiar province. The amendment was then negatived *con. sen.* and a message ordered to be sent to the lords to pray a con-

ference touching the same, to which they agreed; when they gave up their amendment.

On the Irish miscellaneous services the following sums were then moved for and voted:—the Foundling hospital 30,250*l.*—the House of Industry 41,902*l.*—Hibernian school 13,666*l.*—Marine society 2,856*l.*—Female Orphan school 1,806*l.*—Westmorland Lock hospital 6,847*l.*—Lying-in hospital 3,471*l.*—Sir Patrick Dun's hospital 3,016*l.*—St. Patrick's and Swift's hospital 4,180*l.*—Fever hospital 2,000*l.*—Expenses of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations 600*l.*—Association for discountenancing Vice 2,423*l.*

[On the suggestion of Sir John Newport, it was agreed to alter the title of the society next year, its object being solely the distribution of bibles and prayer-books.]

For the college of Surgeons 3,466*l.*—for the Green-coat hospital 700*l.*

Mr. Pole then moved for the usual grant of 8,973*l.* for Maynooth college.

Sir John Newport said, that every year the necessity for augmenting this grant became more and more evident. The sources from which education was formerly derived for the ecclesiastics of the Irish catholics on the continent of Europe were now dried up. Those ecclesiastics who had been educated on the continent, and brought over to Ireland, were now advanced to an age when a greater mortality was naturally to be looked for among them than formerly; the population of Ireland was increasing every year, of which general increase that of the catholic part was at least equal to the protestant; and therefore the demand for religious instruction for the catholics was consequently also increased. It was better

better at any time, surely, that the education of the catholic clergy should be carried on at home than in foreign countries; but then the fact was, that now the only provision for their education was at Maynooth. It was proper then to see how far this provision was adequate. The college of Maynooth was calculated to educate 200 students; the course of education was five years; so that, without taking the mortality of these students into account, and allowing that all of them would follow out the clerical profession, only 40 persons would go out every year. He then alluded to a paper of Dr. Price, relative to an establishment for the clergy of Scotland, from which it appeared that out of 974 clergymen 29 died annually. According to this proportion the 2000 parishes of Ireland would require an annual supply of 591 clergymen. Refusing to provide education to the catholics would not make them protestants, but might make them depraved catholics. Was this wished for? Was it wished to send out incompetent persons to teach the catholics? The sum of 13,000*l.* was more needful now than it was in 1807. He then went into a character of the Irish catholic clergymen—and a greater assiduity, he said, both to the spiritual and temporal wants of their flocks, could not be displayed by any priesthood; and in this respect they might challenge competition with the clergy of any establishment whatever. After some further observations, he concluded with moving that 13,000*l.* should be substituted in place of the sum in the estimate.

Mr. Ryder believed that the college of Maynooth had been the means of aiding the proselytising from the established church to the

catholics. He was favourable to a liberal toleration, but averse from the principle of granting any thing to the support of a different religion from that of the state. Upon the same principle, dissenters of all kinds might come forward and demand assistance from government. He wished from his heart that Maynooth college had never existed.

Colonel Dillon thought it looked rather ungracious at this time, when the house were not very scrupulous in their grants of money for sinecure places, that an opposition should be made to such a moderate sum for the religious education of the clergy of nearly a whole nation.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended, that it was not the amount of the sum on which he opposed the additional grant. It was not a fair representation to say that they were now withdrawing a grant which was formerly made by parliament. The sum now proposed was the sum which the parliament of Ireland had thought proper to grant, and which had been continued regularly since by the parliament of the United Kingdom, with the exception of the alteration in 1807. It was the ministry of 1807 who were the innovators. He agreed with his right honourable friend (Mr. Ryder) near him, in thinking, that if this grant had not previously been made by the parliament of Ireland, it ought not now to be continued. To wish to establish one system of religion and maintain that establishment, and yet to provide for the education of the clergy of another religion, was inconsistent and anomalous. He did not object to the Roman catholics themselves providing that education; but he could not well see why the state was to be

be at the expense of it. He would, however, consider this grant as a part of the union, and on that principle give it his vote. He wished those gentlemen who thought that parliament was acting illiberally, to consider what part of the education of our own clergy was paid by the state, and they would find that it bore no proportion to the grant to the catholics. When the college of Maynooth was first established, the catholics did not wish government to be at the whole expense of the education of the catholic priesthood; they said, If you will give us only a basis, we will come liberally forward with our contributions. It had been said, that the course of the students at Maynooth was too short: but let us look at home. How were the clergy of our own establishment educated in Wales and in the north? There was no end to this system; thousand after thousand might be granted without end, till Maynooth was as large as Dublin, Cambridge, or Oxford.

Mr. Grattan said, it did not follow that because the house adopted the principle of the Irish parliament in supporting the establishment of Maynooth, they were not to exceed the limited sum of 8000*l.* voted by that parliament. The provision must correspond to the times, otherwise it was nominal, and a cheat. Were the means adequate to the end? It was to be recollected that the protestant church was paid by the catholics; and it was but just that the protestants in their turn should contribute to the catholic college. Another church had been established among the catholics; and every means of indulgence ought surely to be given them, not to propagate their religion, but to practise it. It was not in the power

of a legislature to extend the faith of any sect. When force was applied to the professors of any religion, it only made them adhere to it with more tenacity; and it became then not so much a matter of religion as of spirit, to abide by the religion of their ancestors. To refuse education to the catholics would not make them protestants, but might make them deists; and no protestant would say, that to possess no religion was better than to be a catholic. The foreign education was not objectionable because it was catholic, but because it was disloyal; and it was upon that ground that the legislature thought proper to establish Maynooth college. Why was it established? To provide the catholics with religious instruction. Would they then give them only one half of this object? Was it proposed to leave the half of them without any religion at all? The right hon. gentleman had said, upon the same principle they might be called upon to pay for the education of the dissenters. But the people of Ireland paid more than this—they paid for the religion of another country. If it was said they paid for the religion of the state, was the religion of the state the religion of the nation? However respectable the part of the country which professed the protestant religion, it was but a small part of the nation. The right hon. gentleman had also said, that the education for the clergy of the established church was not provided for by the state in the same proportion. Was it possible for any man in his senses to say that the catholics were rich in proportion to the protestants? Was the university of Dublin nothing? Were tythes nothing? Was the bench of bishops nothing? Were the great livings of the

the protestant clergy nothing, who derived a great income from teaching a very small though a very respectable part of the population? The great object of any state ought to be to propagate christianity. He would not therefore starve christianity in Ireland, because the people of Ireland happened to be Roman catholics. He would not wish the catholics, because they would not turn protestants, to be of no religion at all. It was hard not only to deprive them of their political rights in this world, but to wish to endanger their eternal welfare in another. He considered the sum at present proposed a poor and inadequate provision.

Mr. Whitbread considered the assertion of the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Ryder) respecting the increase of proselytism, in consequence of the college of Maynooth, to be totally unfounded. The right hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had opposed the augmentation in 1807, but he was then foiled; and as that augmentation had been sanctioned by parliament, he considered the subsequent reduction as an innovation. But the novelty of the thing was, that they spoke now not as ministers of the king, but as ministers of the prince. They told the house, that being in principle against the grant to the college of Maynooth, they now merely support it in consequence of an obligation arising out of the act of union. There was nothing in the act of union to prevent them from acting on their principles; and it would be better for them, instead of starving the grant, to come manfully forward and say, We will consent to no grant. He should be glad to hear from the secretary of state for the home department, of any instance of proselytism occasioned

by the college of Maynooth. If he had no instances, why did he throw out a false alarm, for the purpose of deterring others from acceding to this grant? The chancellor of the exchequer in answering his right hon. friend (sir J. Newport) had argued as if forty persons went annually out of Maynooth college; but this was unquestionably not the case. Notwithstanding the great increase in the price of every thing since the institution of the college, his right hon. friend merely called on the house to return to the grant of 1807. It was natural to suppose that this would be considered as a touchstone by the catholics of Ireland to judge of what they were to expect from this new æra. They would consider that the whole influence of the government was now applied to sacrifice an institution which had its origin under a minister whom the right hon. gentleman proposes to look up to when it suits his purpose. He could wish the attention of the people of England to be called to one point. They had often heard of the great influence which the emperor of France would possess, through the pope, over the catholic clergy of Ireland; and it was now wanted to drive the catholic clergy abroad, for their education, to the dominions of France, or countries subject to her influence. The house were no more bound to follow the estimates of former years for this, any more than for other grants; they had just voted additional sums to hospitals and other institutions, because they wanted more; why were they then not to exercise their discretion respecting the sum necessary for the college of Maynooth?

The chancellor of the exchequer had some difficulty in understanding what had been so often asserted, that

that he had been guilty of innovation. The amount voted for this institution had continued the same from the union until 1806; and so far there was no innovation. In 1807, however, when those ministers came into power, who had uniformly been distinguished for doing every thing that could in any way operate as a promotion to catholicism, (which might be very proper, according to the principles they professed,) the vote had been augmented to 13,000*l*. To this proposition he (Mr. Perceval) gave his most strenuous opposition; but the vote was never completed, or inserted in the appropriation act, in consequence of the dissolution of parliament. In the new parliament, those who, when in opposition, had conceived it their duty to resist such encouragement to the catholics, felt it right not to permit the innovation which had been attempted by their predecessors, and to restore matters to their former state. Because, therefore, the present administration had resisted what was new, and supported what was old, they were called innovators. If the word innovation meant doing that which had been done before for a long series of years, undoubtedly the accusation was just; but if it implied, as was usually understood, the introduction of something entirely novel and unprecedented, the crime of innovation, if it were so, must be placed to the account of the last administration. But it was said that the novelty was, that the ministers of the prince regent should resist this augmentation. Undoubtedly when he (Mr. Perceval) came into power under the king, he had exhibited the strange phenomenon (which seemed to strike the other side of the house with so much wonder) of a person continuing his resistance to

the increased grant which he had opposed when out of office. That a man in administration should act on the same principles that had governed him while in opposition, doubtless appeared not a little extraordinary to gentlemen whom he had now the pleasure to see on the other side of the house. It might likewise seem still more surprising to them, to find that the same ministers who, under the king, had strenuously withstood this grant, should persist in the same line of conduct under the regent. It was, however, a mistake on the part of the hon. gentleman (Mr. Whitbread), to say that any new argument had been introduced by him into debate, because, from the beginning, he had objected to the grant in its principle altogether: however absurd it might be to employ it, (and no doubt it appeared so to the gentlemen over against him a great absurdity,) he had been guilty of it ever since the year 1801; but although such was his decided opinion, as the vote of 8000*l*. had been hitherto passed by parliament, he did not think it necessary to throw it out *in toto*. With regard to the assertion he had made, (which had been denied,) that all the persons instructed at Maynooth college were educated for the priesthood, he had only to add, that such was the fact, although it might be true that of the 250 of which the establishment was composed, some died, and others did not pursue the line for which they were intended. If the sums granted for such purposes were to be increased without any due limitation, it was impossible to discover where the claims would end, since they would soon require that they should have Roman catholic colleges of their own, with a provision from government to any extent

extent they might think fit to demand.

Sir John Newport insisted that, during the first session of the new parliament, under the present administration, the grant was enlarged, though nominally, to discharge the expenses of some new erections. The right hon. gentleman had stated, that the government of which he (sir J. Newport) was a humble member, had done all that lay in their power to promote the Roman catholic religion. The assertion was unfounded; but it was true that every thing was done necessary to protect the injured rights of the catholics, and, by protecting them, to maintain the general interests of the united empire. In such an attempt the hon. baronet had borne his share of the duty, and he should never be ashamed of the part he had borne.

Mr. Whitbread was willing to give the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Perceval) full credit for consistency, but it was a consistency which had been highly injurious, and might eventually prove fatal to the country. The sarcastic and facetious allusions that had been made to the administration of the right hon. baronet (sir J. Newport), and which might well have been spared, could in no respect apply to him (Mr. Whitbread), since he had held and been candidate for no place. The applause, however, excited by the chancellor of the exchequer among his friends by his retort, appeared, however, a little untimely and somewhat injudicious, since the ink of a letter was yet scarcely dry, written by ministers, though signed by the regent, inviting noble lords, by the sacrifice of all consistency, to unite themselves to their government. It was calling upon persons proud of the path of honour they had

pursued, to forsake the road where their companions were not less numerous than respectable, to join in the beaten track, so much trodden by the friends of the right hon. gentleman that the way was become filthy, and almost impassable to those who were unwilling to cover themselves with the mire. The fearful novelty of which he had spoken, threatening ruin to Ireland, was not so much that the right hon. gentleman continued to hold the same language, but that he was permitted to hold the same place under the regent that he occupied under the king, professing similar sentiments to those he before entertained.

The question being put, the vote for 8000*l.* was agreed to without a division, the amendment of sir John Newport being negatived.

Mr. Perceval requested, if it would be no personal inconvenience, that Mr. Grattan would postpone his notice regarding the catholic claims from Monday the 13th to Tuesday the 14th April. As it was deemed expedient, he believed, on all hands, that the house should be called over previous to the day of the discussion, such an alteration would be a great accommodation to members at a distance, who must otherwise attend on the Friday preceding.

Mr. Grattan consented.

March 10.—Lord Folkestone in the house of commons rose, agreeably to the notice he had given, to call the attention of the house to the subject of the number of foreigners at present in the employment of this country. He should divide these into three heads: first, foreigners who held commands not in foreign corps; secondly, privates serving in British regiments; and thirdly, foreigners on the staff of the British

British army. He should not go the length of saying that ministers acted contrary to law, in having so large a number of foreign troops in the pay and service of this country ; but this he must say, that these corps had been suffered of late years to increase in a very rapid manner. Formerly they amounted only to 5000 men; now they amounted to about 30,000 men, and the increase within the last year was about 6000. He should not say that this was contrary to law, considering that years had been allowed to pass without any complaint having been regularly brought forward on the subject: but this he thought he might with safety say, that it was still a subject well worthy the attention of the house. The acts by which his majesty was enabled to avail himself of the services of foreign troops, and particularly of foreign officers, were the acts of the 36th and of the 39th and 40th of the king. If these acts were necessary to authorise his majesty to receive foreigners into the pay of the country, it was clear that till then he had no such right. A bill had formerly been introduced to indemnify ministers for bringing 16,000 foreign soldiers into this country ; and if circumstances should occur to render it expedient to withdraw these foreign troops now in our service, from the place where they were now, he confessed, meritoriously engaged, it might become necessary to bring in another bill to indemnify ministers for bringing into this country 30,000 foreign soldiers. He was not pleased that it should ever have been thought desirable to introduce into this country 16,000 foreign troops, and it was not, therefore, to be expected that he could be indifferent to the possibility of that number being increased to 30,000.

1812.

These corps contained cavalry, infantry, and artillery. They had a staff of their own, and were in themselves a complete army. The act of the 36th of the king did not go to justify the employing of foreign officers, except as officers of foreign corps ; and did not admit them to any superior rank above that of officers serving with such corps. There was another thing which he was sure it did not justify, namely, the appointment of German generals to British regiments. This surely could not be rendered necessary, on the ground that officers ought to be acquainted with the language and manners of their soldiers. He should mention one instance of this kind, though he did not say it consisted with his own knowledge, he meant one baron Linsingen, who was or had been general of the eastern district. This was not the only instance ; there were two or three others, both in this country and in Ireland. Such appointments, he contended, were contrary to the common law and the act of settlement. The noble lord, to show the peculiar jealousy with which the introduction of foreign officers into our service had been regarded, went into a history of the progress of the 60th regiment. By the act of the 29th of George II. foreign officers, who were protestants, were permitted to serve in that regiment, for the protection of the states of Maryland and Pennsylvania. This, however, it was to be observed, was for the protection of America, and not of our country. The number of officers so to be employed, too, was limited to fifty ; the engineers were limited to twenty in number ; and it was expressly provided, that the corps should be commanded by a natural-born subject. By the act of the 39th and

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40th of the king, the limitations as to the number of the officers, and the restriction as to religion, were taken off; but still it was declared that the regiment should serve only in America. The house would be surprised, however, to be informed, that it appeared from the army list, that an officer belonging to this 60th regiment was on the staff of our army, serving in Sussex, in the very teeth of this regulation, that they should not serve out of America. The next subject to which he begged to call the attention of the house was, the practice of admitting foreigners into our own native corps. Not above ten or twelve years ago, a young man, a foreigner, who was recommended as deserving of promotion in our army, was refused, on the express ground that he was unfit, as being a foreigner. This feeling, however, was now completely done away, and it was no uncommon thing to see gentlemen promoted from the German legion into the 10th hussars. It surely could not be necessary to introduce such officers into our army, on the ground of their being better acquainted either with their manners or language. He thought, however, that there was a great deal too much of these attempts to Germanize our troops. We were not now to have German officers merely, but German soldiers. He was informed that a number of deserters had lately been liberated from prison, and entered into the 10th regiment of hussars, contrary to all our ancient feelings on such a subject. While this was done, however, and while ministers were willing to receive foreigners into that regiment, he understood that a resolution had been come to, not to admit into it any Irishman. If this was so, he must be allowed to say that it was high-

ly wrong. A proclamation had been issued by the magistrates in the neighbourhood of Nottingham, by which soldiers were authorised, in certain events, to act without calling in the civil power. If the 10th hussars had been quartered in that neighbourhood, however, would not the intrusting such a power to foreigners have been dangerous? It had been held, as he understood, by lord Mansfield, and more recently by the chief justice of the court of common pleas, that the character of citizen did not merge in that of soldier. He was afraid, however, if foreigners were to be admitted into our native regiments, little protection would be found in this relation of citizenship. There had recently been some trials on the other side of the water, for the crime of desertion from our service and entering into that of the enemy. Great as he esteemed this crime to be, and highly as it was deserving of punishment, his lordship thought it had rather an awkward appearance that we should endeavour to seduce foreigners to be guilty of a similar offence. There was one other thing to which he begged leave also to advert, and that was the appointment of a foreigner, an alien, to be one of the commissioners for managing his majesty's private property. No foreigner could hold property in this country, and his lordship thought it strange that he should be able to do for another what he could not do for himself. He objected both to the creating of this German regiment, and of this German fund, of which parliament was to know nothing. He concluded by moving for a return of all persons serving in the army not being natural-born subjects of this kingdom, or whose parents were such, with the exception of those serving in foreign corps.

Sir John Sebright observed, that there were regiments marked for the admission of foreigners; but why introduce them into native corps? No doubt the character of colonel Quintin was highly respectable; but the motion had no reference to individual characters, and its principle was, in his opinion, extremely salutary. It had been a distinction peculiar to the English army, that desertion was almost unknown in it; and it was therefore most important and desirable that this character should be carefully maintained, and not endangered by lessening those feelings, and that national spirit, which the appointment of foreigners to command was calculated to effect.

Lord Palmerstone stated, that he was perfectly ready to meet the noble lord who brought forward the motion, as to the law upon the subject. All that had been done with respect to the enlistment and employment of foreigners, was fully justified by the 46th of his present majesty. If the noble lord would be at the trouble of reading this statute, he would find that the third section authorised every part of the conduct adopted by his majesty's government. It was there enacted, that it should be lawful to admit into the service such foreigners as should be desirous to enlist into the British army, and to grant commissions and letters of service to foreign officers and engineers. Was it then fair, if such persons should distinguish themselves, to deny them promotion? The cause of baron Linsingen's name appearing so high in the army list was, that his rank entitled him to a much higher command than he enjoyed, having only the superintendence of a *dépôt*. The 44th, by which the German legion was raised, might be quoted

to sanction the practice now complained of. The noble lord had said the citizen was never entirely lost in the soldier, and was the foreign soldier to be called upon as a British citizen? To this he should answer, that a foreigner being merely a civil inhabitant, was as much bound by the laws as a native Englishman. The provision of the act of settlement on this head was done away by the late statutes; but supposing this not to be the case, was there no difference in the circumstances of that period and the present, and the views of national advantage which were then and are now applicable? A foreign sovereign was then on the throne, and the people had not been, as they now are, generally familiarised to the use of arms, the whole standing army being then not above 20,000 men. There then existed no war like the present, in which we saw Bonaparte sending Spaniards into the north, Germans into Spain, and Poles to preserve the tranquillity of Italy. Was there then any serious ground of apprehension for the liberties of the country, when we knew that the number of foreigners in our service was limited by law to a certain number, and that of those the far larger proportion was employed abroad? There might be danger to some of the connections resident abroad of foreigners in our service, by the publication of their names; but this objection certainly did not apply to the return of their numbers.

Sir Francis Burdett expressed some surprise, that those principles which he had always been accustomed to regard as established and incontrovertible, should now be represented as altogether obsolete, and inapplicable to the circumstances of the present time. He was himself so little versed in modern lore of the

right honourable gentlemen, as still to retain the belief that the true means of upholding the country, when surrounded with difficulties and dangers, was to adhere steadily to the fundamental laws. But it seemed that this was a new æra indeed. From all that he knew of the history of the country, he held it to have always been the distinguishing feature and universal characteristic of Englishmen to feel a jealousy of foreigners, and particularly of armed foreigners, being introduced into this service. In Magna Charta it was stipulated by barons in arms, as a previous condition to the laying them down, that 2000 foreigners then in the kingdom should be immediately sent out of it. If we looked to later periods, passing over many important intervening stages, and coming down to that æra of struggle and difficulty, the reign of Charles I. dignified indeed by some with the title of martyr, but who appeared to him to be only a martyr to his own obstinacy; if the house would refer to the famous remonstrance of 1641, they would find that one of the grand grievances then complained of was the employment of foreign troops, and this afterwards formed one of the charges against that misguided monarch. If we referred to the period of the reformation and the brilliant reign of Elizabeth, who had certainly to contend with enemies as numerous and powerful comparatively as those who now threaten our independence, when Spain, assisted by the machinations of the Guises, threatened the liberties of Europe; when Scotland was divided, and Ireland yet more disturbed than at present; that wise queen placed not her dependence on foreigners, but appealed to the constitution, and to the people in whose hearts she reigned, for as-

sistance against her enemies. It was said that these foreigners were merely Germans; and he was ready to confess that he saw more danger in a few mercenaries within those walls than in the employment of thousands out of it. The noble lord who had attempted an answer to the motion, had treated the act of settlement as a repealed act, but the preamble read by the honourable baronet (sir J. Newport) was pretty satisfactory on this head. Much as was talked of the constitution, the right honourable gentleman on the other side did not seem very able to state what it was. In his opinion, the act of settlement was a contract between the crown and the people of these realms, equally binding upon both, and on which the right of allegiance essentially depended. As to the practice of enlisting foreigners at the same time that the government was prosecuting our own seamen for high-treason in serving under the enemy, it appeared to him to be altogether unjustifiable. He could not perceive the analogy between this case and the offences constituting, on other occasions, the crime of high-treason; and he hoped this consideration might serve to prevent the execution of the sailors lately tried and convicted. With respect to the material part of the question, he was inclined to argue very differently, from the consideration of the perilous and distressed state of the country. He would say in such circumstances, Adhere to your fundamental laws, remove those grievances which are notorious, and which excite the murmurs and the loud complaints of the people, and strengthen their affections towards you by an unremitting attention to their interests and desires. Instead of all this, it was now recommended to us to dismiss the act of settlement

settlement as inconvenient, and to guard against the establishment of a foreign despotism, by the erection of a domestic one among ourselves. He had now only just to notice the objection of the noble lord, grounded on the danger of publication, and would beg leave to ask, were they not already in the army list?

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the question was not whether the acts of the 44th and 46th of the present reign ought to be repealed, but whether they justified the practice now adopted. Did the facts of the case made out before the house justify the description of the honourable baronet (sir F. Burdett), in stating all the fences of the constitution broken down? If the noble lord thought fit, he might attempt to get the 3d section repealed. All that he (Mr. Perceval) contended for was, that as the law stood, government were justifiable in enlisting foreigners into British regiments. But admitting that foreigners ought not to be admitted into British regiments, still the extent to which they were admitted was of material consequence. If this prevailed only to a small extent, there might be the less reason for altering the law. He doubted whether it was possible to return all the foreigners employed in our service, as many of them might be unknown even to their officers; and it would be necessary to send to Portugal and to the East and West Indies, before a complete return could be made. Several other members spoke on the subject; after which the motion was withdrawn.

On the 11th of March Mr. Abercrombie stated, that he had expected no opposition would be made to his motion; but as he now understood it would be objected to, he should proceed to state some grounds for

his procedure. He had heard that a vast number of prisoners had been sent from the hulks to different regiments, and that a great number of free pardons had been granted: nay, that no less than 140 convicts had been enlisted into one regiment. He wished to guard himself from misrepresentation; he did not say that it was impolitic or unwise to send persons to a certain limit from the hulks to the ranks of the army and navy, nor did he dispute the prerogative of granting free pardons: he complained only of the excess to which the measure had been carried; he insisted that the prerogative should be exercised with a caution equal to that of the judge and jury at the time of trial. But had such caution been exercised? Had care been taken to investigate the particular conduct of individual convicts, and all the favourable circumstances of their respective cases? Had application been made to the judges on this subject? No such thing. Mr. Graham had suggested the propriety of discharging them. Mr. Graham's character stood deservedly high, nor was it his intention to impeach it; but Mr. Graham's visits to the hulks were only quarterly, nor could he know any thing of the convicts, except from the persons who had the superintendance of them; and were these the persons to discriminate the shades of character, and to be intrusted with the exercise of this important prerogative? Was not the system productive of mischief to the administration of the penal law, and to the interests of the army into which those convicts were enlisted? It opened a door to partiality, or something worse, as the hulks could not be considered a good school of reform. To what condition were those officers re-

duced, who, after spending much time and exertion on the order and discipline of their corps, were obliged to receive one or two hundred convicts from the hulks, who could hardly be supposed to have forgotten the infamous habits which consigned them to that confinement? He concluded by moving for a return of all the convicts under sentence of transportation, who since January 1810 had been discharged from the hulks and sent to the army, and who had received free pardon, specifying the grounds of their convictions.

Mr. Ryder had in private, and must in public, deprecate such a motion. He had merely followed the example of other secretaries of state in the home department, and that too not to such an extent as formerly; for he was informed by an hon. friend, that at some former period 500 had been at once sent to the army. The truth was, that Mr. Graham, whose character stood so deservedly high, had stated that there were many persons confined in the hulks, who had been distinguished for their good conduct, and who he conceived would be good soldiers. This, on inquiry, was found to be correct, and numbers were suffered to enlist, on the condition of serving for life. The former condition used to be, that they should serve abroad for life; but this, as it took from them all hope of revisiting their native country, had been found productive of bad effects, and the present condition was thought more politic; and indeed he must say, that there was no principle more dangerous than the exclusion of the hope, that a man, by amending his conduct, should not be able to better his condition. It had been objected, that persons let loose upon society after confinement in the hulks, were

induced, by loss of character, to have recourse to their old habits. By enlistment in the army this objection was done away. The right hon. secretary then stated, that the hulks, as a prison, were considerably reformed since the superintendence of Mr. Graham. He read a letter from a clergyman, describing the improved and moral habits of two men who had been discharged from that prison, and observed, he had been informed that several respectable tradesmen had taken such discharged convicts into their houses, and had trusted them with their property, without reason to repent of such confidence. It was also very rarely that such persons appeared a second time before a court of justice. If such was the case, was he not justified in stating that the hulks, if not the best of possible regulations, was yet productive of some moral reform?

After a discussion of some length the motion was put and negatived.

On the 13th of March, upon the third reading of the mutiny bill, sir Francis Burdett, in again calling the attention of the house to the system of military flogging, which from a sacrifice to feelings that did them honour gentlemen by a sort of circumlocution usually denominated corporal punishment, felt that he was discharging an important duty to the army and to the country. In the eye of the law this mode of punishment carried with it a degree of infamy and reproach which disqualified the objects of it from some of their most important duties as citizens; and among others, sir William Blackstone had said, that such an accusation was a proper challenge to a juror. Such a circumstance was now of much consequence, as by recent laws all men above the age of

of 18 years were made subject to military law. How the practice was originally introduced, it was not easy to determine; he believed it to be of early invention; but although in the first instance the infliction was comparatively slight, it had increased, as might naturally have been expected, in so rapid a ratio, that it had now arrived at a height at which humanity shudders. The hon. baronet felt great difficulty in bringing his mind to a grave argument upon a subject from which it revolted with horror, and he felt little hope of convincing the understandings of those who had been able so to subdue their feelings as to submit to cold reasonings and abstruse calculations. By statute books it appeared, that flogging in the army was a modern refinement; for by the acts of 18 Henry VI. 5 Henry VII. 2 and 3 Edward VI. 3 Henry VIII. and 35 of Philip and Mary, desertion and other offences by soldiers were punished as felonies after the verdict of a jury. He believed that even in the armies of the great duke of Marlborough, whose achievements had been re-echoed from all corners of the universe, punishment by flogging was unknown; and he had heard from persons now living, that in their youth it was so uncommon in the army, that they could remember only a solitary instance, and after the sentence had been carried into effect the criminal was drummed out of the army. In the present day, however, to drum a man out of his regiment would be considered by him rather as a benefit than a disgrace. The grand error was, that the whole system was punishment instead of reward: the soldier was not adequately paid for the duty he performed: none of the officers were

flogged, because they felt it to their honour, as well as to their interest, to conduct themselves in such a manner as not to risk their dismissal. On a former night the judge advocate had expressed his satisfaction, that only eight cases had occurred within a year, of sentences to flogging by general courts-martial. This statement was doubtless correct; but the hon. gentleman did not on that occasion venture to state how many men had been flogged by order of regimental courts-martial; and it very rarely happened, according to the authority of gen. Stewart, that the subject was brought before the higher tribunal. With regard to the effect of this system, the military men with whom he (sir F. Burdett) had conversed, *una voce* agreed that it had been grossly abused, although some of them were of opinion that it was not possible to abolish it. Written authorities of men of the most distinguished military talents and experience might be quoted without end. The person who first censured the flogging of soldiers was major James, in 1798; and since his time the subject had been most ably and eloquently treated by many officers, among whom were generals Cockburn, Stewart, and sir Robert Wilson, who all agreed that it was highly detrimental; that the man who suffered the punishment felt himself degraded among his companions, and often having been thus punished for a slight offence, found all attempts to reclaim his character vain, and abandoned himself to depravity of the most enormous kind. The hon. baronet had been told, and he doubted not the fact, that a man who had suffered at the halberts, after the lapse of many years had been known to shed tears at the

mention of his disgrace. Did these brave men, who upheld the ancient glory of the British arms, merit a treatment so degrading to humanity, which, when inflicted upon brutes, could not fail to excite pity? In the best regiments the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails was unknown. He was happy to say, however, that the sense of oppressions by their officers, formerly felt by the men, (which frequently created what was called mutiny, but in reality was nothing but discontent at supposed injustice,) had been greatly removed: but still the private soldier was in an unprotected state; if he died under the lash, no person was answerable, no coroner was summoned, nor was the cause of his death at all legally ascertained. The reply usually made to a proposed abolition of flogging was an economical one. It was said that the number of men could not be spared that would be shot, if death were substituted. The reply was fallacious; for how was it possible to make a comparison, when the number of men that were killed by the cat-o'-nine-tails was unknown? How many noble spirits also were killed and borne down by the weight of the degradation! If death were substituted, at least punishment would cease with life; but under the lash, a man might linger from time to time until at length life was literally flogged out of him by inches. Some gentlemen, affecting to be tender of human life, were prodigal of human feelings—they were for continuing the disgraceful system, without considering the effect it would have upon recruits, who would refuse to enlist when threatened with the halberts, unless an enormous bounty were given. If he were asked what substitute he would offer, he should

reply in the words of a distinguished officer, who wrote in James's Military Dictionary, "What will I substitute? I say, Abolish it: I will not trust myself to reason upon the subject." If, however, he were pressed, he would answer, Substitute reward for punishments: make the situation of a soldier more desirable: when he enters the army, if he should survive, let him look forward to an age of ease, and not of penury. At present an old soldier, who had shed his best blood in the service, maimed and crippled, was frequently compelled to limp out the rest of his life upon a miserable pittance of 6*d.* or 9*d.* per day, without being cheered by one ray of hope, or animated by the reflected lights of one pleasing remembrance. Men who in the day of life had defied death, and fearlessly rushed upon the enemy, even at the cannon's mouth, surely deserved a better fate than in the dark night of their existence to become as it were the beacon to their fellow-creatures, warning them of dangers which, if overcome, would gain them little honour and less reward. It was not necessary to refer to foreign countries to prove that military flogging was unnecessary. The duke of Gloucester had long abolished it, and that regiment was acknowledged to be one of the best in the service. Such was its excellent discipline, that when lord Wellington found it necessary to punish two soldiers with death, in Portugal, he in general orders dispensed with the attendance of one of the battalions of the regiment of his royal highness. He had always understood also, that the commander in chief, the duke of York, was a sincere advocate for the abolition of flogging; and if regular returns were laid before his royal highness

highness of the number of men punished by regimental as well as by general courts-martial, the hon. baronet had little doubt that it would soon be effected, if ministers, from their imprudence and ignorance, did not render it necessary that it should be for a time continued.—After treating more at large on the subject, he said he should therefore propose a clause, the object of which was to expunge that punishment from our military code.

Mr. Manners Sutton began by observing, that the hon. baronet had called his motion an appeal to the heart rather than to the judgement; he thought it an appeal to the passions rather than to the reason. With regard to what had fallen from him in the course of his speech, he was confident there was nothing from which the army would recoil with more horror than the disgusting, odious, and degrading picture which the hon. baronet had drawn of it. Was it to be endured, that a British soldier should be compared to a West-India slave, and declared his inferior? Would the army believe the hon. baronet in this, or thank him for it? Was it not a degradation more complete than any thing which had called forth the hon. baronet's animadversions that night? Happily, however, for the honour of the army, it was as false as it was degrading. The hon. baronet had said, that men who had undergone corporal punishment were never afterwards fit for any thing. Had he inquired, however, he would have found, that men so punished had afterwards, by their exemplary conduct, been promoted to the situation of non-commissioned officers, enjoying the unreserved confidence of their commanders. This he stated as a fact. He could state also, that, as far as

circumstances would admit, there had been, and still was, every disposition on the part of those who administered martial law, to diminish the number of cases in which flogging was inflicted. He thought that if it were taken entirely out of the military code, it would be removed only to substitute an arbitrary power in its stead; whereas now the men knew that they would be legally and solemnly tried, and that conviction produced the most beneficial effects. The hon. baronet supposed he should be told in reply, of the badness of the men, and of the cheapness of the punishment. He knew not, however, what right he had to suppose any such reply; and he could only say, that the supposition agreed with the whole tenour of his speech that night, in which he had constantly answered, by anticipation, his own arguments. He had alluded to the introduction of men from the hulks; but had the hon. baronet been in his place when that discussion took place, he would have known that the government did not infuse such bad materials into the army as he seemed to suppose. As to the civil disqualification which he had asserted, upon the authority of Blackstone, as the consequence of flogging, viz. that a man who had been flogged might be challenged as a juror, he believed it would be found that judge Blackstone did not allude to military flogging, but to flogging for civil offences. He concluded by declaring that he thought the proposition of the hon. baronet utterly inadmissible, and should therefore give it his most unqualified dissent.

Sir Samuel Romilly felt it his duty to support the clause proposed by the hon. baronet; but he begged to be understood as not adopting any

any of the objectionable matter with which he had been given to understand the hon. baronet had introduced it. The clause proposed by the hon. baronet, however, went simply to declare that the punishment of flogging ought to be abolished; and if he must vote, that it ought, or that it ought not, to be abolished, he was bound in duty to say that it ought. It was impossible not to feel that it was a punishment of the most ignominious kind; and it must be a subject deeply to be deplored indeed, if such a punishment was indispensable in a profession in which it was so necessary to cultivate a high sense of honour. While he disapproved of such a punishment altogether, however, what he principally objected to was the excessive use of it. Instances, he said, could be pointed out, where the punishment of flogging caused death with shocking aggravations. The honourable and learned gentleman had said, he had read, since this discussion had been last before the house, a statement by one of the missionaries at the Cape of Good Hope, who had been called in to attend two soldiers, who for offences committed by them had been sentenced by a court-martial, the one to be shot, and the other to receive 1000 lashes. After 224 of the number ordered had been inflicted, the surgeon interfered, and no further punishment took place; but, in consequence of the lashes so inflicted, the unfortunate man died. Here, then, the sentence of the court-martial went to impose a punishment four times greater than God enabled a human creature to endure. He disapproved of flogging altogether; but if it could not be totally abolished, let it be limited in extent, and imposed only where an army was on service.

Several other members spoke, when the house divided:

For the clause - - 6

Against it - - - 79

Majority - 73

March 16. The earl of Liverpool, in the house of lords, rose, in reference to a message from the prince regent, and said, I certainly, my lords, feel it unnecessary to take up your time, under the circumstances in which the present subject comes before us, at any length in discussing its merits. What the message of his royal highness the prince regent refers to, is a proposed continuance of that support and assistance that was afforded by parliament and the prince regent to Portugal in the last year. On such an occasion, my lords, I think there can be but one feeling in this house, which is, that what has been so given to our faithful allies, who have stood so honourably and steadily by us, under the most arduous and difficult circumstances, was an aid not given in vain, but, on the contrary, that it has answered every purpose that was expected from it. On former occasions, your lordships may recollect that the discussions on this subject principally turned on one point, namely, the practicability of the object for which the aid was afforded. No man, however, who looks at the history of the country, in the state of its engagements, as existing for centuries, can be but aware, that nothing was of more importance, or more affecting (save the immediate defence of this country itself) to the vital interests of the British empire, than the defence of Portugal; I mean, more important for continental objects, provided it were practicable to act upon it. The question always must come, as to the

the practicability, or chance of the practicability, of the object which we contend for. We now, my lords, have ample experience on this subject, and that experience leads to this conclusion—that the defence of Portugal, under lord Wellington, and acting upon the principles of that great and distinguished officer, and supporting him in his great and various exertions, is an object practicable to the arms of this country. The next question refers to that of the subsidies, or support given that way for the maintenance of her forces, and improvement of her military system; and how far that object has been obtained, in rendering the military assistance to be afforded by Portugal independent of the British armies. And upon the second object I likewise say there can be no difference of opinion. About two years ago opinions were entertained by some men in parliament, and even by officers who had served in that country, that it was impracticable to produce a Portuguese force capable of co-operating with a British power in the way we see it has done. To their own honour, some of the officers to whom I allude have allowed their mistakes in that respect. But what, my lords, I ask, has been the result, with a view either to Portugal, to ourselves, or to the ultimate deliverance of continental Europe, could her nations awake from their stupor? We have seen a Portuguese force established under the general direction of British officers; (but I must accompany this by remarking, that much may be attributed in this respect to the exertions of Portuguese officers;) we have thus seen a Portuguese force arise capable of meeting in action the most distinguished battalions of the French army, un-

der its most able and veteran commanders, and under the most critical and trying circumstances. I speak upon the authority of the most able and intelligent officers. We have seen them at Barossa most intrepidly attacking a formidable force of the enemy, most advantageously posted, and attacking the flanks of that enemy. Upon that occasion, and upon every other, the Portuguese military proved itself equal to combating the proudest battalions of France. I refer, my lords, to those leading considerations generally, feeling it would be a waste of your time to enter upon any particular details. These results, however, are established, that the defence of the kingdom of Portugal is practicable, and that the Portuguese government has aided most essentially in that defence. Under these circumstances, I cannot believe there exists a doubt in the minds of many men, that we are doing too much for an ancient ally—an ally always remarkable for the fidelity of her adherence to her engagements, and who, by her conduct under the particular circumstances of the case, presents an additional claim to our assistance and consideration. Your lordships are aware, that soon after the necessary retirement of the prince of that country, it was occupied by the French armies, and of the consequences of that occupation, the great difficulties which every where obtained; and it cannot be a matter of surprise that, under such circumstances, the objects, since obtained, could not be achieved at once, but by a system of perseverance and attention to the most minute details, through which the exertions made have been effectual for their objects. But your lordships would be much mistaken were you to suppose that the

the grants made last year, and now proposed to be continued, are alone sufficient. The government of that country applied, in addition to our grants, no less a sum than 1,800,000*l.* for the support and maintenance of its military system. I think it right to state, my lords, that we are not giving money for those who are doing nothing for themselves. I shall trouble your lordships with no remarks in addition upon the

subject, but move the address to his royal highness the prince regent, which I deem proper and suitable for the occasion. The noble secretary of state then moved an address corresponding with the tenour and object of his royal highness's message, and assuring him of the cheerful concurrence of the house, which was unanimously carried. A similar address was carried *acm. con.* in the other house.

CHAPTER IV.

Debate on Lord Boringdon's Motion on the Prince Regent's Letter—on Mr. Perceval's Motion for a Provision for the Princesses—Mr. Banks's Motion for regulating Sinecure Places—Debate on the Sicilian Subsidy—on the Gold-Coin Bill—on the Expenses of the Barrack Department—on Earl Grey's Motion respecting Forgeries on the Bank of England—on Mr. Wynne's Motion respecting Colonel M^cMabon's Appointment—Sir John Newport's Motion on Public Defaulters—Debate on Mr. Bennet's Motion on corporal Punishments in the Army—on the Earl of Donoughmore's Motion for a Committee to consider the Laws imposing civil Disabilities on Catholics.

THE debates to be recorded in this chapter were, in some instances, carried on with a degree of violence not very common in parliament: in the discussion relating to an establishment for the princesses much was said respecting the princess of Wales, and those investigations which have during the year 1813 occupied so much time in the house of commons, and which it will be our duty to record in an ensuing volume. On the catholic question we have room only for a mere sketch of the speeches of lord Donoughmore and his royal highness the duke of Sussex: we regret that our limits do not allow us to enter further on this subject, which appears to gain more interest the oftener it is debated.

March 19. Lord Boringdon, in the house of peers, rose and said, that the motion he was about to make originated entirely with himself: it was not the suggestion of any man, or set of men, in or out of the house. It originated in the deep sense which he had of the necessity of making some effort to dispel the gloom of our present prospects, and avert, perhaps, the greatest calamity that could befall us—no less a calamity than a separation of the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and the eventual dismemberment and dissolution of this empire. This was the fearful calamity which he contemplated: in his view of the case, it was the effect which must be produced by an adherence to the present

sent system of exclusion, and an effect which it was calculated to produce at a much earlier period than many imagined. It was under this strong impression, whether erroneous or not, that he humbly presumed to solicit their lordships' favourable indulgence. What were the prospects, he asked, which the country exhibited; and what the symptoms by which these prospects had been clouded? The extensive colony of Java had been wrested from the enemy, and added to the dominions of the British. Though a formidable navy had been prepared in the ports of the enemy, the British navy had been every where triumphant; the enemy's ships only quitted their ports to enter those of Great Britain. The colonial power of the enemy had been literally annihilated all over the globe. Portugal had been wrested from the military occupation of the French; and in the tenth year of the war, and in the fourth year of its existence in the peninsula, not only had Portugal been defended, but our armies had on every occasion—and those occasions had, as their lordships knew, often occurred—covered themselves with glory in the territory of Spain. The operations of the war in that quarter were conducted by one of the first generals of the age, whose services were still at the disposal of his country. What was the picture on the other hand? Commercial distress all over the country—our manufacturers reduced almost to a state of starvation—new laws, giving unprecedented encouragement and effect to our paper currency; to which circumstance, in the existing situation of the country, he was not disposed to object. In the interior of the country there appeared a spirit of disorder and con-

tempt of the law, bordering on insurrection. At a time when we were not only at war with a power whose dominions were more extensive than those of Charlemagne, but also with every potentate of Europe except those of the peninsula, this was an appalling state of things; but the most appalling circumstance was, that while almost the whole population of the continent of Europe was united against these islands, whose numbers were so small in proportion, and notwithstanding the general complexion of the times, one-fourth of our population was excluded from the pale of the constitution—excluded by various laws, founded on causes and principles which had long ceased to operate—laws which had relation only to the peculiar circumstances of the age in which they were enacted, and the continuance of which, till this day, was a scandal to the nation, and a serious detriment to the political power of the country. It was under these circumstances that, according to an authentic though not official document, it appeared, that his royal highness the prince regent had expressed his wish that a government should be formed on an extended and limited basis. A negotiation was accordingly set on foot, in order to carry this desirable object into effect. That negotiation had unfortunately failed, and the wishes of the prince regent, and the expectations of the country, had been disappointed. It was from the period of the failure of this negotiation that he dated the commencement of those alarming symptoms to which he had adverted, and the glaring deterioration in our domestic situation which threatened the integrity of the empire. An hon. gentleman, a member of the other house

house of parliament, had received a petition from the catholics of Ireland to be presented to the house of commons, and had given notice of a motion for its being taken into consideration on the 14th of next month. The votes on the table informed them that a call of the house was to take place on the 13th of April—a call not proposed by the hon. gentleman who was to move the consideration of the petition, but by a confidential servant of the crown, who was understood to be the bar to all conciliation. What must be the effect of this, but a deep-rooted hostility in the minds of the catholics? What must be the consequence of such a system, if continued? It was not among the least alarming of these fearful symptoms, that some of the clergy, as he understood, taking the hint perhaps from those in authority, had, in a manner very inconsistent indeed with the principles of their religion, made themselves the instruments of discord and disunion, and perverted even the pulpit itself to the worst purposes of bigotry and faction. Already had there appeared a disposition, fomented probably by the tone of the government, to raise that execrable cry which, to the disgrace of the country, had more than once marked the epoch of the present generation. But were these the only symptoms that evinced the deterioration which had taken place in our domestic circumstances? Were their lordships aware of the state of the diurnal press of London, and, he had almost said, of the provincial press? Did they not know that they were arranged on two sides? And were not their lordships doomed every day, as had on a former occasion been remarked by a noble earl near him (Grosvenor), to read, on the

one side, of an overweening, overbearing, proud aristocracy, that strove to domineer over the throne itself; and, on the other hand, had they not read the most virulent and scurrilous attacks, even upon the prince regent in person? Were they aware of the effect which these things must have upon the country at large; and could they be indifferent to that effect, under the present circumstances of the nation and the world? These were not all the symptoms that served to characterize the eventful period to which he had referred. The prince regent himself was not exempt from his share in those alarming transactions. They had heard, for instance, of the highest honours, of the most distinguished situations, being offered to various individuals, and refused, upon the ground that acceptance would be contrary to the honour of those persons who found it impossible for them to do any thing to assist, or give countenance to, the system upon which the government was conducted. It was rumoured that all the bent, aim, and force of government was inflexible hostility to the liberal principles which alone could ensure conciliation and union. This, however, was only rumour; but what was certainly true was, that on the 19th of February the prince regent, in a manner that did honour to the high situation which he held, expressed his wishes, that at the present critical moment no measure should be adopted which could excite the smallest suspicion that he intended to abandon his allies, or cease to give them the same liberal assistance as before; yet, subsequent to this declaration, it was well known that his royal highness had been obliged to accept the resignation of a noble marquis, who had

had in some measure identified himself with the cause of our allies. He hoped the noble marquis, whom he saw in his place, would in the course of this debate explain the reasons which had induced him to resign, at a moment when his services, with a view to the war in the peninsula, were so very essential. And here he must advert to a printed letter bearing the signature of lord Grenville. If the construction which he put upon that letter, and which it was certainly capable of bearing, was the correct one, he flattered himself that hopes might still be indulged of fulfilling the wishes of his royal highness, and forming an administration adequate to the difficulties of the times. Whether his construction was the true one, the noble earl near him (Grey) would inform their lordships. But it might possibly be said, that he was not authorised to refer to these documents, as they did not come in an official shape before the house: and the tone and manner of the noble secretary of state on a former occasion, when he put a question to him relative to one of those letters, were such as to justify some apprehension that such an objection might be made. Yet he maintained that any paper of public notoriety, and especially one bearing the signature of the prince regent, was a document for their lordships to proceed upon. He did not think that out of the whole kingdom this ought to be the only room where such a document could not be made the subject of discussion. It was, however, convenient for his purpose, that on the 13th of February a wish had been expressed by his royal highness to form an administration on a broad and liberal basis; and that wish had unfortunately not

been gratified at that time. But the wish which existed then, no doubt still continued; and the object of his motion was, if possible, to give effect to the declared desire of his royal highness; and, provided nothing occurred in the debate which should change his opinion as to the construction to be put upon the answer to the prince's letter, he should still cherish a strong hope of being able to secure the accomplishment of so desirable an object. The noble lord proceeded to examine the details of the letter of lords Grenville and Grey. It stated that the noble lords differed from the present ministers in almost their whole policy. The object was, to ascertain the precise meaning and limit of that difference. The great questions were, the policy to be pursued with regard to America—the bullion question—the war in the peninsula—and the treatment of the catholics. His lordship entered at large on these several topics, and concluded with a motion expressive of an anxious hope that his royal highness may yet be enabled to form an administration, which, by conciliating the affections of all descriptions of the community, may most effectually call forth the entire resources of the united kingdom, and may afford to his royal highness additional means of conducting, to a successful termination, a war, in which are involved the safety, honour, and prosperity of this country.

Lord visc. Grimstone regretted that such a motion should have been made by the noble lord, without any parliamentary document whereon it could be regularly grounded. He was at first disposed to think that the most respectful mode towards the prince regent, to whom the motion imputed blame, would

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be to meet it by a direct negative. Upon further consideration, however, he thought it would be better met by an amendment. But in whatever point of view he looked at the motion, he could not but consider it as imputing blame to his royal highness the prince regent.

The earl of Lauderdale spoke to order. He contended that the constitutional doctrine in that house was, that the name of the sovereign should never be used to influence the debates in that house, and that it was equally unconstitutional in that view to use the name of the prince regent, who represented the sovereign.

The earl of Liverpool justified his noble friend (lord Grimstone), and contended that the motion was founded upon no public document, but merely upon a private letter from the prince regent.

Earl Grey said, no point could stand upon more clear constitutional ground, than that the name of the sovereign should not be used to influence the debate in that house; but if it was to be alleged, on the other hand, that the act of the sovereign could not be questioned in that house, although acting, as must always be presumed, by the advice of responsible advisers, there was an end of all freedom of debate. His noble friend (lord Boringdon) had expressly stated, that he looked to the act of the prince regent as to that of responsible advisers, and he again stated that there was an end of all freedom of debate, if the act of the sovereign, or the prince regent in his name, thus qualified, could not be discussed in that house. As to what the noble earl (Liverpool) had said of its being a private letter from the prince regent, it must be obvious that the motion of his noble friend was not founded on

that letter, but in the general notoriety of the facts to which it referred.

The lord chancellor said, that when, in consequence of the lamented indisposition of his majesty, the prince became regent under restrictions—(*cries of Order!*) His lordship said he was speaking to order. When his royal highness became regent under restrictions, and subsequently when he became unrestricted regent, his royal highness was invested with all the prerogatives of the crown, and was entitled to all that respect in that house which belonged to the sovereign. It was therefore with the utmost pain and astonishment he had witnessed the production of a newspaper by a noble lord—

The marquis of Douglas spoke to order, contending that the noble and learned lord had deviated from the question of order.

The lord chancellor resumed, and contended that he was referring to a material question of order, with reference to this debate. He again reprobated the production of a newspaper for the purpose of asking whether an article in it was a letter from the prince regent, and said that if any confidential servant of his royal highness had given an answer to such a question, he would never have again entered the same room with that person for the purposes of confidential advice.

Lord Holland spoke to order, and arraigned the conduct of the noble and learned lord in thus referring to a circumstance which had taken place a week ago, and which had no connection with the question of order. It was at the same time most unconstitutional to attempt to influence the debate by the use of the name of the prince regent.

The lord chancellor justified his conduct,

conduct, and contended that it was most irregular for any noble lord to ask a question, as to any act of the prince regent, founded upon an article in a newspaper.

The marquis of Lansdowne contended that the noble and learned lord was completely out of order, and he expressed great surprise that the noble and learned lord should have persisted in that line of conduct.

Lord Grimstone continued—The address proposed by the noble mover did, in his lordship's opinion, impute blame to the ministers of the regent, for which there appeared to be not the slightest foundation. The consequence of concurring with it must be a change for which neither the house nor the country was prepared: he therefore conceived that the following amendment ought to be substituted for the address proposed, viz. "That we beg leave to express our most grateful thanks to his royal highness the prince regent, for the wisdom and prudence with which he has exercised, in his majesty's name, and on his majesty's behalf, the royal authority in these realms. To assure his royal highness that we have observed, during this period, with the greatest satisfaction, the uniform success that has attended his majesty's arms, in so many and such important operations; and the beneficial consequences that have resulted from the aid and assistance afforded by his royal highness to our allies. That we rely with the utmost confidence on his royal highness's constant and earnest endeavours to promote, by every means in his power, the honour and welfare of the country, and to provide effectually for its security and prosperity."

The earl of Darnley expressed
1812.

his own and the country's acknowledgements to the noble lord who had brought this important subject under the attention of the house. In expressing his decided opposition to the amendment suggested, he should not by any means feel himself shackled by the assertion, that it was disorderly to allude to publications in the newspapers of the day; and any peer of the realm had a distinct and indisputable right, even without the statement of a single ground, to submit any proposition he deemed expedient, more especially at this most critical period, surrounded as the nation was with dangers, some of which were of our own creation. He would not detain the house by impressing upon them a due estimation of the talents and means of the enemy with whom we were contending, or the near prospect of a war with the United States, into which we were about to be plunged by the destructive councils of the present ministers of the prince. He would not dwell upon the alarming insurrections in our manufacturing counties, or upon the scarcity of provisions by which the people were threatened. They were matters of minor importance compared with that subject before which all others sunk into nothing, he meant the catholic claims. Here we saw one-fourth of the population of the empire in a state of neutrality (to say the least of it), who might be united heart and hand against the common enemy. Under such circumstances, was it to be tolerated that a noble lord should be interrogated upon what specific foundation he rested a motion which had for its object to interpose a shield between Great Britain and her destruction? The noble viscount (Grimstone) had violated the most
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acknowledged principle of debate, and, with no other view than improperly to influence the discussion, had introduced the name of the sovereign (for the regent to all intents was no less), telling the house that it was in opposition to his wishes—

The earl of Liverpool interrupted the noble lord by rising to speak to order. He wished, he said, to prevent the noble earl from making further progress on a subject which he thought was generally admitted to be irregular. The letter alluded to was not a document before the house. If it were an act of state, it was not regularly brought before the house so as to entitle any peer to comment upon it. It merely bore upon the face of it the character of a private communication, of which no notice could be taken. If it were necessary to the motion of the noble lord (Boringdon), it ought to have been moved for in the customary mode.

Lord Holland agreed that the letter of the regent was not a document regularly before the house; but where did the noble earl learn that a member had a right to quote or refer only to papers officially upon the table? Until this night he had never heard so monstrous a proposition as that a peer of parliament, in making a motion, had not the power of citing any authority he might deem necessary. It would perhaps next be argued, that the classics were not to be quoted—Horace was not to be referred to, because, forsooth, ministers knew nothing about him—the work was not regularly laid upon the table: he called upon the noble earl to produce the order of the house upon which he founded his objection.

Lord Mulgrave maintained, that

the objection of his noble friend (Liverpool) was to the introduction of the name of the person exercising the sovereign authority. The other side of the house assumed a great deal too much when they asserted, that the letter published had been signed by the regent, since there was no proof of the fact; at present it appeared only to be a private letter, which had been published in the newspapers. If the subject were pressed, he should take the sense of the house upon it.

Earl Grey requested that the noble lord (Mulgrave) would define the question on which he would take the sense of the house. If it were upon the point whether or not the name of the regent should be introduced into debate, undoubtedly he should vote with the noble lord without a moment's hesitation; but if the question were, whether the letter which has appeared in the public prints, bearing the signature of the regent, could with a view to support a motion, or to illustrate an argument, be quoted in debate, he should vote against the noble lord with as little hesitation. The objection made by the noble lord opposite was differently stated by each of them; and indeed it seemed to arise from an utter confusion of ideas upon one of the most plain and simple principles. The introduction of the name of the regent, and the reading of his letter, were matters totally distinct, excepting in the opinions of the opposite side of the house. The practice of every day showed that his noble friend (lord Darnley) was perfectly in order.

Lord Mulgrave expressed his determination to use his utmost exertions to prevent the recurrence of the scandal of 1807, on the question, whether the pledge required by his
majesty

majesty were or were not constitutional? The course he should pursue, if the subject were pressed to a vote, would be, first to have it decided whether the name of the regent should be introduced into a discussion. Upon this there would be no dispute; and the next inquiry would be, whether it were regular to read in a debate a letter from a newspaper with the signature of the regent (which might be a forgery), and upon which it had not been ascertained whether ministers had given any advice to the personage whose name it purported to bear?

Earl Grey remarked, that the precedent of 1807, just cited, was a most unfortunate one for the noble lord, inasmuch as in that case had been done exactly what he was this night contending against. If, indeed, he meant to say that the publication of cabinet ministers was a scandal, it would be for the friends of the noble lord to justify their conduct in this instance.

The earl of Darnley resumed, and maintained that if so pleased he could, with perfect regularity, read not only a part but the whole of the newspaper to the house. He was not surprised at the frequent interruptions that had occurred, since it was obviously the design of ministers, if possible, by a side-wind, to dispose of this question. God forbid that he should deny the sound principles of the constitution, that the crown can do no wrong! but if the letter were signed by the regent, some person or other was answerable for its contents. Whatever exultation might be shown by ministers, at their majorities in either house of parliament, they knew that their existence depended upon a breath—upon advisers not avowed. They rested upon persons not officially known to the

house; upon persons who, for their own selfish objects, would poison the royal ear, and who, if allowed to remain, would prove the destruction either of the prince or of the country. If the regent had been advised (as there was little doubt he had), his lordship trusted that the warning now given would not be unavailing.

Lord Erskine said, that if the subject before the house were dispassionately considered, it was impossible that any difficulty or breach of order could attend the discussion. Although ministers, upon a former day, refused to acknowledge the authenticity of the letter in question, the noble earl behind him had acknowledged having received it, and had admitted the authenticity of the answer, as printed in every newspaper of the day, which he had sent to the letter so received by him. It was therefore trifling with the subject to deny the fact, and absurd in the extreme to connect the comment on it with any breach of rule and order. It must be taken by the house to be the letter of the prince's responsible advisers, and in fact it bore the intrinsic mark of having proceeded from them. It was the acknowledgement of their weakness to stand alone, and the use of the prince's authority to strengthen them whilst they stood on the vantage ground of office. But giving the letter the most liberal interpretation, it was an invitation to lords Grenville and Grey to unite with them in forming an administration. The letter pointed to an union with those now in office, whilst they differed in all the points which vitally affected the country. Now, notwithstanding all that had been said and written against coalitions, no such union had ever taken place as had lately been rejected. The union

between Mr. Fox and lord North was of an entirely different character. The grand political difference between these statesmen, and their supporters in parliament, was on the subject of America, before and during the continuance of the fatal war of separation. Mr. Fox contended for a system of conciliation—lord North for a system of coercion. Whilst this difference prevailed, would it have been possible to have formed a union between lord North and Mr. Fox? No: it was proposed when the administration was declining, but was rejected; and it was not until the act of American independence, when every question concerning our policy towards that country was at an end, that the union took place. Mr. Fox then thought that he owed it to the country to use the only means which were then practicable to give effect and influence to his principles and opinions; but this union produced great jealousy and suspicion in the minds of many, and that impression on the public mind ought to inspire the greatest caution in public men on the subject of such unions. No united government could become strong, however pure and upright the principle of union, if suspected by the people. Without public confidence, no government could serve the country with advantage. The union with Mr. Fox and lord Grenville, which formed the late administration, was of the same character. It was utterly impracticable, and never thought of whilst the war waging with revolutionary France was on foot. How could a cabinet have been formed, if one half had been deprecating the war with France, and the other half inflaming the contest? if one half had been passing severe laws to repress sedition, whilst the other half were

for repressing it, by giving to the people full contentment, by the blessings of our free constitution? All these differences were at an end before the union took place which formed the late administration. France had become a gigantic monarchy aiming at universal dominion, and no difference could exist any longer upon the principles which ought to govern propositions of peace, and accordingly no cabinet was ever more united on that and all other subjects. But if a cabinet were now to be formed by the proposed union, like *plus* and *minus* in equations, they would destroy one another. One half determined upon a perpetual exclusion of the catholics, the other half was convinced that to refuse their claims was to dissolve the empire. On the subject of America, one half resolved to keep up the orders in council; the other half was convinced that, putting the objections of America out of the question, their continuance was ruinous to our commerce and manufactures. Who was right or wrong on these subjects was nothing, whilst differences so irreconcilable and so vital in their consequences existed. Lord Erskine said, that, for his own part, he had the most decided opinion on both these differences. He thought that the state was unsafe whilst so vast a portion of the empire as the Irish catholics were discontented; and the church not safe whilst disabilities on the score of religion increased the multitude, and affected the temper of those who dissented from the establishment. He always reprobated popery, but its period was come; and even with regard to the catholic religion, the question was not, whether it was to be encouraged, but how we were to deal with four millions of subjects professing it

it. With regard to America, the danger was not less vital. Our business was to look forward to America at fifty years hence, when her population would be equal to our own. It was not our interest to encourage her to manufacture for herself, but to rejoice in her increasing numbers, whilst our looms were at work to clothe them. It appeared, therefore, impossible to act with persons who differed so essentially on these great objects. One might as well ask a fish to come out of the sea to roost with a rook on an elm tree, as invite him to support, in any respect, the present servants of the crown, however sincere and honest their differences might be.

Lord Harrowby spoke against the motion.

The lord chancellor thought the noble and learned lord (Erskine) perfectly justified in voting for what he thought was for the general benefit; and when he was convinced, that to concede to the catholics all their demands would be for the general benefit, he would also vote for them; but then he must be convinced before this, that the principles of civil and religious policy on which this country had acted since the revolution, were erroneous. That man ought to be an object of detestation who could hold any office on any other principle than that he believed it was for the general benefit he should hold it. If the regent had full powers, he ought certainly to have the power of choosing his own servants, subject to those checks provided by the constitution. He did not know what was meant by asking who were the advisers of the sovereign to choose his servants? He stated now, as he had formerly stated in 1807, that this choice of servants

must be supposed antecedent to any advice. It was unprecedented for parliament to take upon itself the nomination of the ministers of the crown. With respect to the concessions of the catholics, he would ask what securities were proposed? — His heart would beat with joy if any one would tell him of any securities that could be effectual. That great man, of whom he should wish it to be engraven on his tomb as an encomium, that he enjoyed his friendship, died without knowing what security could be taken. With respect to America, no man who knew all the proceedings which had taken place in the negotiations with that country, would venture to say that this country had been too tenacious. Upon the whole, he thought the present motion would lead to an interference which was completely unconstitutional.

Earl Grey, in an eloquent and impressive speech, began by saying, if he was to make a sort of profession of faith on all the great subjects which had been introduced or alluded to in the present discussion, the task would be not more disproportionate to his own strength than to the patience of the house. The question, he said, for the consideration of the house then was, whether the present administration, in its quality and principles, presented obstacles to the union of the strength and resources of all parts of the empire? It might safely be said of this administration, that it was formed on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims. This was the principle by which the person who was at the head of that administration made his way to power. This was the principle which led him to make use of all the arts of detraction to attain that object. This principle he loudly proclaimed.

claimed. It was his boast—it was put by him in the front of the battle—the eternal exclusion of his Roman catholic fellow-subjects from any share in the constitution. When he had stated that such were the principles of that person, he had no need to say more to show that they were the principles of administration. He was the administration; when he led, the rest were obliged to follow. Differing on the principle, he could never see a convenient time for the application of that principle, so that he fully coincided in the practical part of their conduct. Perhaps it would be said, the noble earl opposite differed on this principle. He thought therefore he was warranted in stating the present administration to be founded on a principle of resistance to the catholic claims. The noble and learned lord had said, he had never heard of any sermons lately preached on this subject. Where the noble lord had lived he knew not; but he knew that within these few weeks, persons invested with the sacred character of clergymen, forgetting all the principles of that religion which they professed, instead of preaching the doctrines of peace and unity, which it was their duty to preach, had thought proper to endeavour to inspire one part of the community with hostile feelings against their brethren; and of those persons who acted this most unbecoming part, some were supposed to be seriously connected with the persons who compose the present administration. The noble lord concluded a most eloquent speech, which had embraced every topic connected with the motion and with the state of the existing parties, by saying, these were the grounds of those opinions he still continued to entertain; but there was one point on

which he had to make a few observations, and a point in his estimation of paramount importance. He alluded to the existence of an unseen and separate influence behind the throne. An influence of this kind had too long prevailed, not less incompatible with the constitution than with the best interests of the country. An influence of this odious character, leading to consequences the most pestilent and disgusting, it would be the duty of parliament to brand by some signal mark of condemnation. It was his rooted and unalterable principle, a principle in which those with whom he had the honour to act fully participated, not to accept of office without coming to an understanding with parliament for the abolition of this destructive influence.—Holding these views and sentiments, he had thought it his duty to submit them to the house; and however various might be the opinions entertained of them, he had at least to congratulate himself on his own self-approbation. He had, however, the pride and satisfaction of reflecting that he still continued to enjoy the esteem of those friends for whom he felt the most sincere respect. All the arts and intrigue that had been attempted, in order to seduce many of those who had previously concurred with him on most of the great public questions of the day, had failed, except in one solitary instance, and that was scarcely worth the mention.

Lord Mulgrave denied the existence of the influence so strongly reprobated by the noble earl, and contended that the proposed address having only for its object the removal of the present ministers, would not be a fair or constitutional proceeding towards his royal highness, who had already endeavoured

voured to form an administration on a liberal basis, provided no difference of opinion subsisted on questions of general policy. The great question, continued the noble lord, which divided the opposition from the ministry, was not only the general policy of the country, but more specifically the state of the Irish catholics. He wished, however, that it should be distinctly remembered by those who supported the justice of catholic emancipation, how great was the difference between the present state of the catholics and that in which they were when the concessions were granted in 1793. Those concessions were then granted on the express grounds of the orderly, loyal, and quiet conduct of the catholic population of Ireland. Could such be now said of them? But the objections to their claims arose not only from what was their conduct, but also from what were their demands. They demanded high situations in the law, the army, and the navy: give them those situations, said their advocates, and they would be satisfied. But were we sure of that? Were we sure that, when these claims were conceded, fresh claims would not be advanced? Did they not say that they would be satisfied with the concessions in 1793? and yet had they been so? It remained, therefore, a question for their lordships' decision, whether they would hazard introducing the catholics into the government of the country, disposed as they were not to concede all the guards that would be required, but only some; and looking thus at one most important feature of the motion, he thought it utterly impossible for their lordships to entertain it. It would be, indeed, in his opinion, only an insult to carry up an address to the prince regent, word-

ed as that was which had been submitted to them; and if a fresh address were substituted, it would then require the mature consideration of their lordships before it could be voted.

Lord Moira rose to say that it was his intention, when he came down to the house that night, not to give any vote upon the question to be discussed; and he had to thank the noble lord who spoke last for deviating from that intention; for he should now certainly vote in support of the motion, and give his vote with a solemn conviction of its propriety. He appealed to every noble lord present, whether there ever was a more awful crisis than the present? whether we had not an overbearing enemy without, such as ought to excite alarm, especially when we looked at our condition at home, and more particularly at the condition of Ireland? The situation of that country had been summed up by his noble friend in a manner that must strike every one with conviction. He wished, however, he could see the government courting the cordial co-operation of Ireland, for upon her our strength mainly depended. The population of that country must, from its nature, supply half our active service; and he did from his soul believe that the only means of saving this country rested upon the conciliation of Ireland. He knew of no other method, and he was confident there was no other method. But, after the language he had heard that night, he was justified in saying, that not only there was no hope of conciliating the catholic population of that country, but that there was no chance of keeping them tranquil without a change of administration; and therefore he should cheerfully give his vote in support of the motion;

tion; though, as he had already stated, it was his original intention, and he had signified that intention to several noble friends near him, not to have given any vote that night, but for the speech of the noble lord who had last addressed them.

The house then divided:

For the original motion - 65

Against it - 172

Majority against the motion 107

March 23. The chancellor of the exchequer in the house of commons moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply, for the purpose of taking into consideration the message of the prince regent respecting a provision for the princesses.

Mr. Creevey rose for the purpose of objecting to the speaker leaving the chair. He thought that no doubt could be entertained of the propriety of making a provision for the princesses; but whether it were done immediately, or were postponed for a short period, could be of no consequence. On a former occasion, during the present session, he had stated his reasons for resisting the grant of a supply to the elder branch of the royal family, without previous inquiry, when, according to the accounts produced, the deficiency on the consolidated fund was five millions. The same objection would now apply, because the deficit was still three millions and a half, as was shown by the accounts made up to the 5th of January last, and which were stated in such a confused manner as to require much explanation. The stock market was agitated with strong feelings of alarm and distrust, lest the stockholders should not in time receive their interest; and instead of adding yearly, and even monthly,

to the charges upon the consolidated fund, which would soon be unable to bear them, the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) would do much better if he increased its amount by the abolition of the places of two useless tellers of the exchequer, and the office of registrar of the court of admiralty, now holden by lord Arden. Why this provision for their royal highnesses had not been suggested at the time when the arrangements for the household were under consideration, he did not know; nor why the regent, out of the sum which had been given to him, and for which there was no application, could not spare the sum of 30,000*l.* for his royal sisters, especially since the 58,000*l.* paid by the king out of the civil list, to the queen, was not required from the regent. With the subject of the separation of the prince and princess of Wales, he (Mr. Creevey) on this occasion had nothing to do, although it did strike him as a little extraordinary, that no additional sum had been given to the future queen of Great Britain; at the time her august spouse was invested with the regal dignity. He therefore moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee on the message of his royal highness the prince regent, on this day month, for the purpose, in the mean time, of examining into the amount of, and charges upon, the consolidated fund.

The chancellor of the exchequer insisted that the statement of the honourable member (Mr. Creevey) was calculated to mislead the public as to the real state of the consolidated fund, because he contrasted the deficiency of the last with the amount of the most productive year, instead of comparing it with the amount of the year immediate-
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ly preceding. If he had stated the subject fairly, he would have found that the real deficiency was only 1,200,000*l.*; besides which it ought not to be forgotten that the whole produce of the taxes could not be obtained on the 5th of January last, to which day the account was made up. At the time when the establishment of the household was under discussion, if this subject had been brought forward, it would doubtless have been thought just to have added a considerable sum to the vote then passed. With respect to the 58,000*l.* granted to the queen by the king out of the civil list, that sum was continued to be paid by the regent out of the same fund, so that nothing could be founded upon the assertion that the regent, by any surplus in his hands, was able to provide amply for the princesses. The situation of the princess of Wales had been referred to, and perhaps it would not be improper here to state what had been the conduct of the prince regent with regard to the pecuniary concerns of her royal highness. In the year 1809 a representation was made to the duke of Portland, who then held the situation he (Mr. Perceval) had now the honour to occupy, that debts were due to various persons from the princess of Wales, for which she had no means of providing. An investigation consequently took place, the result of which was, that it was found that the debts amounted to 41,000*l.* At that period the allowance to her royal highness was an annuity of 12,000*l.* and 5000*l.* a year for pin-money. The statement was laid before the prince of Wales, who immediately determined to pay the sum of 41,000*l.* and besides augmented the annuity of her royal highness to 17,000*l.* On further inquiry it was

discovered that a further sum of 8000*l.* was due to certain creditors of the princess of Wales, whom the prince also resolved to pay; but the small amount of 2000*l.* afterwards claimed as a further debt due from her royal highness, was left to be discharged out of the savings of her income. The prince therefore feeling the impropriety of imposing additional burdens on the people (although his royal father would doubtless willingly have consented to have disbursed a sufficient sum out of the droits of admiralty) consented to take the weight upon himself. At this time too it should not be forgotten, that his royal highness had many pecuniary difficulties to encounter which were now in a mode of settlement, as the additional sum of 60,000*l.* (which had been the revenue of the prince previous to the regency) had been placed at the disposal of commissioners appointed under seal to liquidate the debts of his royal highness. Under all the circumstances, he (Mr. Perceval) could not see the slightest ground for imputing any blame to the regent, or for postponing the committee, as had been proposed by the amendment.

Mr. Creevey's amendment being put and negatived, the speaker left the chair, and the house resolved itself into a committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer began by observing, that the house was aware in what situation their royal highnesses the princesses stood, with regard to the former parliamentary grant. An act had been passed in the 18th and 39th of his present majesty, empowering him to make a grant (contingently in the event of his majesty's demise) of 30,000*l.* as an annuity to the four princesses living at the time the acts were passed. In the event of these annui-

annuitants falling to three, they were each of them to have 10,000*l.* a year; if they fell to two, 20,000*l.* a year was to be divisible between them; and if to one, the survivor to have 12,000*l.* a year. This was the provision which parliament had enabled his majesty to make for the princesses, in the event of his demise; but the melancholy circumstances which had taken place in the royal family rendered it necessary that the house should take into its consideration the condition of those princesses, the same as if the actual demise of his majesty had taken place. The house were aware in what situation their royal highnesses now stood, as forming part of the domestic establishment at Windsor; and he did not know, therefore, that any provision, immediately to take place, might be necessary; but he thought it of importance that they should be placed in a condition which would enable them to form their separate establishments if they wished it. He should propose, in consequence, a vote to grant to each of them 9000*l.* a year. What they had now from the civil list was during pleasure only. In the event of the death of any of them, the survivors were to be put upon the same footing as by the acts of the 18th and 39th; the last survivor receiving an annuity of 12,000*l.* a year. Looking at the difference between the time when those acts were passed and the present, he did not think that 9000*l.* a year now was more in proportion than what it was the intention of parliament they should have received at that period. In making this proposition, however, he had no expectation that it was the intention of the princesses to remove themselves from the asylum they now had; but the sum would give them

the opportunity of having an establishment of their own at any time when they might wish so to do; and, looking at their period of life, he thought it most unreasonable to expect that they should be so connected with the present domestic arrangement, as to have no establishment of their own to which they could resort in any case. He then moved, that his majesty be empowered to grant an annuity of 36,000*l.* to the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia, instead of the 30,000*l.* now authorised by act of parliament; that this annuity be paid out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain; and that it do supersede the former grant made in the 18th of his present majesty.

Mr. Tierney presumed that the right honourable gentleman, in proposing to give 9000*l.* a year to the princesses, assumed as a fact that his majesty was defunct with regard to them. His proposition, therefore, was, that to the 7500*l.* a year, to which they were entitled under the former act, 1500*l.* more should be added; and in addition to this annuity, which they were now called on to vote, their royal highnesses received 4000*l.* a year each from the civil list, during the pleasure of the prince regent, making their whole annual income 13,000*l.* This sum, great as it was, he by no means considered as too great for the separate establishment of each; but it appeared by the act of 1799, that it was in the contemplation of parliament that the princesses would live together; and why any gentleman should suppose, or take it for granted, that they would now desire separate establishments, affectionately forming one family as they did at present, he could not conceive. In that point

point of view, then, presuming that their royal highnesses would not form separate establishments, he thought the sum too great. But there was another consideration which struck him as very important. Would there be any saving to the civil list by this grant? 'At the present there is a charge in the lord steward's department, for dresses, &c. for the princesses: was that to be continued? If it was, then a sum would be given to their royal highnesses which they did not want. His greatest objection to the present vote, however, was what he had stated on a former occasion, and which now no longer appeared a chimerical one. He alluded to the detached and piecemeal way in which the several additions to the civil list had been made: first 10,000*l.* then 20,000*l.* and so on, without the house ever knowing precisely what it was about. The general increase upon the civil list expenditure had been very great. He had been at the trouble of making out an account, and would state some of the particulars to the house. The civil list was established at 960,000*l.* a year: from this had been deducted, in the way of expense, 138,000*l.* which was the same as so much being given to it, for that sum was still raised upon the public, and still paid to the civil list. By an act of the present session 24,000*l.* more were added, then 218,000*l.* out of the consolidated fund; and if to this be joined the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster and Cornwall, the gross amount of the civil list per annum, for the support of the royal family, would be at this moment 1,668,000*l.* He hoped it would not be imputed to him that he wished to diminish the just and proper splendour of the crown; but he stated that aggre-

gate amount because he believed that there were great abuses in the expenditure of the civil list, and because he thought that the 36,000*l.* which they were now called upon to vote, might be saved from that civil list, by a due and fundamental inquiry into its several branches of expenditure. That inquiry, however, never could be efficiently made, because the right honourable gentleman, though he would grant a committee, had told them, "you may examine accounts, but you shall not examine persons;" and he must know that it was impossible to come at the bottom of the civil list expenditure without examining persons. Looking at the question, therefore, in this point of view, he thought the house would confer a very hasty and ill-advised grant, if they voted the sum without previous inquiry into those subjects. There was yet another observation with respect to the civil list which he wished to make, and that was, with respect to the provision which it contained for her royal highness the princess of Wales. There was a talk, indeed, of a separation, and he had no doubt every gentleman had heard of it; the house, however, knew nothing of such a separation: but it had a right to demand why, when so much was voted for the support of regal pomp and splendour, no pomp and splendour were to be found. Of the rumoured separation he should say nothing; he knew not whether it was to be an amicable one or not; but he had no doubt, if such a thing was in contemplation, there were sufficient grounds for it: he hoped so at least. The right honourable gentleman, however, knew a great deal about it—he had acted as counsel in that investigation so much talked of—and it was surprising that

that he should now sit so mute, and hear all this whispered about respecting his favourite princess—his client—and not have one word to say in her defence!—He should not observe more upon that topic; but he would add what struck him very forcibly, that there was now a person in this country representing the prince regent's wife, a person who was as much queen as he was king, passed over in a most extraordinary manner.

Mr. W. Smith considered the present demand as among the last he should have expected, when he looked at the finances of the country and the general pressure of the taxes upon every individual in it; nor could he see any sufficient reason why, in that particular, the burden should be increased.

Mr. Ponsonby spoke against the grant, and Mr. Freemantle was for it.

Mr. Bennett conceived that the present application to parliament for additional sums to the royal family, while there were so many indications of distress throughout almost every part of the country, was exceedingly ill-timed. At any rate, when an application was made on account of the princesses, he hoped the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) opposite would give them some information why no suitable provision was to be proposed for the princess of Wales, the wife of the prince regent. He asked the right honourable gentleman, because he was aware that no one knew more of the subject than he did, no one was more in the secret of the delicate investigation. (*Hear, hear!*)—He repeated, she was the wife of the prince regent. What had happened, then, to place the princess of Wales in such a degrading situation? They had heard a great deal

of books on the subject, which were of the nature of libels; and they had seen advertisements in the newspapers offering large sums of money for suppressed copies of these libellous books: he hoped, therefore, the right honourable gentleman, as formerly counsel for her royal highness, and now confidential adviser of the crown, would come forward to the house with some information on this very interesting subject.

Mr. Perceval thought there was rather a contradiction throughout the speech of the honourable member who had just sat down. That honourable gentleman had talked of the impropriety of increasing places and pensions, and adding to the burdens of the country at the present moment; and then he concluded with saying, that he saw no reason why the princess of Wales was not enabled to keep up a larger establishment. With regard to any circumstance respecting the unfortunate situation which had been alluded to, he would say nothing—The difference alluded to was certainly an unfortunate circumstance; but neither as minister, nor confidential adviser of his royal highness, did he feel himself called upon to make any specific statement to the house on the subject.

Mr. Whitbread said, he rose to defend the alleged inconsistency in the speech of his honourable friend (Mr. Bennett) who opposed the addition to the expenditure of the civil list, and yet thought that an addition ought to be made to the princess regent. It appeared to him that in this there was no inconsistency; because his honourable friend and himself had no doubt, that if the expenditure were properly looked into, such retrenchments might be made as would enable the princess regent to be put in a situation

tion to maintain such a splendour as was suitable to her high rank in this country. Surely in this there was no inconsistency; and it was a fearful thing, and a just cause of alarm to the country, that notwithstanding all the grants which they had so lately made to the prince regent, if that happy restoration took place, an event which every person in the country most anxiously looked to, the right honourable gentleman would still come down to the house with fresh demands on the people.—The right honourable gentleman had told the house, that neither as servant of the crown, nor as adviser of his royal highness, would he say any thing on this subject; but the time was, when the right honourable gentleman had not only said much on the subject, but had taken such measures as would enable all his majesty's subjects to understand it.—It was well known that a book had been prepared by the right honourable gentleman for publication; that out of some fund, whether public or private he could not tell, the expense of the printing of this book was defrayed; and that measures were taken that not only the subjects of this kingdom, but all the continent of Europe, should be made acquainted with it. It appeared to him, as counsel for her royal highness the princess regent formerly, and as the present adviser of the prince regent, the right honourable gentleman was placed in a situation which above all others made it necessary for him to speak out on the present occasion.—Probably the right honourable gentleman would now feel an inclination to be mute, when he intended to have ten thousand tongues before.

Mr. Perceval said, he did not feel himself, either in duty or courtesy, bound to account to the right ho-

nourable gentleman who had just sat down, for his conduct on any former occasion of his life.—But he would say thus much, that neither from what had come to his knowledge as the counsel of her royal highness, nor in the important situation the duties of which he was at present bound to discharge, had he any means of bringing forward any charge against her royal highness. Thus much he felt himself called on to say, but he would say nothing further. He had no authority delegated to him to come forward to the house with any communication on the subject of her royal highness; but if the house should think that parliament ought to take cognisance of her royal highness's situation, and to bestow their bounty also upon her, he should feel it to be his duty to communicate the opinion of the house to his royal highness the prince regent.

Mr. Tierney observed, as the right honourable gentleman had now acknowledged that he had no charge to bring forward against the princess regent, in all reason she ought to be immediately suitably provided for. This he said, because they were now making provision for other branches of the royal family of far less importance and consequence to the country. With respect to what the right honourable gentleman had said respecting the communication of any opinion of the house to the prince regent, it was well known that this could not come properly under the consideration of parliament, unless as a message from the throne. All they could say was, that as princess of Wales, and wife of the prince regent, he knowing of no charge against her, she ought not to remain dependent on the pleasure of the prince.

Mr. Whit-

Mr. Whitbread reprobated the doctrine thrown out by the right honourable gentleman, that he felt himself called upon to give no advice, but that, if the house should show any disposition to provide for her royal highness the princess regent, he should feel it his duty to make the communication to the prince regent. They had now heard from a person who was so well qualified to judge, first as counsel employed by her royal highness the princess of Wales, and then afterwards as the minister of the crown, that the conduct of her royal highness was perfectly blameless. It was certainly a very great satisfaction now to hear, that no imputation could be cast on the princess of Wales. This was peculiarly satisfactory, as the right honourable gentleman could not forget that her royal highness once stood in his estimation as a person who had been stigmatized for impropriety of conduct, and that he published a book for the express purpose of establishing her innocence, and to remove these accusations. The right honourable gentleman would do well not to forget that she still remained unvindicated.

Mr. Perceval, in explanation, said, that neither from what had come to his knowledge in his character of counsel to her royal highness, or in the situation which he at present held, could he recollect any thing which it was possible to bring as a charge against the princess of Wales.

Mr. Ellison must deprecate the manner in which the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had been catechized on this subject. It was unparliamentary, indelicate, and improper. With family matters that house had nothing to do, and in at all interfering in the mat-

ter, gentlemen might widen instead of healing any breach which unfortunately at present existed.

Sir J. Newport rose to enter his protest against the doctrine laid down by the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, and who so pointedly disapproved of what he termed catechizing the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Perceval). So far from the questions which had been addressed to that right honourable gentleman being either improper, indelicate, or unparliamentary, in his opinion they were exactly the reverse of all these. When grants were proposed to be made to remote branches of the royal family, what could be more natural, or more directly in order, than to ask why another person, more nearly allied to the throne, was alone passed by? On every proposition for a grant of this kind, he had no hesitation in declaring it to be his decided conviction, that it was not only the right, but it was the duty, of the house to catechize the right honourable gentleman. On the subject which had been so repeatedly alluded to this night, there was, in his conception of it, something extremely mysterious in the matter, which required being accounted for; particularly, he thought the house was entitled to know from the right honourable gentleman, why he, who had been the advocate for her royal highness, should now have been converted into the person who was to withhold from her that justice to which she was entitled? He wished to ask too, whether the book which the right honourable gentleman had at one time prepared for publication, had had the printer's name affixed to it, as was required by law? He again repeated, that he thought the house entitled to know on what ground
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the right honourable gentleman, who had formerly been so loud in declaring the innocence and in vindicating her royal highness, now thought it so delicate a subject, that it could not even be looked on, but must be suffered to pass by without any satisfaction being afforded to the house.

The question was then put, and the resolution was agreed to without a division.

On the third reading of this bill, April 17, Mr. Tierney spoke very strongly against it, who was answered by Mr. Perceval, which brought up Mr. Whitbread, who opposed the bill: he added, "I have heard that the queen is about to hold a drawing-room; I wish to know, is there to be any public appearance of the princess of Wales? This is no private concern—the public have a right to demand why the acknowledged consort of their regent does not appear in public as such—no affectation of delicacy can be permitted to stand in the way of a nation's anxiety upon a question of such national importance. If any man can satisfy the public upon this topic, it is the right honourable gentleman. They know him to have been at one time the zealous adviser and devoted adherent to the princess of Wales. They believe him to have conscientiously undertaken her defence, to have written her vindication, to have penned that vindication, to have published it—that vindication is said to have involved in it an attack upon her royal consort—it was well known, to have been an attack upon his royal highness, and the regent's first minister is known to have been the author of it; and after he had published it, after it had been read by one and by one hundred, it was bought up at an enormous expense,

bought up by the private secretary of the right honourable gentleman. I ask him now, does he retain his former opinions of the unexceptionable conduct of the princess of Wales? I ask him if he did not lately in this house solemnly record his confirmation of that opinion, and if it is now what it was the other night; I call upon him to explain, if he can, his apparent desertion of her just claims to that respect, notice, provision, and consideration due to the undoubted princess regent of these realms.—These are questions which, as he values his own consistency, as he values the character and claims of the princess, and as he respects the prince his master, he is bound to answer.

Mr. Wm. Smith, in a very animated manner, opposed the bill. He solemnly declared that from his soul he pitied the right honourable gentleman, when he reflected upon the feelings he (Mr. Perceval) must have experienced before he could have made up his mind to come down at such a time with such a proposition to the house.

On a division, the motion for the third reading was carried by a large majority, and the bill was at length passed into a law.

Mar. 24. Mr. Bankes said, there was nothing on which the country looked with more pleasure than on the salutary principles of regulation which ought to be applied to sinecure offices. Nothing, however, could be so mischievous as those publications which, being dictated either by ignorance or by malice, tended to make the people imagine that any reduction which could be made in the department of useless offices was likely to diminish, in any sensible degree, the burthens created by the war. It would also be a great im-
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position on the house, if he should pretend that the motion which he had to propose could be attended with an immediate æconomical effect. All that could be done was, the establishment of the æconomical principle; and this, in the end, would have a sure though a slow effect. Sinecures were but small drops to be saved from the ocean of expense; and again, he should caution the public from looking to the abolition as a cause of diminishing the public burthen. Much certainly had been done with a view to æconomy within the last forty years—much more, indeed, than had been effected in that way from the revolution. His view was to abolish every office to which no efficient duties were attached; and this would be productive of gradual benefit. The offices obnoxious to him were those which were only burthensome, and not in any sense advantageous. He would follow the rules established for superannuation in the collection of the revenue; because, as the practice of bestowing sinecures at present stood, there were seldom any claims of meritorious service advanced, and they were conferred alike on the worthy and unworthy. He hoped the house would always show its liberality, in being never niggardly to services fairly established—such money was never ill bestowed, and in fact money must be bestowed unless we chose to leave public situations either to the aristocracy of fortune or to needy speculating adventurers. He should be sorry to see a contest between the aristocracy and the active talents of the country, for in such a strife it required little sagacity to foresee who would be victorious. It was to guard against any such fatal alternative that he wished meritorious services of a certain duration to be

rewarded; not, however, by the objectionable mode of sinecure, but by what he conceived a far better substitution. His motion contemplated the establishment of a fund, which in the first instance was to be begun by the profits of the sinecure which would soonest drop. The fund would be recruited by the very saving of the plan he had to propose. The honourable gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for abolishing and regulating sinecure offices executed by deputy, and for providing other means of rewarding high and respectable civil officers. Leave given.

Mar. 25. Lord Castlereagh rose for the purpose of proposing the annual vote for the fulfilment of the treaty of his majesty with the king of the Two Sicilies. He did not feel that it would be necessary for him to go at present into any details upon a subject, the line of conduct upon which seemed so clear; but if any honourable member should require further information, he should be happy to afford it. It was now four years since this grant had first been proposed and adopted, and at this period it would be quite superfluous for him to detain the house by a justification of the policy on which the treaty was founded. He flattered himself that those individuals who on former occasions had opposed the vote, would now concede their objections; for he had the satisfaction to state, that his Sicilian majesty had effected an important change in his government and councils, equally favourable to his own and to the interests of Great Britain. The whole military establishment of the kingdom had been placed under the control of lord William Bentinck, who would be enabled, from the confidence that

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was reposed in him, and from the power with which he was invested, not only to apply the various means he possessed to the protection of the island, but even to aggression upon the common enemy. His lordship concluded by moving a resolution for the grant of 400,000*l.* to enable his majesty to make good the treaty entered into with his Sicilian majesty.

Sir John Newport thought that a much more satisfactory explanation was due from the noble lord, on a matter of so much magnitude. He could scarcely believe that ministers, who on former occasions had thrust themselves forward as the friends and supporters of existing establishments, should now attempt to justify the subversion of that of Sicily. Did the noble lord mean to assert that it was not true, that by means of the British authorities the king had been induced to abdicate his throne in favour of his son? Uninformed as he was upon the subject, judging only from appearances, he confessed that this proceeding did appear to him very similar to the conduct of Bonaparte, who forced Charles XIII. of Spain to abdicate his throne in favour of his son Ferdinand, and then took advantage of it to claim Spain as his own property. To whom was this money, now proposed to be voted, paid? and to what was it to be applied? These were inquiries, in the present condition of our finances, of much importance; but above all, the British government should take care to make it evident to all the world, that its conduct was not similar to that of our perfidious enemy, which had justly met with the reprobation of all that dared to be impartial.

Lord Castlereagh replied, that if parliamentary inquiry were required.

site, the right hon. baronet was too well acquainted with the forms of the house to need information how complaints were to be brought forward. If such a step should be taken, his lordship was prepared to meet the most minute investigation. He was happy to assure the committee that there was not the slightest ground for stating that it was even at the suggestion, much less upon the demand of the British minister, that the king of Sicily was induced to abdicate his throne in favour of his son: how it could be called an abdication, he was at a loss to imagine, since it was merely a temporary delegation of power, which might at any time be resumed by his majesty. On the motives to this act his lordship would not give an opinion, but certain it was that it was wholly voluntary. The only claim made by lord William Bentinck was, that the king of Sicily should put his government upon such a footing as to make it compatible with the safety of the British army that it should remain in the island.

Messrs. Wilberforce, Stephen, Perceval and others spoke on the same side; when the question was put, and the motion agreed to.

Mar. 26. The second reading of the gold-coin bill was moved; on which

Mr. Morris said he had the strongest objection to this bill, and could not refrain from expressing his sentiments on the present occasion. Ministers, he said, are about to give to a paper currency the same effect in point of law as the gold coin of the realm. They had no adequate security for the prevention of forgery, or for the prevention of excessive issue. It was impossible to prevent forgery. The Bank had taken great pains to guard against forgery, and their secret marks might enable them

them to protect themselves; but that very secrecy prevented other people from being able to detect it. He had seen in another country the effects of forgery strongly exemplified. At the corner of every street there were officers for the purpose of verifying genuine assignats. These officers were called *bureaux de vérification*: but they increased the evil; for so many persons were employed, that some of them could not be prevented from converting their knowledge to their own benefit. Such a plan, therefore, could not be tried in this country. It might be said, that the plan of writing the names of persons on the back of the note was a species of guard; but how much of our population, he would ask, were in a condition even to read a Bank note? The honourable gentleman then went into a number of particulars respecting the law on the subject, and the present state of the circulation of the country, and concluded with expressing a wish that the house should go into a committee for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the circulation of the country.

Lord A. Hamilton thought it a mere subterfuge to say that there was any distinction between the effect of the present bill and the making Bank paper a legal tender. He contended that the extending the present bill to Ireland was an evident contradiction of the principle laid down in their former resolutions, when it was stated that paper was of the same value with gold in the public estimation. In Ireland it was well known that paper was depreciated at least 20 per cent. and two prices were established.

Sir J. Newport observed, that this bill was a step further in the progress of the road to ruin. Every

commercial country which had adopted the same course was led to total ruin. A noble lord (Castlereagh) had presented a petition for this extension of the system to Ireland. This was a step further than they had yet gone; and it was going against an express provision made by many landlords in their contracts with their tenants, that they were to be paid in nothing but gold. The house had only to go one step beyond this, and to assume the power of annulling every contract between man and man at pleasure.

Lord Castlereagh did not mean then to go at all into the detail of the question, but it appeared to him that the difficulties respecting the practice in Ireland of paying rent in gold had been greatly exaggerated; it had prevailed but in three or four counties in the northern parts of that country.

Mr. Wm. Smith protested against this measure, as one that must, if followed up, inevitably lead to the ruin of the finance of the country. He did not then rise for the purpose of going into the question at large, as it seemed to be the general wish of the house to defer that discussion to a future stage. He, however, could not let even that opportunity pass of declaring his hostility to the measure.

The chancellor of the exchequer said it was absurd to compare our Bank paper with the French assignats, whose excessive issues had brought down ruin upon the system. Now Bank paper had not been convertible into gold since 1797, and there had been none of that excessive issue since, which had always preceded, in every country, the embarrassments and injuries which had been alluded to. He thought the arguments of the honourable member

ber for Norwich rather inconclusive, viz. that though nothing was to be feared from the present Bank directors, yet would government guarantee the conduct of those who might be directors thirty years hence? What was there to fear from such a contingency? What injudicious issue of paper could be made by any directors, without their control? And unless therefore parliament should become lost to its duty, and the directors lose their intellect as well as character, there were no rational grounds for apprehension as to an indefinite issue of Bank paper; and an *indefinite* issue was the only evil to be dreaded. As to the extension of forgery, which was thought likely to take place from the passing that bill, it would be for parliament to provide such checks as should seem adequate for that purpose; but on looking at the accounts then on the table, and which had been moved for by an honourable gentleman on the preceding evening, he found that the average yearly amount, during the last eleven years, was from nine to ten thousand pounds; and in that amount were included the foreign notes which had been forged. If that was compared with 24 millions, he apprehended it would not be more in proportion than the forgeries that took place in our gold and silver coins. With regard to national bankruptcy, he thought the only way to ensure that, and the utter ruin of the country, was to act upon the remedies proposed by the other side of the house. If the restrictions on cash payments were taken off, the door would be opened to immediate and direct destruction.

Mr. Ponsonby declared it as his opinion, that the bill, instead of being calculated to benefit the coun-

try, was calculated only to injure it. He thought all that was substantially predicted of the effects of the restriction in 1797 had been substantially verified. It was then confidently said by some, the Bank would soon resume its cash payments: it was as confidently denied by others:—which had been right? It was confidently asserted then, that to increase the issue of paper currency would be to increase the difficulties of the country: it was as confidently denied by others: but were not our difficulties increased? And whose predictions, therefore, were right? With regard to Bank paper, he thought it had now become, from the connection between the government and the Bank, in a very considerable degree, a government paper, and a forced government paper. But one of his strongest objections to the bill arose from its application to Ireland, where it would do more mischief than an English gentleman could possibly dream of. Such a law would enforce a degree of injustice which, he was sure, a British parliament would never sanction. He should vote against the second reading of the bill, because that was the proper stage to oppose its principle.

Mr. Marryatt spoke against the bill, and lord Castlereagh explained; when the house divided. The numbers were,

For the second reading	61
Against it	16

Majority	45
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and the bill was finally passed.

April 13. In the committee of supply, Mr. Wharton, after a few prefatory observations, moved, That a sum not exceeding 554,411. be granted for the expenses of the barrack department for the current year.

Mr. Freemantle saw many things in those estimates which appeared to him to require a great deal of explanation. New buildings, which would bring on a most considerable expense, appeared in one part of the accounts to be ordered by the commander in chief; and in another part of it he was at a loss to know whether the whole of this expense were now to be submitted to parliament. The expense of the estimates for building barracks appeared to be regularly increasing, without any cause that we could see. After adverting to the expenses of the new buildings at Bexhill, he made many observations on the estimate of the new barrack projected to be built in what was called the Regent's park. This barrack, which was only intended for the 2d regiment of life guards, was to cost 138,000/. Now it did appear to him that it was an enormous sum to call for in the present times, for the lodging of a single regiment of horse. He could not well conceive a more profligate waste of the public money. At Liverpool it was also proposed to build a barrack for 1000 men, at the estimated expense of 82,000/. A new stable at Brighton was to cost 26,000/. and a new barrack at Bristol for 800 men was estimated at 60,000/. These were very large items, and required explanation.

Mr. Wharton, in explanation, said, it was true that many new barracks had been proposed to be built in 1811; but as it was not now intended to build them, the estimated expense of course was not stated in the present accounts. The estimates were only of those buildings now in progress, and which were intended to be completed. The expense of buildings was in one schedule, and that of repairs and alterations would be found in another. The regiment

of life guards had hitherto kept their horses in rented barracks in King-street, but the term was expired; and if they were to be kept in barracks at all, it was necessary they should be built. At Brighton the stables formerly used by the troops were in a most dilapidated state, and it was necessary, if troops were to be kept there at all, that new stables should be built. The necessity of building the barracks in the neighbourhood of Bristol arose from the circumstance of there being a considerable depôt of French prisoners in the neighbourhood, amounting to 8 or 10,000 men.

Mr. Huskisson said, that, notwithstanding the explanation which had been given, he could not feel satisfied. He remembered that, when he was at the treasury, it had been proposed to build a magnificent barrack at Islington, and the ground was actually marked out for it. Now, although this, was strongly recommended by military authorities, the treasury thought the expense too great, and that it might be postponed till some other time. If they had adopted all the plans submitted to them by the military board, an expense of two or three millions would have been incurred in building new barracks. In the present times, however, it appeared to him that every expense should be postponed which was not absolutely necessary; and that the same considerations which made the treasury reject many of those plans formerly, ought now to act with as much force as ever. If the house were to calculate the expense of this new barrack, they would find that it was nearly 450/. for every horse!! It appeared to him that this was most extravagant beyond any thing that really could be necessary.

Mr. Perceval justified the expenses,

penses, and urged the necessity of keeping the military separate from the people.

Mr. Whitbread said that the right honourable gentleman appeared to him to have adopted erroneous views upon the subject, when he thought it of such little consequence to separate the soldiers from the people, as to be surprised at any objection to a grant for that purpose. The right honourable gentleman had not argued that general question: the time was gone by; but he would declare it as his sentiment, that he was extremely jealous, and he was sure the country at large was jealous, of the separating system. Did the right honourable gentleman think that he wanted military control over the people of this country? Even at the end of the war, which the right honourable gentleman seemed to think would last long, and which he was sure would last as long as the career of the right honourable gentleman, would it be necessary for us to look forward to the prospect of overawing them? Was this a principle to be maintained? Did any one ever hear a minister coolly assert it? But the right honourable gentleman disapproved of the idea of applying any of the warehouses of Liverpool to the purpose of accommodating the military. He who had made the loom useless, and the warehouse idle—who had spread starvation and discontent—had disapproved of that which to him appeared a natural course of proceeding, that of filling the warehouses with soldiers for the purpose of controlling the people under the afflictions he had brought on them and on the country. But it had been said that there were French prisoners at Bristol. He would answer, so there had been

for the last twenty years. But even if the right honourable gentleman had been endeavouring to make the expense come up to a hundred millions, did he think, or could he think, that for three years more the country could go on as it was now going? If things proceeded as they were now proceeding, if expenses continued to accumulate and means to diminish, they must look for relief to a peace with the enemy—a peace which his measures had rendered unavoidable. In the transactions of past years, he saw many great and glorious opportunities of ending this war neglected and lost, while, at present, the system of the right honourable gentleman was calculated to produce the necessity of peace by submission. But why was it necessary that the horse and the soldier should be more together now than at any other time? Did any reason exist now that did not exist before, why the soldier and the general population of the country should be kept apart, or why barracks (which he had always regarded, in conformity with the opinions of the most constitutional authorities, as fortresses for controlling the kingdom) should be multiplied and enlarged? As to the policy of it, merely with regard to the soldier, he understood that when the men were on service, those who came from regular barracks were not so healthful as others, so that even military purposes were not likely to be served by it. One of the most lavish expenses under this head was incurred by the purchase of old houses at Clifton, in a ruined state, without a window; but now we were going back to Bristol again, to guard the French prisoners. Would to God (exclaimed Mr. Whitbread) that they were all out

of this country, whether we continue at war or not ! He concluded with repeating his determination to vote against the resolution.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the honourable gentleman must be positive indeed upon the subject, and confirmed in the opinion he had formed, when he thought it right not only to censure the conduct of his majesty's government, but to vote against the resolution before the committee.

Mr. Whitbread, in explanation, stated that his objection went only to the grant for building barracks.

The chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to observe that to refuse it without knowing whether the soldiers could be otherwise accommodated, might be productive of much inconvenience. He supposed, however, that by the debating strain which the honourable gentleman had thought proper to adopt, and the topics to which he had resorted, he expected to do much towards tranquillizing the country. When he brought forward his arguments, attributing the starvation he described to the conduct of government, did he really think there was any thing in their manner of conducting the war against France, which operated to produce the scarcity at Liverpool ? Did he think there was any thing in it to call down the vengeance of Providence on our heads, and provoke him to deny the harvest to our hopes ? If not, how could the honourable gentleman shut his eyes to what every man could see but himself, and resort to those imputations, which no man who was acquainted with the subject could hesitate to reject ? He would own that in some inflammatory publications he had met with some topics to which the honourable gentleman had alluded ; but

he did not expect that any member could be found who would come down to that house for the purpose of making such statements. The honourable gentleman had spoken of golden opportunities for making peace, which ministers had neglected ; but he did not say, he could not say, whether one of those opportunities presented itself now ; and if no opportunity existed, where was the policy in asserting that there was no salvation for the country but in peace ? It would be impossible for him to say so much against the peace he recommended, as by saying that we were unable to go on with the war. The reasoning of the honourable gentleman would go to turn all the resentment, not against the enemy, but against the government ; and that too at a time when we were engaged in war with an enemy who, if the honourable gentleman was not aware, intended our destruction, he must be ignorant of what is known to every body else. From this country he had met with his most effectual check in the pursuit of his insatiable ambition, and, in his progress to universal empire and universal tyranny, his certain disappointment. If the honourable gentleman did not see this,—(and he trusted in God that he did not, when he called upon the country not to look to Bonaparte and to France, but to its own government, with indignation, and ascribe the inflictions of Providence to them alone),—if he did not see this, but could make such statements with a conviction that he was doing right, he was sure that such sentiments would meet with little sympathy and little support.

Mr. Whitbread rose, evidently in great agitation, and began by declaring, that, if it was not in that house,

house, he would ask the warmest friend, or the loudest cheerer, of the right honourable gentleman, whether the whole of his speech was not a gross misrepresentation? The right honourable gentleman was mistaken, if he supposed that he obtained a victory over him. No: it was a victory over his own invention. The house of commons was a fine place—the constitution of England was a great thing—every thing was to be admired, respected, and supported, when an adventurer from the bar was raised by his talent for debate to a great situation which nobody but himself could have accepted under such circumstances.

The chancellor of the exchequer here signified his dissent from the statement, that nobody would have accepted the situation but himself.

Mr. Whitbread repeated the statement, maintained the truth of it, and added, "If you doubt me, I refer you for information to a letter signed Spencer Perceval." (*Loud cries of Order, from all parts of the house, followed this expression, and Mr. Whitbread attempted for some time in vain to be heard.*)

Mr. Yorke rose to order. The hon. gentleman had just made one of the most outrageous personal attacks on his right honourable friend, which had been heard in that house. With respect to the justice or propriety of the attack thus made, he—(*Cries of order!*)

Mr. Ponsonby rose to order.—(*Here the disorder became general, and cries of Chair, chair! resounded through the house; at length Mr. Ponsonby obtained a hearing.*) I call the right honourable gentleman to order, and on this ground, that he having risen to call my honourable friend to order, did not confine himself to that point, but thought

proper to advert to other topics, thereby transgressing the regulations of the house. I speak this before high authority, which will contradict me if I should be incorrect.

Mr. Lushington (the chairman) then declared his opinion to be, that Mr. Whitbread had been out of order.

Mr. Whitbread then rose again, and confessed he had risen in some heat, and unconsciously at the time had exceeded the limits of debate. He would however say, that if he was described as having told the people that they were to regard the government, rather than Bonaparte, as their enemy, it was a gross misrepresentation. Unfortunately it was too much a practice to identify the government with the minister, and convert the fair claims of the former to support and attachment, into a blind approbation of the measures of the latter. Whatever might be the construction put upon his words, he was determined ever to speak out in the house of commons—to conceal no part of the truth—and to lend no helping hand to the delusion, any more than to the ruin, of the people. He knew nothing more likely to prove destructive to the safety and greatness of the people, than the prevalence of a different doctrine. He did not confound the visitation of Providence with the decrees of France, or the measures of the right honourable gentleman; but he knew that thousands of manufacturers were now out of employment, and that tens of thousands were now working at reduced wages, which scarcely sufficed to procure them subsistence. Was he, when he declared this, telling the hungry man that he had no bread? He knew that an unre-

formed house of commons had approved of all the proceedings of the right honourable gentleman, and of all his orders in council; but he knew too, that the people and the merchants out of the house were, in every part of the kingdom, of very different opinions. He felt it his duty to ask the people to be misled no longer by the fatal policy of ministers; and he would ask the right honourable gentleman himself not to become the victim of his own infatuation, by bringing the country to the end of its resources. He believed the period must soon arrive when this would be the case. He should be sorry if any thing had fallen from him that might bear an interpretation foreign to his intentions, but he had deemed it an imperative duty to enter into this avowal of his sentiments.

The chancellor of the exchequer declared that every offensive impression which the honourable gentleman had made, more on the feelings of his honourable friends than on his own, was completely removed. He had certainly not attributed to the honourable gentleman that which he imagined him to have done. As to the question immediately before the house, he held it to be desirable that in populous towns the soldiery ought rather to be kept apart, than to be quartered on the people.

A long debate ensued, and the grant was admitted by a large majority; but the building of the barracks was afterwards abandoned.

April 14.—Earl Grey, in the house of lords, moved for an account of the amount in value of notes presented for payment at the bank of England, and refused on the ground of their being forgeries, in each year from 1797 to the latest period to which it could be

made up. This information, his lordship observed, would be incomplete unless another motion was also agreed to, for the number of notes so refused payment in each year, as it was only by the latter motion they could be informed of the number of instances of forgery of bank notes, or that they could judge of the temptation held out to forgery under the present system of paper circulation, or of the security of the public against being defrauded by such forgeries. The whole of this information was, he conceived, requisite with a view to the bill which would probably soon come up to that house, and to enable their lordships to judge accurately of the effects of the present system, which he contended was every day more and more departing from the true system of a paper circulation.

The first motion was agreed to.

The earl of Liverpool had no objection to the first motion, and contended that the account required by it would give all the requisite information, as it would enable the house to judge whether or not there was any progressive increase in the forgery of bank notes. To the second motion he had an objection, that the account to be produced by it would tend to mislead the house, by giving merely the number of forged notes, without specifying the amount whether under or above 5*l.*; and he had, besides, an objection that it would tend to give information as to what description of notes were most easily forged.

Earl Grey contended that the amount of forgeries would not give the information required, it being of essential importance that they should be acquainted with the multiplicity of instances in which the forgery of bank notes had been committed.

committed. He had no objection to amend his motion by inserting the words 'specifying the notes of each class;' and to the motion so amended, he could not, in the smallest degree, admit the force of the noble lord's objection. Did that noble lord believe that those who were disposed to forge bank notes did not know what description of notes were more easily forged, or with regard to which they were more likely to escape with impunity? Was it not notorious that the notes chiefly forged were small notes, which were in common circulation, were not likely to be soon sent to the Bank, and of which (where under 5*l*.) bankers took no account? It made one's blood run cold to see the number of persons arraigned at the Old Bailey sessions for forging bank notes, and returned Guilty—Death, whilst, on the other hand, tradesmen and others had no security against these forged notes, and were continually defrauded by them. It was, therefore, of importance that the information now asked for should be given, in order that they might correctly ascertain what were the effects of this paper circulation both upon the morals of the community and the security of trade.

Earl Stanhope saw no objection to the motion. He had devoted a great deal of time to the consideration of the means of preventing the forgery of bank notes, and he was satisfied that the forgery of them might be prevented in this country: but the great difficulty was in guarding against foreign forgeries, and unfortunately in forging our bank notes foreign nations had an authority in the conduct of our own government, in sanctioning the forgery of assignats.

Bank notes, however, as at present constructed, might be very easily forged; and it had been wittily observed to him a few days ago, that the best method of preventing the forging of them was not to hang those who forged them, but to hang the Bank directors for making them so clumsy.

The house divided on the motion,

Contents - - 12

Non-contents - 27

Majority - 15

The earl of Lauderdale moved for a return of the period when the Bank ceased to indemnify the *bond fide* holders of forged notes; which being opposed, was withdrawn.

In the house of commons, Mr. W. Wynne rose to move that the copy of the appointment of colonel M'Mahon to the office of private secretary to the prince regent be laid before the house. He observed, that finding, contrary to his expectation, that the proposal would be resisted, he should feel it necessary to enter at some length into the subject. He should have imagined, when an office was created, the name and character of which were perfectly novel, for which no precedent could be found in the history of the country, that the ministers would have been anxious to have afforded parliament all the information that could be requisite for the formation of a correct judgement upon it; nor could he recollect a single instance in which a motion like that he now submitted, had been resisted. At present, all the knowledge the house had was, that the nomination had been inserted in the Gazette, and that the minister had stated that the duties to be discharged were only those of a private secretary. He had heard it whispered, that only a treasury minute

minute for the payment of the salary existed. If so, the case was rendered worse, because the appointment to an office of such high trust and confidence ought to have been made with all due formality. How, as the case now stood, was the country to know what was meant by the words 'private secretary?' Was the person who filled that station to be deemed a cabinet minister, or only an amanuensis, whose duty was little more than mechanical? At present government kept the secret to themselves, unwilling to afford any intelligence upon the subject. In former periods no such office had been required, not even in the reign of king William, whose unceasing attention to public measures was well known, and in whose reign arrangements were made which preserved the liberties of Europe: George the first, a stranger, unacquainted even with our language, had required no such assistance: and those who supported this unconstitutional grant were compelled to shelter themselves under a supposed precedent in the reign of the present king. Here too it would be remembered, that in the early part of the king's reign, when, besides the high functions of a chief magistrate, which his majesty personally executed, he likewise fulfilled the duties of commander in chief: when the royal assent was obtained to every commission that was issued, no such person as a private secretary was ever thought of. He (Mr. Wynne) from the official station he had occupied, had had an opportunity of seeing notes which had been made by his majesty upon every transaction that came under his cognizance, from the year 1784 to 1793. What were the circumstances under which colonel Tay-

lor was at length nominated? It was at a time when his majesty was afflicted with an infirmity which rendered him incapable of longer personally discharging many of his important functions; and although in principle even the nomination was objectionable, yet motives of delicacy had withheld individuals from bringing it under the notice of parliament. He had always understood that the secretary of state for the home department was private secretary to the sovereign. In the reigns of William, and George I. and II. it was so, and it was the duty of that officer to attend the king daily and hourly, if necessary, to receive the royal pleasure, and render him assistance. At the time, however, when colonel Taylor was selected, his majesty had taken a dislike to his residence in London, and it was impossible. What one reason, he begged to be informed, was there for the creation of this new place, with a salary of 2000*l.* a year? He should be answered, that multiplication of public business rendered it requisite. He doubted the fact, especially when the person exercising the sovereign authority laboured under no such calamity as had afflicted his royal parent. He concluded by moving, that there be laid before the house a copy of any instrument by which the right honourable John M^cMahon was appointed private secretary to the prince regent, in the name and on behalf of his majesty; also for a copy of any minute of the board of treasury thereon, directing the payment of the salary attached to the same.

Lord Castlereagh said, that the honourable gentleman had raised this question to a degree of importance which could in no view belong

belong to it. His right hon. friend (Mr Perceval) had never stated his determination to resist this motion, as had been supposed, but merely required that the grounds on which it was to be founded should be pointed out. If, however, in stating those grounds, an opportunity was taken to impeach the appointment itself, his lordship felt it his duty to resist the production of an official document, which could be applied to no other purpose than to form the foundation of a subsequent motion of accusation against ministers, who had advised the appointments to be made. In all the departments of state the secretaries had their private secretaries, to whom important secrets were confided, and yet no objection had ever been adduced against them. It was equally necessary that the prince regent should be provided, not with a fourth secretary of state, but with a *bona fide* private secretary to assist him in those operations of the public service which he could not administer in person. The next question would be, whether, in point of fact, an officer of this description was in truth necessary? and if it were not, the appointment ought to be abrogated. His lordship was not at all convinced by the historical references made to the reigns of William and George I. because the public business had augmented since those periods, in a ratio that was almost incredible. England had not then an army of nearly 300,000 men, or a navy that was maintained to support the masterdom of every part of the ocean. He acknowledged that, although he was not an idle servant of the crown, it would be impossible for him to attend the sovereign, as had been suggested, daily and hourly, and yet be compelled afterwards to attend, per-

haps, during the greater part of the night, in parliament. In the reigns quoted this was not the case; and the modern practice, in a great measure introduced by those who objected to this nomination, had perhaps rendered that very nomination necessary. The arduous duties of the sovereign had augmented in a proportionate ratio, and it now became necessary that assistance should be afforded. The manual aid of some officer was required for his royal highness, who would otherwise be almost overwhelmed with the public documents that would be heaped upon him, and scarcely able to disengage his person from the accumulating pile by which he was encompassed. On these grounds his lordship was convinced that the necessity of the appointment stood upon grounds as solid as its constitutionality. He therefore submitted that the motion ought to receive a decided negative.

A long and spirited debate ensued, and the motion was negatived. The house, however, took the matter up too seriously for ministers to persist in the measure, and they accordingly abandoned it.

April 15. Sir J. Newport moved for instructions to the committee of public expenditure, to inquire into the balance due to the public in consequence of certain public defalcations. In the case of general Delancey, the balance due in March 1806 amounted to 97,000*l.* though in the December of 1804 he had been called upon to make up his accounts. With respect to Mr. Steel, he was glad to learn that the public were not likely to be a sufferer; but still it was desirable that the public should have authentic evidence of that circumstance. With respect to the case of Byrd, Benfield and Co. he understood that the claims upon
the

the interest of the 100,000*l.* advanced to them were still in a course of legal proceeding. With respect to Mr. Hunt, the defalcation amounted to 93,000*l.*; he thought it expedient that the public should know how much of that large sum had been as yet recovered, or was considered as irrecoverable. He wished also to know whether that person's pension was still continued to him, or whether it had been finally withdrawn? The case of the Dutch commissioners, of Mr. Villiers of the marine pay-office, and of Mr. Charles Barnes, called for investigation, as to each of those particulars. Mr. Chinnery's defalcation, he understood, had exceeded 80,000*l.*; and that legal advice having been taken by the bail of Mr. Chinnery, they were considered as exonerated, because there had not been due diligence used on the part of Mr. Chinnery's superiors in office, on the first suspicion upon their parts of the defalcation. The next case had not yet been before the house: it was taken from the 12th report of the board of works of Ireland, and it appeared, that between the years 1796 and 1802, when the office of treasurer to the board of trade was abolished, the sum of 1,835,000*l.* had gone into the hands of the treasurer, and was to this time unaccounted for. The noble lord had been frequently called on to make out his accounts; but the answer uniformly was, that the accounts were in a state of preparation. This was one of the many cases that showed the necessity of the motion with which he should now conclude. The hon. baronet then moved, "That the committee of public expenditure be instructed to examine into the several balances due and owing to the public, by stating the causes of

same, and their opinions thereupon; what part of the same was likely to be recovered, and what was irrecoverable; and also the progress of the proceedings had towards the recovery of same; together with a statement of the adjustments of all such as had already been made up; and also whether the defaulters in each case held any place of trust, emolument, or office, under the crown, or had possessed, or was then in the enjoyment of, any pension under the same:" which was carried.

The hon. Mr. Bennett began by observing, that he could not anticipate any serious objections to the motion which he was about to make. Returns were regularly laid before the house of the number of capital punishments inflicted; and he did not perceive that any greater inconvenience or danger was likely to result from publishing the number of punishments in the army. The punishments to which he now alluded were such as were not generally known; they were inflicted in secret, in holes and corners—(*Hear, hear!*) He repeated it—in holes and corners; because it would not be possible to inflict so much torture and ignominy in the face of the world, without the presence of an army to keep down the indignation of the people. The horrors of the middle passage had led to the destruction of the slave trade; and the horrors of the present system of military punishment, he hoped, would soon lead to its abolition. It was a mode of punishment objectionable, in the first place, because its infliction was arbitrary; in the second, because it varied with the varying powers and feelings of the sufferer; and in the third, because it had been proved to be utterly inefficacious as an example. He concluded, therefore, with

with moving, That there be laid before the house a return of the number of punishments inflicted in the army and in the local militia during the last seven years, up to January 1812, specifying the offences, where committed, and the number of lashes inflicted respectively.

Mr. Manners Sutton conceived, that if the returns were desired merely for the purpose of examining whether there were any cases of abuse, he thought it hardly a fair proceeding; and that the only ground which could induce the house to consent to the motion was the previous production of such cases. It certainly would not be difficult to procure the returns, because, under the excellent system of management introduced and adopted by the commander in chief, the most minute records were preserved. As to the effects of the punishment on the discipline of the army, what better answer could be given than to appeal to the character of that army, and the mutual attachment that prevailed between the officer and the soldier? His great objection to the revival of this discussion was, that it tended to unsettle the military mind, to lead the army to believe that there must be grievances, though to them unknown, which caused the subject to be so often agitated. He felt himself compelled to withhold his assent from the motion.

Sir F. Burdett declared, that when he heard the right honourable and learned gentleman announce his intention to oppose the motion, he had expected to hear rather more cogent reasons for his so doing. He had talked indeed of the necessity of producing some grave case as a foundation for this motion; but he seemed to forget that many such

cases had been already brought before the consideration of the house. He had himself on a former occasion stated the instance of several men who had died at Gibraltar in consequence of flogging, and that several officers who had refused to join in that barbarous proceeding had been dismissed the service, although on their return to this country they were afterwards reinstated on the representations of a distinguished officer, lord Hutchinson, to the commander in chief. He had once mentioned to the house the case of a man of 70, who was condemned for some trivial offence to be flogged. He pleaded that he had been 50 years in the service, he pleaded too the excellence of his general character, and that it was not the pain but the shame, and the shame only, that alarmed him. In the Isle of Wight, no long time ago, a boy of 16 was sentenced to the same punishment, and he pleaded his youth in mitigation. But neither the feebleness of age, nor the indiscretion of tender years, availed against the supposed necessity of making military examples, for example surely was the only object, it could not be said to be improvement. To him it appeared astonishing that men having the forms and feelings of their species, could hear with indifference and coolness the recital of such atrocious cruelties. The situation of the English soldier was at this moment scandalously unprotected; no coroner's inquest sat upon his remains, he was confined where no friend could approach him, to whom he might relate his tale of woe, or from whom he might receive the consolation of a sympathizing concern. The right honourable gentleman talked of no case having been made out; but he would assert, on the contrary, that there

there was a profusion of evidence which he himself was prepared to produce in proof of all he had stated, and all of which concurred to establish one conclusion, that the punishment was inhuman, had been often inhumanly exercised, and was at once repugnant to the dictates of reason, justice, and humanity. The right honourable and learned gentleman, however, treated all this with levity, and betrayed an indifference of manner, and coldness of feeling, that seemed to him utterly inconsistent with a due sense of correct comprehension of the infernal nature of the infliction. He seemed to treat the subject as a boy might be expected to treat the whipping of a puppy dog. He himself looked at it in another light, and in its real colours. He saw it unite a degree of torture with a still greater degree of ignominy and shame, which it was scarcely possible to imagine that human beings could have devised, except from the motive of imitating the supposed torments of the damned. Was it remembered that the instrument of torture was the cat-o'-nine-tails; that when the wretched victim was fixed to the halberts, in order to have the flesh torn from his bones, each separate lash inflicted nine stripes, every one of which was capable of drawing blood from the body! But in his opinion, horrible as the punishment was in point of the bodily torture which it created, its effects upon the moral feelings of shame and honourable pride were still more grievous and deplorable. It was the disgrace, which never could be obliterated, that in his mind formed the most important part of the evil. The hon. baronet remembered to have read a speech of a Mr. (now baron) Masseres, attorney-general of Canada, on the

trial of some officers who had sentenced a soldier of the name of Macdonald to receive 200 lashes, and who, after receiving 170 of them, was carried to the hospital, where, after lingering for four days, he died. In that speech the attorney-general for Canada, referring to an aggravated case, where a consultation had been held how a person who had conspired against his sovereign might be punished with the most severe and lingering tortures, a butcher recommended that he should be flayed, after which he would undertake to keep him alive for three days. This punishment was rejected as too horrible; but the attorney-general observed, that the court-martial in question had in barbarity surpassed the proposition of the butcher, for they had flayed the poor soldier, and kept him in torture for four days! Was it not melancholy, the hon. baronet asked, that the feelings of the crown lawyers of the present day were so different from what was formerly the idea of the attorney-general of Canada? nay, that even in that house there were many men who partook in those so different feelings! When he saw attempts made to baffle all inquiry into the actual state of things, and to throw dust into the eyes of the house, he could not sit still and see such despicable chains fastened on the people. The great benefit to be derived from the present motion, in his mind, was, that it had in view the total abolition of this punishment, which he trusted would be speedily effected. Gentlemen on the other side wished to be esteemed religious: if they believed the Bible to be the word of God, they must agree that this was a punishment forbidden by it. It was a punishment against the policy of the military law itself. It

was

was known in the military code of no other country; and what, he asked, was there in the nature of the English that it should be palatable to them alone? Was it to be endured that the image of God in man should thus be disgraced?

Mr. Wilberforce thought the conduct of the honourable baronet (Burdett) was highly honourable to his feelings. It was with unaffected awe, however, that he approached to any thing like a change in so delicate a business, particularly in the time of war.

Sir Samuel Romilly begged to call back the attention of the house to the question really before them. This was not a motion for the abolition of corporal punishments, but that there should be laid before the house certain papers regarding military punishments. In resisting the production of the paper now called for, gentlemen on the other side did more mischief to the cause they wished to support than any return could effect, however great, as to the number and extent of punishments it contained, which the ingenuity of man could possibly conceive. Must not it go out to the world that they opposed the production of the paper in question, because the number of punishments which it contained must astonish all who perused it? And was not this idea calculated to irritate? It was not the hon. baronet, therefore, who was to blame in making to the house a statement calculated to produce alarm. It was the right hon. gentleman opposite, who told the house, that to produce the paper called for must lead to the abolition of corporal punishment. With respect to the nature of the punishment, it was almost needless to quote the well-known authority of judge Blackstone, who had de-

clared, that, by the constitution of England, simple death, unattended with any circumstances of torture, was the severest punishment that the law allowed; the rack and the knout were unknown; and it remained for us by a refinement of cruelty to drive a man to the very verge of existence, and, when his soul was about to forsake his tortured body, to leap into eternity, he was taken down from the halberts, removed to an hospital, and every means taken to call back life only to be again tortured.—Here the poor wretch was left, his body more at ease, but his mind still upon the rack, reflecting that the faster his wounds healed the nearer he was to the infliction of the remainder of his sentence; that his wounds were only healed by his tormentors that they might again be torn open. It was mere hypocrisy to say that the minds of the soldiers would be inflamed by what passed in parliament; they perhaps would never hear it; and would those be affected who were compelled to witness unmoved the sufferings of their fellow-creatures?—The substitution of death would be comparatively merciful, for individuals had been known to fly into his arms to be shielded from the lash. Under all these circumstances he was of opinion that the account moved for ought instantly to be laid upon the table.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, who was followed by Mr. Brougham in a very eloquent speech in favour of the motion, which was however lost by a large majority.

Apr. 21. Petitions were presented from the catholics of the county of Clare, to the house of lords, by earl Conyngham; from Galway, by the earl of Moira; and from Down, by the marquis of Downshire. Three petitions

petitions were also presented by lord Erskine, from christians of different persuasions, praying for the removal of all disabilities on account of religious opinions.

The earl of Donoughmore began by observing that the petitions which had been presented on the part of the catholic body sufficiently represented the grievances under which they had so patiently laboured, and the redress which they now so constitutionally sought for; they came before their lordships with a firm but respectful appeal to their justice, and required of them, in the name of the public good, that the catholics should be allowed to contribute their strength to that of the empire, by the removal of their present disabilities, and the revival of their suspended rights.—His lordship apologized for bringing the subject again before the house, after a decision already made in the present session, and adduced instances in which changes had occurred to justify this proceeding. If ever, he said, there was a question respecting which change of opinion had been sanctioned by precedents the most weighty and extensive, it was that upon the justice of the catholic claims. In the year 1792 the catholic question might be said to have been scouted by the Irish parliament, the minority in their favour not exceeding 45; and yet the following year, 1793, would be memorable for the first great step made by the Irish legislature towards the emancipation of the Irish catholics; and this too after a series of the most intolerant conduct. The rejection of catholic claims was held out as a signal to all the petty corporations to pour in their addresses, and flatter the prejudices of the hour with effusions of a bigotry best fitted to compliment such pre-

judices. Nor was it to be forgotten that then, as now, the corporation of the city of Dublin took the lead in raising the cry against the rights of their countrymen; but with this remarkable difference, that then they had no inconsiderable portion of followers, but that now all the influence of a government exerting every nerve and sinew to effect their purpose could not succeed in procuring one other corporation throughout Ireland to share with the Dublin corporation the disgrace of such a shameless inconsistency. So much for the infuriate bigotry that had been so long the scourge of Ireland, the stain of England, and the weakness of both! a bigotry that seemed to be consuming away by its own virulence, to be dying under the intense fury of its own essential poisons! never the child of the understanding, but in all ages the offspring of the worst passions the worst of hearts could engender—degrading man into a reasoning brute, where contradictory vices are made, as it were, to clash together, and render him all that is contemptible and formidable, all that is cowardly and ferocious! Their lordships could not but rejoice to perceive how rapidly this odious spirit was hastening to its total extinction. Strong as it was in 1793, it did not influence, it could not overawe the Irish parliament; the act itself was an argument for the principle; the manner in which it had been brought before the Irish parliament was another. It came before them with all the weight and authority of government—why did not the present question come in the same manner before their lordships? He most sincerely regretted that it did not, but he could not as readily explain why it did not. He was aware that formerly his majesty's

jesty's ministers had given way upon this subject, from a respectful deference to the known scruples of a certain illustrious individual. At that period certainly no such message was to be expected, but surely there was no ground for suspecting the existence of any such obstruction now. To whatever might be supposed to be the actual opinions of the prince regent at the present moment upon this question, he knew it would not be parliamentary to allude. But if one might be allowed to argue from what were generally received as the known opinions of the prince of Wales—

Lord Kenyon called the noble lord to order. He thought it highly disorderly to allude to the opinions of any person exercising the royal functions of the realm, or to conjecture what they were; as it was quite unparliamentary to attempt to influence the deliberations of that house, by stating the opinions of the prince regent.

The earl of Donoughmore.—“If the noble lord's patience in hearing me had not been overcome by his excessive zeal to preserve order, he might have learned by this time that I had no intention of saying what he has supposed me to have said. Had the noble lord heard me out, he would have found that I was speaking merely to a point of history, to what history records to have been, at a certain period, the political sentiments of the then prince of Wales—to that, as such, I contend I have a right to speak, and I must beg leave of the noble lord to add, that unseasonable interruptions are not the best means to preserve order. All similar attempts to obstruct my humble efforts in a good cause shall prove as impotent as the present. The catholics have not placed their cause
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in hands that will tamely allow it to be thwarted by interruptions so unseasonable, improper, and disorderly.” He admitted that the noble lord was right in interrupting him, if he had improperly introduced the name of the prince regent to influence the proceedings of that house; but what was the true statement of his argument? He had been reminding the house, that in all former instances of concession to the catholics, a message had come down to parliament from the throne recommending such concession. In the first instance he had been explaining why, in deference to scruples in a certain quarter, such a recommendation could not reasonably have been expected during the last ten years; and from thence he naturally proceeded to inquire why, since such obstruction was now notoriously removed, no message had come down to that house from the prince regent respecting the claims of the catholics? Was that to be characterized as an attempt to influence the deliberations of their lordships? Had he not a right to complain (if he thought it a matter of complaint), that there had been no recommendation in the speech from the throne to consider the claims of the catholics? If the question had come before them thus recommended, they would in all probability have gone into committee. The object of his reasoning, then, was to induce their lordships to agree to discuss the question, rather than to decide upon it; but it could be discussed in committee only; for nearly twenty years that house had not gone into committee upon it; that was, they had for that length of time refused to discuss it; they would now have to carry into the committee the facts, the reasoning and progressive
O truth

truth of twenty years experience. Who could say what prejudices they might shake off in that discussion? and, therefore, why might he not be permitted to lament the loss of that influence which once excited such hopes, and now gave such a keen anguish to disappointment? The catholics of Ireland were justified in expecting such a recommendation from the prince regent. If he was to be interrupted, he must know why. He would not suffer himself to be frivolously called to order. The whole history of the life of the prince of Wales, while a subject, was a tissue of pledges to Ireland. Proverbially confiding as were his countrymen, they had in this instance ample grounds to warrant the utmost limits of their most unqualified and generous confidence. Had they doubted such pledges and assurances, made by an ardent and lofty spirit, they would have betrayed a mean distrust, which their worst enemies never yet ranked amongst their vices. They rested their faith upon solemn pledges gratuitously given, under circumstances the most calculated to make such pledges binding. How those pledges have been since redeemed, will be the province of the future historian to record; but if the history of the past sheds no great lustre on that of the present times, the fault is not in him who compares the facts of either period in order to come at the sober truth. If history be the opposite of eulogy, the historian is not the criminal; it is not the historian who creates the inconsistency, that makes the praises of one part of a man's life the shame of the remainder.—His lordship entered at large into the argument, and showed himself a most eloquent advocate of the catholic claims.

He concluded with saying, "You have two weighty functions to discharge—the one, to conciliate a large and important part of your population, driven by impolicy and rashness to the brink of despair—the other, to deliver the nation from the obstinate incompetency of its present rulers. Happily these duties are not inconsistent one with the other. From his place in parliament the first minister of the regent has informed us, in an authoritative tone, that he has made a compact with the representative of his sovereign, and has obtained from his royal master the rejection of catholic concession as the consideration and the price of his own present and future services. I, therefore, call upon your lordships to acquire for yourselves a double claim to the gratitude of the public, by opening wide the doors of this house to a candid and just consideration of the petitioners' case; and, by the extensive and sweeping benefits of the same healing measure, to redress and wipe away the two great grievances of the state—the exclusion of our catholic fellow-subjects, and the administration of the right honourable gentleman. But we must not be too sanguine in our hopes, nor promise to ourselves the easy accomplishment of an object of such incalculable public benefit. We must expect a hard struggle, and be prepared to encounter a resistance, decided and formidable, from those who have created the mischief, or nursed and brought it to maturity, and who are themselves the great grievance of which we complain. If by such a combination our best efforts should be defeated for a time, it is to the returning wisdom and justice of parliament that the catholics are still to look for ultimate and sure redress.

redress. Persevering with unabated ardour in the pursuit of this their claim of right, I would bid them beware of the suggestions of intemperate counsellors, or yielding too much to the guidance of their own justly-roused and irritated feelings. I would say to them in a voice to which they have been accustomed to hearken without distrust—'Brave and much-injured countrymen' do not take counsel from despair; continue to confide in the unquenchable energies of the British constitution, of which you are the joint inheritors with ourselves, and which all the corruptions of the government have been insufficient to extinguish. The guardians of your rights and privileges are at their post. Except in one solitary instance, the firm phalanx of the friends of the people remains unbroken. Office and emoluments, power and honours the most distinguished, have been professed in vain as the price of political inconstancy, and of a disgraceful connexion with the present administration; formed under auspices the most odious and disgusting, and whose watch-words are—intolerance and religious war. Even the garter itself, that high and eminent distinction, has been put away, as ceasing to be an object of honourable ambition, under the degrading colour of these disastrous times. The catholic cause and the cause of the British empire have been loudly proclaimed by all the great constitutional leaders to be one and the same. Eternal hostility has been sworn against your calumniators and oppressors upon the altar of our common country. The minions of the court have been dragged from behind the throne, and exposed to the view of an insulted public; and the whole system of misrule,

by which this devoted empire is oppressed and goaded, has been denounced to this house by a noble friend of mine (lord Grey) in a strain of masculine and indignant eloquence, which, if equalled at any time, has never been exceeded within these walls. That clumsy combination of vice and bigotry, from which you are now seeking for a deliverance on your own parts, and on that of the suffering community, is composed of materials so wretched in themselves, and held together by a cement which has in its nature so little of what is permanent or binding, that the whole pile exhibits now, almost at the moment of its construction, the obvious principle of decay; and, assuredly, cannot long continue to interpose itself between the representative of the sovereign power and the best interests of the people.' My lords, I will not permit myself to doubt of the salvation of my country, encompassed though it is by difficulties and dangers on every side, and that there is yet in store for this united kingdom a long and a bright train of prosperity and glory. Animated by this consoling hope, I will still continue to recommend patience to my calumniated and oppressed countrymen, for the hour of their deliverance cannot be far removed. My lords, I have done, and have only to express my acknowledgements for the attention with which I have been honoured during so long a trespass upon your lordships' time; and humbly to move you, That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's subjects professing the catholic religion, &c.

His royal highness the duke of Sussex.—My lords, every good subject must respect the law of his country.

country. It is not enough to begin by submitting to them, but it is our duty also to maintain them as long as they exist: this obedience, which must be religiously observed, does not prevent us, however, investigating the inconveniences of laws which, at the time when they were framed, might have been political, prudent, nay, even necessary, but which, from a total change of circumstances and events, may have become unjust, oppressive, and equally useless: Without this freedom of examination, any law, however injurious to the state, would unfortunately remain permanent. If on investigation the subject finds himself aggrieved, his next step should then be to petition the sovereign or both houses of parliament for a redress of his complaints. This is one of the greatest privileges of our glorious constitution, upon which too much stress cannot be laid, as it tends not only to secure the liberty of the subject, but likewise to insure the tranquillity of the state. I am well aware, my lords, that the man who ventures to speak the truth to contending interests, must expect the resentment of the fanatics on both sides—those men who, losing sight of all religion, transfer the name to the secondary objects of their idolatrous doctrines, and veil their polluted politics in the sacred mantle of christianity.—To their resentment I know I am exposed; but the man who feels the *amor patriæ*, who disinterestedly and sincerely has the glory, prosperity and welfare of the nation at heart, should brave the danger, if he thinks he can be of any use; and, arming himself with the courage of a Curtius, plunge into the gulf, should his country and his duty require it of him. Inspired with these sentiments;

fully acquainted with the political causes which placed that branch of the family to whom I have the honour to belong on the throne of these united kingdoms; and professing the religion of the country as by law established, with which I am satisfied; considering it to be the most perfect, as long as I believe and I am convinced that it is the most charitable, I think myself called upon to explain to your lordships the motives and considerations which determine my vote upon this great question. *Homo sum*. I pretend to nothing else but that we ought not to have the hearts of tigers. It is the cause of humanity and of universal toleration that I am pleading, not from indifference to religion, but from a conviction that when governments interfere with religious opinions, instead of protecting they enslave them, which encourages hypocrisy: whereas they should tolerate their errors without approving them; suffering with patience all that their Maker endures from their errors to a far greater degree, and thereby endeavouring, after the example of our Saviour, to bring mankind back by a mild persuasion. If man be prevented from manifesting his religious opinions and tenets, he will either become silent and a stranger to his neighbours, thus rendering himself suspicious to the commonwealth; or he will turn hypocrite by connecting himself with a religion which he abominates, and therefore can have no tie upon him; or he will end by being a freethinker, an atheist, denying the existence even of his Creator; consequently depriving society of that security to which the religion he originally was inclined to profess would naturally have bound him. In tolerating all religions, government becomes acquainted

quainted with their tenets, and of course knows the limits as well as the extent of the pledges requisite for the tranquillity of the state; as also what holds it has or can have upon them. The wisest and soundest policy would leave all religions quietly to themselves, so long as they neither attack morality, nor subvert the public quiet, either by their ambition or their intolerance. Their variety could not fail to produce a rivalry useful as a balance in the scale of power, and an emulation to virtue; for society has no right to exercise its authority over the private opinions of any individual, but merely to notice those acts which may endanger and disturb the regularity and good order of any civilized community. A shade of difference on religious opinions generally gives rise to more acrimony and violence between the parties than a total diversity of faith;—similar to the human heart, which is more liable to pass from love to hatred than from love to indifference. Let christians agree in those points which are admitted on all sides, as much as they differ with respect to private opinions of discipline, and dissention will soon cease. The first law is a law of eternal love, expanding into sentiments of benevolence, and teaching its votaries not only to forgive and forget injuries, but to return kindness for harm, and to do good for evil.—His royal highness gave an elaborate and luminous historical view of the subject, showing the impolicy as well as the injustice of persecuting principles; and then, in reference to our own country, he said, “Our constitution is not made for great, general, and prescriptive exclusions; sooner or later it must destroy them, or they will destroy the constitution. In Magna

Charta it is provided, that no man shall be disseised of his liberties and free customs but by the judgement of his peers or the law of the land, meaning clearly, or some *proved crime tried and adjudged*. Neither heaven nor man has granted a power to punish any one but malefactors; and no one is less open to such an accusation than he who follows the dictates of his conscience. To him it is the oracle of the Divinity; in abiding by its dictates, he imagines to please his Creator: mistaken perhaps he may be, but a mistake is not a crime. We are men and must live among men, and must make and claim merciful allowances for the errors of fallible and peaceable beings; and for that renitency of our nature against coercion, which, if well disciplined and well directed, is in fact the origin of all liberty. Magna Charta regards the civil rights and liberties of the subject, as much a fundamental part of the constitution, as the establishment of the church of England was thought, either in the act of king William or queen Anne. It is not a fundamental part of the settlement at the revolution, that the state should be protestant, without any qualification. In no other country in the world is the religion so peculiarly defined as in this; for till within these few years a signature of 37 out of 39 articles was absolutely necessary for the toleration of any other protestant sect. Now the power that could remove the tests from dissenting protestants, could not exercise it more for the one sect than for the other, and therefore the catholics ought to have been equally included in this relief; for the legislature did not, beyond a doubt, mean to guard the church in one part only, and to leave it defenceless and exposed in every other.

other. There is no disability that affects any other class of dissenters, which affects not equally the Roman catholics; while there are several disabilities to which the latter are liable, that do not in any respect affect the former. I wish clearly to be understood as giving my assent to the prayer contained in the petition; especially when the greatest part of the tenets and ceremonies of both churches are so nearly allied, as to be considered by other protestant sects as sisters of the same family, and ought therefore to be in constant harmony with each other. It is impossible for the legislators, who devise laws, to read in the minds of other men the doubts which may arise concerning the force and sense of some expressions. Hence new acts are constantly made, amending and explaining former laws. Though we have not the same number of sacraments, yet, except one, we observe the forms of all the others; and although auricular confession is not enjoined, it is strongly recommended. And even in our service of the visitation of the sick, the complete absolution of the catholic priest, copied and translated word for word from their ritual, is to be found. This same remark holds equally good with the greatest part of our service. Their canon law is still; in a great measure, the rule of our judications; we have our spiritual, consistorial courts, decrees, and ceremonies from them. We have our subordinate church government, our primates, prelates, archbishops and bishops, deans, prebendaries, canons, and other dignities; dioceses, parishes, cathedrals and common churches, benefices, tithes, perquisites. Easter dues, and free-will offerings. I am certainly not one of those who can admit that dis-

cordance of religion is enough to render men unfit to sit together in public stations. The legislators had better direct their tests against the political principles which they wish to exclude, than to encounter them through the medium of religious tenets. Every day confirms this statement, and shows the inconsistency and impolicy of our system. Did we not send our troops to prop up in Italy what we wish to extirpate, oppress and coerce here? Did we not succour the pope with our fleets and armies? Do we not act with and assist the Portuguese and Spanish catholics, endeavouring to protect them against the grasping ambition of France, which has aspired to monopolize all other powers, or at least to make them subservient to her own political views? What are we fighting for? The maintenance and defence of religion and property all over Europe! Why then, my lords, at the very moment we are making these protestations and exertions, in the same breath our acts at home belie the sincerity of them. My lords, I may be warm on the subject; but I am pleading the cause of some millions of people who are deprived of many rights of citizens, and of course the greatest part of their interests in the constitution to which they were born; which is certainly not conformable to the declared principles of the revolution. I have heard it stated by some, that this was not the moment for granting what they ask: my answer to these persons is, that without limitations, which can only be taken into consideration when we go into a committee,—certainly not. But if it be either a matter of prudence or right, the sooner this act of justice or grace is done the better. My lords, I fear I have trespassed
much

much upon your indulgence; but I could not resist stating my opinions, which are the result of long reflection, and the warm interest I must constantly feel for every class of my countrymen, and for none more particularly than for a respectable and numerous body of men, whom, wherever I have met them, I have constantly found warmly and truly attached to their sovereign and country, in spite of their disabilities: and no one can deny, that civil incapacity is accompanied with disgrace in this life, without even posthumous renown. Whenever I knew of a seminary existing on any part of the continent where I might happen to pass through, I made it a point constantly to visit them; when the most unfeigned marks of devotion and attachment to my family and to their brother subjects was at all times most unequivocally evinced. In many I have observed, and particularly at Rome, the pictures of their magistrates exhibited in their public halls, as an incontestable testimony of their allegiance. These sentiments are the consequence of long and serious inquiries, and have been greatly influenced by deep and religious meditations. Since the last time I ventured to intrude myself upon the attention of this house, domestic calamities and serious indisposition have almost constantly visited me: it is in such moments as those, my lords, when it appears a few instants would separate me for ever from this mortal life, and the hopes of a better console me in the hour of anguish and sorrow, that all prejudices cease, and that man views human events, unbiassed by prepossessions, in their true light, inspired with christian charity, and calmed by a confident resignation to the mercy of the Omnipotent;

at those times, when one may be said almost to stand face to face with one's Creator, I have frequently asked myself what preference I could urge in my favour to my Redeemer, over my fellow-creatures, in whose sight all well-intentioned and inclined men have an equal claim to his mercy. The answer of my conscience always was—Follow the directions of your Divine Master, love one another, and do not to others what you would not have them do unto you. And upon this doctrine I am acting. The present life cannot be the boundary of our destination. It is but the first stage—the infancy of our existence; it is a minority, during which we are to prepare for more noble occupations; and the more faithfully we discharge our duties here below, the more exalted will be the degree of perfection and felicity we may hope to attain hereafter. How should I feel if I were excluded from those civil rights which are denied my fellow-creatures? This is a question that, in my opinion, can be answered but in one way; especially, convinced as I am that civil immunities, guarded by mild and secure boundaries, cannot endanger either church or state. Lost indeed must that church be, whose only existence could depend upon depriving any body, from an adherence to their own opinions, of their liberties and free customs; and reduce them to a state of civil servitude. Should the safety of the church be utterly inconsistent with all the civil rights of the far larger part of the inhabitants of a country, that church would be not only in the most deplorable state, but likewise in the most imminent danger. Such are not however my fears, I confess; and I trust that the time is not far distant, when the good

sense and moderation of all parties will mutually yield, when all exclusive systems will be blotted out from our constitution, and the union of the two countries will not be found merely to exist in an act of parliament, but to dwell in the hearts of every Englishman and Irishman, under whatever civil or religious denomination it may be at present.

The other speakers on this question were, for the committee, the marquises of Wellesley and Downshire; and the lords Byron, Moira, and Grenville: against it, lord Redesdale, lord Liverpool, and the

lord chancellor: but on a division there were,

For the motion	- - -	103
Against it	- - -	174

Majority - 71

On the 23d Mr. Grattan, in the house of commons, made a similar motion, which after two days' discussion was negatived by a large majority, there being

For the motion	- - -	215
Against it	- - -	300

Majority against considering the catholic claims	} 85
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CHAPTER V.

Debate on Mr. Ryder's Motion for a Bill to make it Felony to take or administer unlawful Oaths—on Mr. Brand's Motion for a Parliamentary Reform—Proceedings on the Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Debates on the Necessity of a Change of Ministers—on French Officers (Prisoners) breaking their Parole—on the Marquis of Wellesley's Motion in favour of the Catholic Claims—on the Amendment of the Toleration Act—on Mr. Sheridan's Motion for Papers relating to the Overtures for Peace—on other miscellaneous Subjects.

MAY 5.—Mr. secretary Ryder, in the house of commons, rose to move for leave to bring in a bill more effectually to prevent the administering and taking of unlawful oaths. He said, that notorious as were all the facts connected with the melancholy disturbances in the manufacturing districts, he did not feel it necessary to trouble the house at any length. It would be almost sufficient for him to state, that notwithstanding the laws in force, in a vast number of instances unlawful oaths of a most terrible nature were administered to those who were concerned, not merely in breach of the public

peace, but in the destruction of all kinds of private property, and even in the assassination of peaceable and industrious inhabitants. The house could scarcely form a distant idea of the horrible nature of the oaths prescribed by these lawless depredators; he would therefore read one of them, found upon the person of a man who had been killed in an attack upon the manufactory of Mr. Burton, which the rioters succeeded in burning to the ground. It was couched in nearly these terms:

"I, A. B., of my own voluntary will do declare, and solemnly swear, that I never will reveal to any

any person or persons, in any place or places under the canopy of heaven, the names of any of the persons composing the secret committee, either by word, deed, sign, or by address, marks, complexion, or any other thing leading to the discovery of the same, under the penalty of being put out of the world by the first brother whom I may meet, and of having my name and character blotted out of existence, or never remembered but with contempt and ignominy: and I do further swear, that I will use my utmost endeavours to punish with death any traitor or traitors who may rise up against us: though he should fly to the verge of existence, I will pursue with unceasing vengeance.—So help me God to keep this oath inviolate.”

Such was the dreadful oath these deluded beings had taken, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and Chester; and it was with heartfelt regret, the right honourable gentleman added, that the consequence had been frequent assassinations in districts where this heinous crime was before wholly unknown. As the former statute was passed in total ignorance of the extent to which this offence would in future be carried, he should move that it be amended by making the administering or taking of the oath a capital felony without benefit of clergy, with a provision, however, that if an individual who had taken the oath voluntarily confessed his guilt, previous to his being charged before a magistrate, and swore allegiance to the sovereign, he should be exempted from the punishment imposed. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill to amend the 37 Geo. III. c. 103.

Mr. W. Wynne felt it necessary to state his objections to this bill. The first was, that it was a viola-

tion of the known and admired principle of the English law to distinguish between the intention to commit, and the actual perpetration of the crime. His next objection was, that a law was now in existence which had not been carried into effect, but which he believed would be found adequate to the object in view, which made the administration of an unlawful oath a transportable offence. If the man were to be hanged for taking the oath to commit murder, he could, without subjecting himself to any greater punishment, actually carry his designed assassination into effect, and he had no inducement not to complete the most diabolical purposes. With respect to the proposal, that the offender should not be punished if, he confessed his guilt, and consented to swear himself back again by taking the oath of allegiance, he thought that the public would have very little security that such a person would continue a good subject: his opinion was, that all political oaths were generally inefficacious.

Mr. Horner warmly contended against this new attempt to provide by a special enactment against a political emergency. He acknowledged and regretted the prevalent distresses; a great part of them no policy could remove, but a large portion, he was convinced, was owing to the system of commerce, both domestic and foreign, pursued by the present servants of the crown. It was the imperative duty of parliament, as soon as possible, to remedy the latter. His objections to this new measure were two-fold: 1st, that it was creating a new capital punishment, which painful experience had shown to be wholly insufficient; 2dly, that it was destroying a fundamental principle of English law. The present

was only another instance in which this government, and governments like this, thought they could cure an evil of enormous and increasing magnitude by a few feet of parchment, instead of striking at the root from whence it sprung. He had heard that it was intended to issue a special commission for the purpose of suppressing the alarming disturbances. He thought that such a measure was extremely fit to be adopted; but why, he inquired, was the act of 1798 laid aside? Why was not the commission to be issued on the foundation of that statute? Why were not the effects it would produce ascertained, before a new and sanguinary enactment were resorted to? Until he obtained some satisfactory information on these points, he should feel it his duty to oppose the bill even in its first stage.

A long debate ensued: the motion was carried; and the bill being brought in, was in due course passed into a law.

May 8.—Mr. Brand rose, pursuant to his notice, to submit to the house a motion upon the present defective state of the representation of the country. For himself, he wished to declare, that it was not as the friend of innovation or of speculation that he offered himself then to the attention of the house, but as the zealous and strenuous assertor of the rights and privileges of his countrymen, and therefore he relied confidently on its support. All questions that pointed at reform were, he knew, viewed by many with a certain degree of apprehension; and when such questions were agitated, the people were commonly alarmed, by being told to look at the countries on the continent now prostrate at the feet of a military despot. But, in his opinion, we might pro-

fit by the example of other nations, in the same manner as we profited by their sufferings. Perhaps he should be asked also, why press a measure like that upon the house, when it was notorious that the people at large were indifferent about it? He denied however, that the people were indifferent. Were there not petitions upon their table from the city of London, from the city of Westminster, from the county of Essex, and from other places, praying for a reform in the representation of the country? The necessity of some reformation had been also, in various ways, uniformly and strongly pressed upon their attention. But if such were not the case,—if there existed no such expressions of public opinion upon the subject,—yet certain statements had been made to that house, which loudly called upon it to enter upon the discussion, which in his opinion should make the desire of that reform a natural impulse of patriotism in the bosom of every member, and which rendered it a duty imperative upon the present house of commons, beyond what it had been in any former period. He alluded to what had been stated by a member of that house in his place, that ministers openly and avowedly adopted the most corrupt practices, in order to obtain seats in parliament for those who would vote in support of their measures. At that time statements were made, so notoriously disgraceful, that their speaker himself, with all his great constitutional knowledge, pronounced them to be such, that “our ancestors would have startled with indignation” at them. And yet, notwithstanding these statements, that house had gone on, without effecting any salutary regulation, and leaving the people to form the dangerous opinion, that their representatives

tatives were attentive to their own interests, but utterly regardless of the rights of their constituents. Here the honourable member entered much into detail, as to the defective nature of the representation as it now existed; and having stated the evil, he came to the remedy. Here it was natural to expect that there must be doubt and difficulty: however, he had only to state what, in his humble judgment, appeared to be the measures best calculated to remedy the mischiefs of which he had been complaining. He would say, that generally the leading steps to such measures would be, first, granting to copyholders a right to vote—and, secondly, abolishing the right of nomination so as to generalize the right of voting, and thereby more fairly proportionate the number of representatives to the extent of the population of each place represented. He need not remind the house of the preposterous disproportion which at present existed, where many depopulated, desolate boroughs returned as many members to that house as the whole county of York, while Manchester, Birmingham, and other opulent towns returned not one member to parliament. Great as was his sense of the evils resulting from the present inadequate system of representation, he should yet rather submit to their continuance than propose for them a remedy not to be found in the ancient constitution of this country. The remedy he had suggested was, he contended, to be found in that constitution, and would be rather a restoration than a change. It was idle to say that the extension of the right of suffrage would weaken the influence of property: whether that right was or was not spread out upon

the surface of the population, still property would, must have its natural influence. He would propose then to get rid of nomination, and to throw the representation of the close boroughs into a more enlarged representation of the more populous counties. These boroughs, which Mr. Pitt, in the earlier and purer part of his political life, made such efforts to abolish, were said to amount at that time to thirty-six in number. These, it was well known, were made mere articles of commerce, common conveyances for the transfer of the rights of Englishmen from one borough-monger to another. It had been suggested that these boroughs might be thrown into the hundreds; and as to the objection that the poor voter would be more accessible to corruption than the rich boroughholder, he would wish to know the difference between the poor man taking a bribe of five guineas for his single vote, and the rich man accepting as many thousands for nominating to a seat in that house, unless it was, that in the former case the corruption went no further than the abuse of a single vote, and that in the latter the nominator had for his money a power to dictate to the crown, to the minister, and to the people. One part, therefore, of the plan he had in view was, to bring in a bill for the abolition of those boroughs which were now known to be as common articles of trade as the woollen of which the coats they wore were made. From the abolition of these boroughs, and the consequent appropriation of a more extensive suffrage to the more populous counties, would arise an equalization of members to the different parts of the empire. As to the other part of his proposed remedy, that of admitting

admitting copyholders to the elective franchise, this question had been strongly mooted in the middle of the last century. It was in the course of this controversy that sir William Blackstone wrote his able *Treatise on Copyhold Tenures*, and that eminent authority was clear as to the constitutional right of copyholders to vote. He (Mr. B.) therefore, in proposing that they should be admitted to the elective franchise, was proposing nothing foreign to the ancient constitution. Nomination, however, was the great evil he wished to remedy. Speaking of the conduct of that house historically; there could be no doubt that on many great questions within the last few years it did not speak the sentiments of the people. To give but one instance, that of the Walcheren expedition. The decision of that house had certainly very far from sympathized with the real opinion of the country. He had now stated his plan, and the house would perceive that it was in no way different from that he had submitted two years before. He did not wish to make any innovation, but rather to restore to the constitution what the great innovator, time, had taken from it. As that house was then organised, parties had their respective interest in every contest; but what interest had the people? The spirit of the general contests in that house had little to do with the people. It was, in fact, a struggle between an ancient aristocracy on the one hand, and an opulent borough faction on the other. He wished to give the people the share in constituting that house which the constitution originally meant they should have. As the system at present stood, it could only increase that suspicion and distrust on the part of the

people which was already but too prevalent, and which nothing would more effectually remove than agreeing to the motion he should now have the honour to submit. He again regretted that such a question was to be discussed before such empty benches, and concluded with moving, That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the 31st of Geo. II. as it related to copyhold tenures.

The marquis of Tavistock seconded the motion, which was most ably supported by sir F. Burdett, sir Sam. Romilly, Mr. Whitbread, and sir John Newport. It was opposed by Mr. Elliott, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. W. Ward, lord Milton, Mr. D. Giddy, Mr. Gooch, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Perceval, on the general ground that the house of commons, as at present constituted, represented the whole people already, and that innovation might lead to incalculable evils. Mr. Ward said, that the house spoke the sense of the people, not from day to day, but from period to period;—on the aggregate, and not as momentarily inflamed by ignorance or passion;—and lord Milton entreated the house to pause before they should lay sacrilegious hands on the respectable fabric raised by their ancestors, and to respect in it the work of God, who had inspired the idea for the good of mankind. Mr. D. Giddy, too, maintained that close boroughs were absolutely necessary to the safety of the constitution!

Mr. Perceval observed that much had been said that night upon the increasing influence of the crown, and the present administration were supposed to be the peculiar instruments of that influence. Yet, was it not a little singular, if the influence of the crown was so great as

was pretended, that the gentlemen opposite had been able to defeat the minister by a majority on that very Walcheren expedition? They forced the government to lay the papers upon the table respecting it, which they wished. Not contented with papers, however, they went into an inquiry, and that inquiry opened the eyes of the house.—(*Cheering from the opposition.*)—He maintained, that a most material alteration of opinion was effected by that inquiry. Oh, but then, said the honourable gentleman opposite, if all the placemen had been struck out of the list of those who voted on that inquiry, what would have been the result? Really, if all persons who were in possession of places were to be enumerated in that manner, he thought it would be but fair to set off against them all those who were in expectation of places!—And then he had another request: if all divisions were to be dissected in that way, it should be remembered that only one could hold a place, while many might expect it, and many might long for it; and who could answer for the secret influence of such longings?—so that they were also to be taken into the account: and if all expectants and all possessors were fairly set off against each other, he would at any time be content to go to a division with the remainder.—He should conclude by repeating what he had often said, that with regard to the influence of the crown, he believed it was daily becoming less and less; he meant comparatively with regard to the growing weight of property and intelligence in the country.

[This was the last speech ever made by Mr. Perceval in the house of commons.]

The house then divided; when the numbers were,

For leave to bring in the bill 88
Against it 215

Majority against the motion 127

May 11.—The business in the house of lords was interrupted, and a few moments of silence ensued in the house: all the peers, of whom a considerable number had assembled to proceed with the evidence on the petitions against the orders in council, looking towards the doors. Presently a cry was heard, "Mr. Perceval is shot—Mr. Perceval is shot." A gentleman connected with one of the parliamentary offices rushed in in the utmost agitation and alarm. Most of the peers came to the bar, and the officer mentioned was instantly surrounded both by their lordships and those without the bar, all making the most eager inquiries. [See *Public Occurrences*, p. 76—93, in which will be found a full detail relating to this dreadful business, and which will supersede the necessity of enlarging upon it here. We shall of course only allude to what took place in parliament upon it, and that in a very brief manner.]

May 12.—Lord Castlereagh in the house of commons brought up a message from the prince regent, which was as follows:—

"GEORGE P. R.

"The prince regent, deeply impressed with the severe loss his royal highness and the country have sustained, in consequence of the murder of the right hon. Spencer Perceval, and being desirous of marking his sense of the public and private virtues of Mr. Perceval, and of affording relief and assistance to his numerous and afflicted family, recommends to the house of commons to enable his royal highness, in the name and on behalf of his majesty,

majesty, to make such provision for the widow and family of the right hon. Spencer Perceval, as to the justice and liberality of the house may seem proper."

The message being read by the speaker,

Lord Castlereagh rose and said, he was sure he only anticipated the feelings of the house, and of the empire, in stating, that never had any transaction so painful to the feelings of every man of common humanity occurred in that house. Whatever proposition, arising out of this transaction, originated in that house, he was aware would have been made with much better effect by his right honourable friend (Mr. Ryder). His right honourable friend's feelings, however, being too painfully affected at present to enable him to address the house, he hoped it would not be deemed presumption in him to undertake the task. He should certainly feel uneasy at the idea of such a task being placed in his hands, if any ability were wanting to stir up the feelings of the house or of the country on the present occasion. Every one, however, who possessed the feelings of an Englishman must concur in sentiments of abhorrence against such a deed as that which had been recently perpetrated—a deed disgusting to every man of common feeling, revolting to the first emotions of nature, and, happily, almost unheard of in this country. If any thing more were wanting to induce the house to concur in the proposition which it was his duty to submit to them, let them recollect the private virtues of the right honourable gentleman who was now unfortunately no more, and of whose services the country had been deprived by so abominable and diabolical an act. The house were called on to con-

sider, that by this act one of the servants of the public had lost his life, and that too on account of a conscientious discharge of his public duty, by which he had drawn on himself the revenge of his assassin. It was his lordship's duty to mention to the house, that after the best consultation which government had been enabled to hold on the subject, they had the satisfaction to find that the atrocious act proceeded in consequence of an insulated fact unconnected with any public system of government; and that whatever reproach the commission of such an offence might be supposed to bring on the national character, the act itself was confined to the individual by whom it was perpetrated. This being the case, he had only to call on the house to take into their consideration what it was proper and becoming in them to do, in the case of a servant of the crown who had been deprived of his life for a conscientious discharge of his public duty. Whatever difference of opinion there might have been between his right honourable friend and some gentlemen in that house, he was convinced there was not one who did not give him credit for the sincerity of his principles, and for the conciliating nature of his disposition at all times. An enemy to his right honourable friend, as an individual, he was convinced could not be found. He was, from all these considerations, induced to anticipate that there would be no opposition to the grant which he should afterwards have to propose. He held it to be a public principle, that so long as persons were the servants of the crown, unless they had done something to deprive them of that sanction, they were to be considered as under the protection of parliament; and if they, in the discharge

discharge of their public duty, incurred the resentment of malignant individuals, there would on all such occasions be a disposition in parliament to support them. In doing so his lordship thought the house was only discharging, in the strictest sense, what they owed to the country. The motion which he should now have to submit to the house, should only go to recognise the principle, that the house would enable his royal highness the prince regent to make such provision for the family of his right honourable friend as should seem to the house to be necessary and consistent.

Mr. Ponsonby felt the greatest anxiety to have it in his power to second the motion now submitted to the house, thinking, as he did, that the interest and character of the country and the honour of the house were concerned, in showing that there was no difference of opinion on such a subject as the present; but that men of every description, and of every political sentiment, concurred in expressing the most marked indignation at such an atrocious act as that which had so recently been perpetrated. One of the greatest privileges enjoyed in this country was the freedom of expressing our opinion upon all subjects; but if such horrid acts were to be perpetrated, this country could be considered as little better than those where despotism prevailed. Happily the noble lord had been able to state that the national character was not implicated, and that the atrocious act did not extend beyond the unhappy criminal who had been vile enough to perpetrate it. Whatever differences of opinion might exist on any one subject, every man had a right to entertain his own opinions, to express what he felt, and to act accordingly: and

if any man was to suffer for a conscientious discharge of his duty, there was not a man in England who was not bound to assert the principle, that he was entitled to be protected, and that the house was bound, as far as the nature of the case would admit of, to remunerate his family for the loss they might have sustained.

Mr. Canning hoped that it would be unnecessary in him to offer any apology to the house, if, even after the just and eloquent tribute which had been already paid to the memory of Mr. Perceval, he was still anxious to offer the expression of his full and cordial concurrence in every part of those acknowledgements.

Mr. Whitbread said, that having throughout been a marked and determined political antagonist of the right honourable gentleman, he did not think it would be becoming in him not to say, that he cordially concurred in granting to the family of that right honourable gentleman the only compensation for his loss, which it was in the power of the house to make. That it was impossible there could be a man more distinguished for his private virtues, every person acquainted with the right honourable gentleman admitted, and was anxious to declare. Among his public virtues, the right honourable gentleman had one, which he (Mr. Whitbread) begged to mark, for the benefit and example of posterity. The right honourable gentleman had uniformly displayed a most perfect and unceasing control of temper in that house. He (Mr. Whitbread) hoped, that beyond the door of that house he had never on any one occasion carried a feeling of resentment or displeasure against any one of its members; against the right honourable gentleman he had ever found

found it impossible to carry such a feeling even so far as the door.

The motion for the address was then put, and carried *nem con.*

May 19.—Lord Castlereagh moved for the appointment of a committee to frame an answer to the message of the prince regent, respecting the murder of Mr. Perceval, pursuant to the resolution of the preceding day, which resolution he proposed should be referred to the committee.

Sir F. Burdett said he had no opportunity, on the preceding day, to express those feelings in which he, in common with every member of that house, participated. On such an occasion he rose, not to oppose the motion of the noble lord, but merely to express his abhorrence of, and horror at, the assassination of the late chancellor of the exchequer. There was no room for any feeling but one, on such an occasion; and that feeling all must wish should be conveyed to the sovereign, unallayed by any other. It was impossible that this feeling, on a subject which concerned the safety of every man in the nation, should not be carried with unanimity to the throne; it would, in his opinion, be an unworthy act to mix any other feeling with it. It was natural, and indeed it ought to be so, for such a feeling to put an end, for a time, to every difference of opinion. Saying this, however, he by no means precluded himself from taking any line of conduct which he might feel it to be his duty to take, after they got into the committee, when he heard the amount of the grant to be proposed. That he might not be so precluded from doing that which hereafter he might conceive it to be his duty, by concurring as strongly as any man in the motion, and as sincerely lamenting and abhorring the atrocious

transaction which had led to it, was the object he had in view, in offering his sentiments to the house.

The motion was then agreed to, and a committee appointed.

On the motion of lord Castlereagh, the house now resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of making provision for the family of Mr. Perceval.

Lord Castlereagh having yesterday ascertained the sense of the house on the considerations growing out of the late melancholy event, felt it would now be unnecessary for him to take up the time of the committee by going into the subject at any great length. It was only necessary to submit to their consideration the regulations necessary for carrying into effect what they had yesterday unanimously resolved to do, with an expression of feeling which would never be forgotten by those who were present, and which was as creditable to that house as it was honourable to the country. In the course of what he had stated yesterday, he had only endeavoured to draw the attention of the house to one consideration—to that of making the grant of such a nature, that the advantages resulting from it should not go from the family on the death of one or two individuals of that family. It might hardly be necessary to state, that in addition to the widow of Mr. Perceval, there were twelve children to provide for. The house would feel that such a provision ought to be made as would enable those to whom their education was intrusted, to provide for them in some measure according to the rank, talents, and character of their father. It had been thought by his majesty's government, that in making the proposed provision, it would be desirable, in the first instance, to vote a grant of
a sub-

a substantive sum of money, as, if no provision were made but by an annuity, the death of the individual on whom the annuity was settled might leave the children unprovided for before they attained years of maturity. He should, therefore, first propose the grant of a sum of money for the support and education of the children, meaning afterwards to move a grant, by way of annuity, to Mrs. Perceval. When they looked to the family which Mr. Perceval had left, it must be seen, that the sum was necessary to place the individual of it in that situation which could be wished; but it might be doubted if this could be done consistently with that economy which it was necessary should be consulted by government in the present situation of the country. On this point government were controlled, not only by the considerations of economy to which he had referred, but by the family of Mr. Perceval, whose wish it was, that whatever was done on the subject might be framed on a scale calculated to conciliate the approbation of all parties. The house, while making a provision for Mr. Perceval's family, would feel that, though bound to consult economy, they could have no wish to make a grant that was wholly inadequate to the purpose for which it was made, which would be in some sort superfluous, as it would not mark the act which they deplored with that sense of public feeling which it was desirable should be expressed, to convey a proper lesson to posterity, and, if possible, to prevent the recurrence of a similar calamity. The amount of the sum which it had occurred to government it might be proper to grant in money, was 50,000*l.* to be appropriated to the use of Mrs. Perceval in the first instance, and

afterwards to be divided among the children, under such regulations as the house might think necessary. With respect to the provision to be made for Mrs. Perceval exclusively, he conceived that a smaller annuity than 2,000*l.* per annum would not be suitable to the situation of life in which she was placed. These were the propositions which he had to submit to the committee. He thought it unnecessary to detain them longer, and should therefore move, "That a sum not exceeding 50,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, to be vested in the hands of trustees, for the twelve children of Mr. Perceval, and to be applied in such manner as his majesty, or the prince regent in behalf of his majesty, should direct." The noble lord thought it necessary to state, that the provision which Mr. Perceval had left for his family was so moderate, that it would not enable Mrs. Perceval to live in the manner required by her situation; and it was also proper to state, that his family were at present in possession of no income arising out of the fruits of his exertions. It must be known to them all, that from the period of his becoming a servant of the crown he had devoted the whole of his time to the public service. His family had therefore nothing now but Mrs. Perceval's family fortune, which was such that, if distributed at Mrs. Perceval's death, it would not be sufficient to furnish the means of enabling her children to enter into any profession suitable to their rank in life.

The resolution having been read, Mr. Home Sumner declared, that the sum of little more than 4000*l.* each to the children was wholly inadequate. He appealed to every father who heard him, whether it was possible to educate

a child for that comparatively trifling sum?—The very expenses of clothing and nutriment at home, from his infancy, would exceed that amount. Such a grant would really be putting the children barely above want—Was such the situation in which Mr. Perceval's labours would have left them if he had pursued his profession? Had he not, for the service of his country, deserted the service of his family? At a time when he had attained the loftiest eminence in the law, he might have died possessed of a large fortune. He held the high office of attorney-general, and, had a vacancy occurred, he would have been exalted to the high station of a chief justice or a chancellor.—Was it to be believed that in such a case the situation of his family would not have been incomparably more affluent than under the present circumstances he had left them? By the vote proposed, the house was not acquitting the debt it owed to Mr. Perceval. He would long live in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of every man, and his family ought not to fall. He (Mr. Sumner), instead of this paltry proposal, would have wished to have seen the house, with a warmth of feeling that became it, address the throne, praying the prince regent to exalt in rank the representative of Mr. Perceval.—He should have thought it but justice that the same provision should have been in this case made, which parliament had recommended in other instances of signal public services, that an annuity should be given for one or two lives. The least that could be done, he should think, was to have appropriated 6 or 7000*l.* to each of his children. The house was not called upon to do an act of generosity but of justice, and it

would degrade itself in the eyes of the world, if it were guilty of such unworthy parsimony.

Mr. Wilberforce, while he entirely participated in the feeling which dictated the last speech, differed in the opinion it expressed. He admitted that it was not possible to consider the vote suggested an adequate remuneration:—in point of value it was not, perhaps, one-millionth part of the worth of Mr. Perceval. However opposite might be the political opinions of many, none ever refused to pay a merited tribute to the private character of that great man: they acknowledged the rectitude of his motives, however erroneous they might deem his views. In considering a subject of this nature, another subject was to be taken into view—the necessity of showing in what estimation virtue was held, that others, seeing the reward it received, might be induced to walk in the paths his late right honourable friend had so long trodden. No man was more disposed to allow that differences of sentiment in his adversaries arose from the purest conviction; and no man was disposed to step further to reach the hand of conciliation. It was highly desirable that a vote of this kind should be unanimous; and he trusted that gentlemen would abstain from resistance on this occasion, although on others the delicacy of their conscientious scruples might lead them to dissent. However unanimous the house might be in the propriety of most amply providing for Mr. Perceval's family, it should be recollected that in the country his political opinions had many strenuous opponents, who might think too large a sum wholly misapplied. When the noble lord was censured for proposing the vote in question, the difficult and painful situation

situation in which he was placed ought not to be forgotten. He had to consider, on the one hand, their reverence for the public measures of his deceased friend, and the private attachment to his person and family; and on the other, he was to pay regard to the general sense of the nation, and to the propriety of obtaining an unanimous vote. All things taken into view, he (Mr. Wilberforce) thought that the just medium had been discovered. Having long known and as long valued and admired Mr. Perceval, he wished to bear his public testimony to his virtues. Although he had frequently felt it necessary to differ from him, he could declare, with perfect sincerity, that of all the men he (Mr. Wilberforce) had ever known, he had never been acquainted with a single individual who appeared so instinctively to obey the impulse of duty. He had known him nearly thirty-five years, and he had often said in private what he would now repeat in public, that he never saw an individual placed in such a high and dignified situation, who so instinctively obeyed the impulse of duty and conscience. One of the highest tributes that could be paid to man, had been given last night by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Whitbread). It did equal honour to the individual who spoke it, and to the individual of whom it was uttered. With natural liveliness of temper, and a great flow of wit, he never had said any thing that could give the slightest sensation of pain beyond the moment. He (Mr. Wilberforce) had heard Mr. Perceval frequently speak of those who had treated him with unkindness or injustice, but any other person was willing to go further in their censure than he was inclined; he seemed to be ever on

his guard in that particular, by the spontaneous result of nature, and not by the forced contrivances of art. A man of more real sweetness of temper—a man more highly blest by nature, was never known, or one in whom goodness of disposition was more deeply rooted. On the whole, as the sum recommended by the noble lord was most likely to ensure the approbation of all, Mr. Wilberforce thought it better that a little violence should be done to the feelings, rather than object to it; it was, in truth, a higher question than any that concerned a few thousands. The family would doubtless be much more highly gratified in obtaining a smaller, frank, warm, and unanimous vote, than in receiving a larger amount, which might be deemed, even by a few, unnecessary and improper extravagance.—The debates on this subject were renewed several times, when at length it was agreed that Mrs. Perceval should have 50,000*l.*, and 2000*l.* a year for her life: that the eldest son should immediately have 1000*l.* per ann. for life, which on the death of his mother should be increased to 2000*l.* a year. A public monument was also voted to the memory of the deceased minister.

May 21.—Mr. Stewart Wortley stated, that an administration was on the eve of being formed, which, so far from being able to conduct the government of the country in any way conducive to the safety and prosperity of the empire and their own honour, there was every reason to apprehend would only serve to plunge us deeper into those difficulties from which they were utterly unable to rescue us. Thus feeling, and satisfied as he was that the persons about to be called in did not possess the confidence of the country,

try, he should call upon the house to address his royal highness the prince regent, praying him to form an efficient administration.—Mr. Wortley, after stating that he had always been in the habit of supporting Mr. Perceval's administration, and that he was actuated in his present conduct solely by a sense of public duty and of public danger, moved, "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take such measures as are best calculated to the promotion of a strong and efficient administration."

Mr. Eyre opposed the motion as unconstitutional, as it was calling upon the house to interfere with the royal prerogative in the undoubted right of the crown to choose its own servants: he therefore moved that the house should proceed to the orders of the day.

Lord Milton said, that the motion was perfectly constitutional, and that the present ministers had admitted their own incapacity by applying to others for aid.

Sir Francis Burdett was of opinion that no change of men would be productive of lasting benefit without a total change of measures. The only administration fitted for the present awful situation of affairs was one that was pledged to the application of the national resources to national objects only,—that was pledged to the free admission of all their fellow subjects to every political advantage, independent of their conscientious adherence to any of the sects of christianity,—and above all, that was pledged to a fair and constitutional reform of the representation of the people in that house. The nation had now witnessed all sorts of administrations; those possessing, as it was said, all the talents,

and those excluding all the talents. They had been headed too by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and yet our situation had every year proved worse. The same system had been persevered in, which had served only to augment our burthens and increase our evils. Considering all this, he should propose an amendment expressive of the necessity of his royal highness naming an administration founded on the principles he had laid down.

Mr. Wilberforce thought that the proposed motion was an unconstitutional one, and should therefore resist it. It would be proper to wait, in order that the house should be able to judge of the measures to be pursued, of which they were in ignorance.

Mr. Ward said, they had been lately told that in Mr. Perceval all the deficiencies of the administration were supplied, such were his talents and popularity. If such were the case, it was not a little curious, that having lost such a head, the administration could hope to go on with any success. Their late attempt to form a coalition with a noble marquis and a right honourable gentleman, he considered as a most insincere one,—a mere pretext, intended to afford them an opportunity of remaining in office without any addition to their strength; for they had invited those persons to surrender all their principles, character, and pledges. It was the duty of the house to interfere on such an occasion with their advice.

Mr. Ryder was convinced that such a proceeding would be most unconstitutional. He was not now a member of the government, but he knew that the offers made to his right honourable friend had been made with perfect sincerity. As to the capability of the noble lord now

at the head of the government (lord Liverpool), he would only state, that Mr. Pitt had declared, some time previous to his death, that there was not a man in the ranks of opposition better qualified for the management of public affairs, with the exception only of Mr. Fox.—He could not believe it possible that the house would agree to a motion, which went to show that all those measures it had hitherto approved, as essential to the glory and security of the empire, were in reality detrimental to its best interests.

Mr. Canning, after alluding to the offers just made to him, proceeded to support the motion. In compliance with the scruples of his venerable sovereign, he had not pressed the catholic question on a former occasion; but what he had yielded to the conscience of the king, he should not yield to the convenience of ministers. He saw no disposition in them ever to support the catholic claims: instant concession he was not in favour of; all he wanted was, that those claims should be seriously considered by government, with a view of conceding all that could be conceded with safety.

Lord Castlereagh did not deny the right of the house to interfere with its advice to the sovereign, but the grounds should be well weighed previously. The members of government had been sincerely anxious in their attempt to gain additional strength; and if they had failed, were they to blame?—Would they have acted with common courage or propriety, had they abandoned their posts because the hand of an assassin had deprived them of the services of Mr. Perceval? As for his own part, he had tendered his resignation, in order that no ob-

stacles should stand in the way of any arrangement his royal highness might think proper to make. That offer was not accepted, and he conceived it his duty to stand by the sovereign in a moment of difficulty.—As to the catholic question, he again averred, that though the catholics did support the union from an understanding that something should be done for them, yet no pledge had been given by government. The war in the peninsula was conducted on the greatest possible scale. The present motion would only serve to throw a discredit on the administration, when there was little prospect of forming a better.

After some further debate, a division ensued, when the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of four, there being 174 for it, and 170 against it.—A motion was then made, that the address should be carried to the regent by such members of the house as were privy counsellors. This was opposed by ministers, and negatived by a majority of two.—It was then proposed that the mover and seconder (Mr. Wortley and lord Milton) should carry up the address; which was carried.

May 22.—Mr. Stewart Wortley and lord Milton appeared at the bar. A perfect silence prevailed.—Mr. Wortley stated, that he had waited on his royal highness the prince regent, in pursuance of the order of the house, and laid before him a copy of their late resolution; when his royal highness was graciously pleased to answer as follows:—"I shall take into my serious and immediate consideration the resolution now laid before me by the order of the house of commons."

House of lords, June 3.—The duke of Norfolk.—Previous to the adjournment of the house, I wish, my lords, to ask a question of the noble earl (Liverpool) opposite. If, however, the noble earl, who appears to be acting in the important station which we all know he held, is still minister, and likely to continue so, I have no question to ask of him. If also he is no longer a minister, I have no question to ask of him; but if he is only minister for two or three days, until his successor is appointed, then I wish to have some information as to the present situation of public affairs.

The earl of Liverpool.—My lords, in answer to the question put by the noble duke, I have to state to this house, that I am in the same situation in which I was last Friday se'nnight, and that, in consequence of a well-known event that then took place, I am only continuing in that situation until his royal highness the prince regent shall be graciously pleased to signify his pleasure as to any future arrangement.

The marquis Wellesley.—Although, my lords, I have not been personally called upon, I still feel it my duty to state to this house the share which I have had in the transactions which have recently taken place, with a view to the forming of some arrangement to meet the alarming difficulties of the present crisis. My lords, his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, was graciously pleased to lay his commands upon me to state to his royal highness my opinion with a view to the formation of an administration. In obedience to those commands I stated to his royal highness my opinion with all that deference which is due to his exalted rank,

but at the same time with all that freedom which, I humbly contend, it is a duty that a privy counsellor owes to his sovereign and the country to use. I have this day tendered to his royal highness my resignation of the authority which his royal highness was pleased to vest in me with a view to the arrangement of an administration; which resignation his royal highness has been graciously pleased to accept. My lords, I deeply lament that the most dreadful personal animosities, that the most terrible difficulties, arising out of questions the most complicated and important, should have interposed obstacles to prevent that arrangement which it was so highly desirable, which it was so essential to the interests and the welfare of the country, to make. That such personal animosities and such difficulties should have prevented the so much wished-for, the so highly desired and desirable arrangement, at so arduous and perilous a crisis, is indeed most deeply to be deplored. In consequence of these results, I humbly solicited of his royal highness permission, and his royal highness was graciously pleased to give me full authority to state to this house, if your lordships shall desire it, all the circumstances attending the progress of this transaction in which I have had any share. But, my lords, if I may be permitted to advise your lordships, that advice is, not to call for such a disclosure, convinced as I am most fully, that in the present situation of the country such a disclosure would be highly mischievous to the public interests. If, however, your lordships command me to make the disclosure, I shall feel it my duty, and am ready to make it; but allow me again to advise your lordships not to call for it, under a full conviction

conviction that, at the present crisis, it would be highly mischievous.

Lord Grenville.—My lords, in agreeing in opinion as to the impropriety, at the present moment, of calling for the disclosure alluded to by the noble marquis, I may be permitted to state, that in the little share which my noble friend near me, and myself, have had in the transaction referred to, we have nothing to disguise, nothing to conceal, nothing that we shall not be anxious should be publicly stated, whenever the proper moment for so doing arrives. After stating this, little else remains for me to say; nor should I have risen upon the present occasion, had it not been for the allusion made by the noble marquis to dreadful personal animosities, which had interposed obstacles in the way of a wished-for arrangement. My lords, for my noble friend and myself, I can most distinctly say, that we were actuated by no feeling of animosity, by no personal feeling whatever; that we were actuated by nothing but a feeling for the public interests, a desire for the public welfare, and an anxiety to set aside every other consideration save those which arose out of public principles and public interests; and I do most distinctly disclaim any of those feelings of personal animosity to which the noble marquis has alluded.

The earl of Moira.—Whilst I fully agree, my lords, in the opinion which has been expressed, that it would be highly mischievous and improper to make the disclosure alluded to by the noble marquis, I cannot but most deeply lament the unfortunate turn which this negotiation has taken. It has been my office, my lords, in the course of this negotiation, to be the humble instrument of conciliation; and

it has been my earnest endeavour to smooth those difficulties which unhappily interposed obstacles in the way of an arrangement so highly desirable in the present crisis of our fate; but I deeply lament to state, that differences and estrangements have rendered those endeavours unavailing. My lords, I believe, nay, I have no doubt, that persons who interpose those obstacles have convinced themselves that they possess a conciliatory disposition, and that they have induced their own minds to believe, that what they urge is a fundamental principle of the constitution. I cannot, however, but lament that points of form should stand in the way of a conciliation, and an arrangement which is so essential to the interests and the welfare of the country; but I am satisfied that it is all misapprehension, that nothing but misapprehension stands in the way, and I trust that before the house meets again some arrangement will be made satisfactory to the country.

Earl Grey.—My lords, I cannot but think that the noble lord who has just sat down has in some degree overstepped the line which other noble lords have thought it right to adopt, in regulating their conduct upon this occasion. I am thoroughly aware, my lords, of the anxiety of that noble lord in the service of the prince who now possesses the sovereignty, and of his zeal for the public interests; and it is to these motives alone that I attribute his having, in my opinion, overstepped the line observed by others upon this occasion. My lords, the noble earl (Moira) has spoken of points of form interposing obstacles in the way of the proposed arrangement. I am anxious to remove any misapprehension

which may arise from this expression; and I trust your lordships will give me credit when I state, that in the little share which my noble friend and myself had in this transaction (only since last Monday) we were not actuated by any consideration of points of form, but by that of principles, which, if not fundamental to the constitution, are at least essential to the existence of a government, with a view to the interests and the welfare of the country. I am also anxious to remove any misapprehension that may arise from an expression used by the noble marquis, and which I confess I do not exactly understand. The noble marquis has spoken of 'dreadful personal animosities' interposing obstacles in the way of the proposed arrangement. I trust that your lordships will give me credit when I state, and that the noble marquis will do me the justice to acknowledge, that in the little share I had in this transaction I was not actuated by any feeling of personal animosity, but actuated alone by public considerations, arising out of my conviction of public principles, and my view of public interests—(*the marquis Wellesley nodded assent, and called Hear, hear!*) My lords, such considerations alone actuated my conduct in this transaction; and when the proper time arrives for that conduct to be known, such will be proved to be the fact: the present period, I am fully satisfied, is a most unfit moment for making the disclosure.

The question for adjourning till Friday was then put and carried.

In the house of commons Mr. Canning said: Having been the channel of communicating to the house on Monday the circumstance that a noble friend of mine, marquis

Wellesley, had on that day received authority from his royal highness the prince regent to proceed to the formation of a new administration, I feel it incumbent upon me this day to state to the house, being in possession of the information, that my noble friend has this morning resigned that authority again into the hands of his royal highness. I shall accompany this disclosure with no observation, unless I might be permitted earnestly to deprecate discussion, which can be productive of no good, and may lead to great mischief by kindling animosities, which are certainly not wanted to add to the embarrassments of the country. Being now, however, in possession of the information, and having been on the former day the channel of communication of the one fact, I thought I should be guilty of something like delusion if I had not communicated the other.—Adjourned.

June 5.—Earl Moira said, My lords, I rise to discharge a duty which a noble marquis, whom I regret I do not see in his place, had he been present, I am convinced, would have been anxious to perform; but it concerns a subject of such unprecedented importance, that I could not persuade myself to defer it beyond the present moment. The house will perfectly recollect an expression employed by a noble marquis (Wellesley) on a former night, in which he alluded to *dreadful personal animosities*, which he complained had existed: I am convinced that the phrase he employed escaped his lips without having particular relation to any individual; but it went forth to the public, and an application has been made of it of a most mischievous nature. From what passed here on the same evening it was found difficult

fault, if not impossible, to apply to any noble lord present; and it has been construed as pointing to the highest quarter, and of course it is calculated to produce the most baneful effect on the public mind. It is to rebut most directly any such insinuation that I now obtrude myself upon your lordships' notice. Could it for a moment be intended, that dreadful personal animosities were felt by the exalted personage who now fills the station of a father to his people? My lords, from my long experience of that most distinguished personage, and from what I have recently witnessed of his disposition towards all classes of his countrymen, I venture to state, that nothing could be more unfounded, nothing could be more unjust, than such an assertion. I am certain, that if the noble marquis could have imagined that the expression he used would have been thus perverted, he would without hesitation have recalled it before he quitted the house. In the transactions to which these words had reference, I have to state most distinctly that nothing of that quality existed; and that in the projected formation of the cabinet, as on the one hand the illustrious personage to whom I have alluded never did suggest one individual as a fit member, never did shackle or confine the authority given by him to the marquis, and never did make the reservation of a single seat to be filled upon subsequent consideration; so, on the other hand, there never was a stipulation for the exclusion of any person of any description; but that the fullest powers were given to the noble lord commissioned to form the cabinet, to lay before the prince regent the most beneficial plan that could be suggested for the establishment of a government competent

to discharge the public functions of the nation in the present most awful crisis. Having stated thus much in explanation, I do not wish now to enter upon other topics that may provoke discussion; but I beg it to be understood that I am perfectly ready, when called upon, to go more fully into the general subject; but, from what occurred on a preceding evening, I imagine that I shall be allowed to act on my own discretion. I am, however, in the command of the house, and I shall, if it be required, give any information that I have it in my power to communicate. At present I apprehend that I have discharged my duty to the country, in explaining an expression which, from misconstruction, had been applied to the most injurious purposes.

Lord Grenville.—It would, my lords, have been far more satisfactory to me, if my noble friend, who has just resumed his seat, had confined his statement to the single point of assuring you of a fact which I trust none doubt; that whatever discussions may have taken place, and whatever conduct may have been pursued, with regard to recent transactions, nothing is to be ascribed to motives of personal animosity. I agree with my noble friend, that the phrase employed by the noble marquis on a former night is to be considered as an expression incidentally dropping from him, and to which so much importance is not to be attached as it seemed to claim, and as it naturally received. This statement I give as my belief, and I should have contented myself with re-asserting what I told the house on Wednesday, and what I am sure every man who has witnessed any part of my conduct, or that of my noble friend behind me (earl Grey), would give us credit for; that in
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the course of these transactions, whether our decision were or were not dictated by a true sense of constitutional principles, whether it were or were not dictated by a just view, as I continue to think, of the nature of the proposition made to us, throughout the whole of our conduct the faintest appearance of personal animosity is not to be traced, nor indeed did it exist in our bosoms towards any individuals who could by possibility be concerned in the arrangements in agitation. I have before disclaimed, and I do now again solemnly disclaim, so unworthy, so dishonourable a feeling, unfit to have place in the minds of public men at any period, but above all most unfit to have place in the mind of any man who entertains the design of partaking in the administration of the affairs of the country at this awful and momentous crisis. Had my noble friend confined himself to an explanation merely upon this subject, I should not have felt the smallest disposition to trouble the house on the present occasion with a single word; for I concur with him that at this moment it is desirable that all discussion upon the general question should as much as possible be avoided; but I cannot help remarking that, although I doubt not my noble friend's understanding, I think he has asserted what is by no means correct. I must take leave to state, that the impression made upon my mind by an official and authorised paper, which I was called upon to consider, is completely at variance with that which he has expressed. It was distinctly notified to me in that document, that the prince regent had signified his royal pleasure as to the persons who should fill particular offices. Four individuals were expressly named, and the

places they should occupy as members of the cabinet pointed out in the written proposal that was submitted to my inspection. It is necessary for me to give this explanation, because upon that understanding of the words, to my mind obvious and unequivocal, rested the decision which I felt myself compelled to form. I sincerely regret that the noble marquis principally instrumental in these transactions is not now present to state to the house his construction of the terms employed, thus affording an explanation equally important to himself and to the country.

Earl Moira.—You must, my lords, be sensible, that were I to discuss the subject alluded to by my noble friend who last addressed you, I should enter upon an investigation as impolitic as laborious and irregular, because it is impossible that the house should be able to exercise a mature judgement, or to form a deliberate opinion, when there are no facts before it to afford the requisite information. It would be the more improper, in the absence of the individual who is most materially and immediately concerned. With respect, however, to the conduct of the noble marquis, I would observe, that in my humble judgement it is impossible that any man placed in a situation of such difficulty could have conducted himself with more high honour or more delicate uprightness.

Earl Grey.—It is far from my wish to prolong any discussion on this subject, in the state in which at present it stands, and I should certainly have done what my noble friend (lord Grenville) stated to be his intention, namely, abstained from troubling the house with a single word, if the statement made by the noble earl who spoke last had not placed

placed me in a situation where it was necessary to clear myself at least from misapprehension. It is unquestionably my wish that no *ex parte* statements should go forth to the world before the whole of this important question shall be thoroughly and completely examined; but it is above all things necessary that I should stand clear in the opinion of your lordships, and in the estimation of the public; and if an erroneous assertion has been hazarded by my noble friend (lord Moira), however pure may have been his intention, I must beg leave to correct it: if it be directly adverse to the judgement I have formed after due deliberation, it is necessary that I should state to this house, and to the country, that, in the decision I adopted, I was guided, as I think correctly, by a diametrically opposite interpretation. I understand the noble earl (Moira) to maintain, in the first place, that the prince regent, in the communication his royal highness thought fit to make to my noble friend below me, had named no particular person to fill any particular situation; and, in the second place, that the proposal came to us perfectly uncircumscribed and unfettered by previous stipulations. That the noble earl does so understand it I cannot for an instant doubt, and I much lament that the noble marquis who was the channel of this authorised communication is not present to give his interpretation; but having received that authorised communication first personally and verbally to myself, and afterwards when it was committed to writing, and having understood it according to the natural and obvious import of the words, it was impossible for me to act then, or to act now, regarding that proposition, in any other way

than that which was dictated by the plain construction of the language employed. I must here beg leave to read from the written document a single paragraph, the substance of which was first personally made known to me:

‘That his royal highness the prince regent has signified his pleasure that marquis Wellesley should conduct the formation of a government in all its branches, and should be first commissioner of the treasury; and that lord Moira, lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning, should be members of the cabinet.—That it was probable that a cabinet formed on an enlarged basis must be composed of twelve or thirteen members; that the prince regent wished lords Grey and Grenville, on the part of their friends, to recommend for his royal highness’s approbation the names of four persons, if the cabinet should consist of twelve, and of five persons, if it should consist of thirteen members, to be appointed by his royal highness the prince regent to fill such situations as might hereafter be arranged.—That his royal highness the prince regent left the selection of the names to lords Grey and Grenville, without any instruction or personal exclusion.—That, in completing the arrangements, the prince regent has granted to marquis Wellesley the entire liberty to propose the names of any persons to hold places in his royal highness’s councils, or any other persons.’

This, my lords, was the proposition made to us, and which we understand as naming particular persons, and as limiting, circumscribing, and providing by previous stipulated arrangement, that particular places shall be assigned to such particular persons. Under such circumstances, I need scarcely add,

add, the proposal met with my decided refusal, sanctioned by the concurrence of my noble friend before me (lord Grenville), after consulting with my noble friend behind me (lord Holland). It is true, the subsequent explanations have been afforded by the noble earl (Moir), but without professing to have any instructions of authority from the prince regent. In doing so, I give him full credit for that anxious desire to promote the interests, tranquillity and prosperity of the nation, which throughout life he has uniformly displayed. These explanations were, however, private and personal, for the purpose, as he conceived, of removing an imputation upon his conduct; but, as I have before said, they were not of an official character. That he was not vested with any powers for this purpose is confirmed by a letter from the noble marquis, who, referring to these explanations, stated distinctly, that neither he nor the noble earl had authority to make any but private communications, and he expressed his regret that they had not the prince regent's express commands to enter into such explanations as he deemed necessary. I have thought it due to myself, and to my friends, to notice distinctly these facts; and they were further necessary in answer to what fell from the noble earl on the subject of the delay which has occurred. To the private communications, with the concurrence of my noble friend, I returned a prompt answer, in which I referred to the former official paper, containing the authorised proposal upon which I had already communicated my determination: at the same time I felt that these personal explanations, if subsequently sanctioned, might remove some

of the obvious objections to the detail, yet they in no degree altered the general principle on which I had rested my previous decision. Thus much it appeared necessary that I should say, to prevent the possibility of misapprehension; and I lament sincerely, that in consequence of the speech of the noble earl it was utterly impossible for me to remain silent.

Lord Moira replied; and he was followed by lord Erskine, the duke of Athol, and the marquis of Douglas.

Lord Boringdon said, My lords, having the honour to be in the habits of friendship with the noble marquis who has been alluded to, I think it right (although I have no communication with him upon the subject), particularly after what has fallen from the noble duke respecting the expression used by my noble friend, of 'dreadful personal animosities,' to state to your lordships my firm conviction that the expression alluded to dropped from my noble friend inadvertently. Certain I am, that it never was in the slightest degree intended to apply to that high authority on whose part it has been so justly and properly disclaimed; and I am fully satisfied that it was not intended to apply to any individual, but was really inadvertently dropped by my noble friend at the moment. My noble friend may have had to encounter with prejudices and dislikes; but I am satisfied that there did not nor does exist, on the part of any individual, any thing like personal animosity; nor did my noble friend intend so to apply the phrase. My lords, if I may be permitted to say a few words as to the cause of the failure of the negotiation conducted by my noble friend, I do believe that its failure arose
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not from any causes that would have actually prevented its ultimate success, but from my noble friend having in the first instance conceived too sanguine an idea of success.

The lord chancellor.—My lords, I am so strongly convinced of the impropriety of continuing this discussion, particularly when there is no question before the house, that I shall feel it my duty to move an adjournment, or at least (there being some bills to come under the consideration of the house) to move that this house do at its rising adjourn till Monday. I have heard, however, with great satisfaction, the noble lord (Boringdon) state, that the expression used by the noble marquis, not now present, of dreadful personal animosities, does not apply to any individual whatever. Had there been any question under discussion which involved this point, I should have heard all that might have been said by any noble lords upon this subject; meaning myself, at the conclusion, to have most distinctly disclaimed, on the part of myself and all those individuals whom I know, any feelings whatever of personal animosity. And to prove, my lords, that I entertain no feelings of animosity towards the noble marquis (Wellesley) who is not now present, I do most earnestly entreat your lordships not to proceed in this discussion in the absence of that noble marquis. My lords, upon a subject in which the expressions used by that noble marquis form so prominent and material a part of it, I do earnestly hope that your lordships will think it proper not to proceed further in this discussion when that noble marquis is not present.

The discussion here terminated

for the present, but it was several times renewed in both houses.

June 8.—The earl of Liverpool.—My lords, before moving an adjournment, I think it right to say a few words with reference to the questions put to me by a noble duke relative to the situation of the administration on a former evening, and in consequence of which some discussion then took place. I have now to state to your lordships, that his royal highness the prince regent has been this day pleased to appoint me first commissioner of the treasury, and that his royal highness has given authority for completing the other arrangements of the administration.

The duke of Norfolk.—My lords, the noble earl has referred to some questions which I thought it my duty to put on a former evening; the noble earl then referred to a well-known event, in consequence of which he only held his office till the appointment of a successor; that event, as is well known, was an address voted in another place, praying his royal highness the prince regent to form a stronger and more efficient administration. We are now informed, that the noble earl is appointed the minister of his royal highness, although I am not aware of the existence of any circumstance to do away the event which the noble earl referred to on a former evening, as a reason why he was then holding office only until the appointment of a successor. The noble earl, however, being the minister of the government, I now wish to ask a question with reference to our differences with the United States of America, which, by the last accounts from thence, have reached a point of hostility that may yet, however, be averted by timely acts on the part of this govern-

government. The lapse of a single day may make a difference of the greatest importance; for an act done promptly on the part of this government may yet avert all the consequences of hostility on the part of America. I cannot undertake to assign reasons at length for a motion, which I should wish to make, for rescinding the orders in council, and shall therefore confine myself to a question. I wish to know whether there is any intention on the part of the government to rescind the orders in council?

The earl of Liverpool.—My lords, with reference to the event alluded to by the noble duke, namely, the address voted in another place, praying for a stronger and more efficient administration, I think it my duty to state, that, immediately on that address being voted, I humbly requested of his royal highness the prince regent, on the part of my colleagues and myself, that we might not be any obstacles in the way of the proposed arrangement; and I trust your lordships will do me the justice to believe, that in the negotiations which have taken place I have been no obstacle whatever to the carrying into effect the prayer of that address. But, my lords, under the circumstances which have taken place, I should have shrunk from my duty to the prince, and from my duty to the country, if I had now declined to accept the appointment which his royal highness has been pleased to confer upon me. With respect to what has been stated by the noble duke regarding America, there have been undoubtedly some acts passed by the legislative assemblies of the United States, tending more than preceding acts to a hostile character; but the noble duke is mistaken in given credit to the

reports which have been in circulation of any acts of a decidedly hostile nature having been resorted to. As to the orders in council, the subject is now, and has been for some time, before your lordships, involved in an inquiry which at the present moment tends to a termination. When the whole of the evidence is before the house, it will be for your lordships to determine what measures ought to be taken with regard to the orders in council. I am not aware that it would be fitting to say more at present on the subject.

The earl of Moira.—My lords, had I not been anticipated by the noble earl (Liverpool), I should have felt it my duty to state to your lordships the fact which the noble earl has announced, of his being intrusted by his royal highness the prince regent with the authority to form an administration. My lords, in the exercise of the authority for that purpose intrusted to me by his royal highness, I exerted my utmost endeavours to fulfil that mission. Were the object merely to fill up appointments with men of talents, there could be no difficulty, there being amply sufficient talent in the country for the supply of men of ability to the offices of the state; but, at a moment like the present, I felt that I should not do my duty in the execution of the high trust reposed in me, if I did not use my utmost endeavours to conciliate the differences of public men, and to form an administration, upon public principles, which should at once possess the full and entire confidence of the country. That I have failed in these endeavours I most deeply lament. Deeply lamenting it, however, as I do, there is still this consolation, that throughout the negotiation which it has been my duty

to carry on I have met with the utmost frankness and candour on the part of public men on all sides to whom I applied, and I owe it particularly to the noble earl (Liverpool) and his colleagues to state, that they met my proposals with the utmost frankness and candour. My lords, there is still more this greater consolation, that it is now testified to the public, that, on the part of his royal highness the prince regent, there was, in the proposition submitted by his authority to my noble friends, no reservation whatever, and that it was made with the most entire disposition to give every effect to the wish expressed by the other branch of the legislature. That the endeavours made in obedience to that authority have failed I must again most deeply lament. The result has been, that the noble earl (Liverpool) has received authority from his royal highness the prince regent to form an administration, which I hope may prove satisfactory to the country. Under the present circumstances of the country, and after what has happened, I shall feel it my duty to give my support to that administration so far as is consistent with those public principles which I have so often avowed in this house.

The earl of Liverpool moved that the house do now adjourn.

The marquis Wellesley.—It may probably be expected of me, my lords, that I should enter into some explanation respecting what took place at the last meeting of the house with reference to some expression used by me on a preceding evening. My lords, with respect to my not attending my duty in this house at its last meeting, I trust I may be permitted to observe, if any thing can be set off against the duty of attending this

house, that I really thought my presence would be an obstacle to the arrangement which I then hoped might be made, and I was therefore absent. My lords, when I notified to this house that I had resigned the commission intrusted to me by his royal highness the prince regent, I then announced that I had full authority from his royal highness to state to the house, if your lordships should desire it, all the circumstances connected with my conduct in that negotiation; and I again state, that I have that full authority, and that I am ready, if your lordships so please, at this or any future time, to go over, point by point, every thing that relates to my conduct in this negotiation. My lords, my object was, throughout this negotiation, that three great principles should form the basis of the proposed arrangement:—First, That the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects should be taken into consideration, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment. Secondly, That the war in the peninsula should be carried on with adequate vigour. And, thirdly, That the administration to be formed should not consist of the talents, the opinions, or the strength of one party; that the strength of one party should not be the strength of the country; that the opinions of a party should not be the system of a country; but that, in the present complication of parties and opinions, the administration should be formed, from all parties, of individuals agreeing in the first two principles I have mentioned, and coming to an arrangement upon other matters. Now, my lords, with respect to an expression which I used on the evening alluded to, to which, subsequently, much reference was made, and which it seems was stated by

by a noble friend of mine (though, as he mentioned, without any authority from me,) to have dropped from me inadvertently;—the expression to which I allude was that of ‘dreadful personal animosities.’ My lords, in what I stated to the house, I humbly advised your lordships not to call for that disclosure which I was then ready to make, because it would tend to irritate and inflame those dreadful personal animosities which had already unhappily existed in the course of the negotiation. My lords, in using this expression, I have no hesitation in stating that I used it advisedly, and that I applied this term ‘animosities’ to the noble earl (Liverpool) and his colleagues, for it was from their conduct that the only obstacles arose to the arrangement which I proposed to make. My lords, I know too well the usages of parliament to apply to any man an expression which he disavows; but I certainly applied it at the time in the manner I have stated, under the impression that the only obstacles arose from the noble lord and his colleagues, and that their conduct could only be attributed to animosity towards me. I do not charge this against them as a crime, or that they intentionally threw obstacles in the way, but I merely state the fact.

The earl of Harrowby.—My lords, after the charge made by the noble lord, in which I, as one of the colleagues of my noble friend, of course feel myself implicated, I consider it my duty to call upon the noble lord to bring proofs of his charge, and I am ready to meet it. Is it fitting that such a charge should be insinuated, and the alleged proofs of it postponed till another day? Is it fitting that, after a charge made against members of

this house, of intentionally throwing obstacles—[The marquis Wellesley said, ‘Not intentionally.’]—Well, then, my lords, of throwing obstacles in the way of making an arrangement to meet the difficulties of the country;—is it fitting that such a charge should be made without at once entering into the discussion of it? I call, therefore, upon the noble lord to bring his proofs of the charge which he has thus insinuated.

The marquis of Wellesley.—My lords, the noble earl has assumed a high tone, to which I can only submit in common politeness, but to which I do not submit as a member of this house. Has the noble lord assumed this high tone in the expectation that I would not bring proofs of what I asserted, or in the supposition that I would insinuate a charge without grounds to support it? I did not state it as a crime against my noble friend (lord Liverpool, for so I must call him, let what will happen) and his colleagues, or that they intentionally threw obstacles in the way; I merely stated the fact, and in proof of the fact I will read to your lordships the answer I received from the two noble lords near me (lords Grenville and Grey), and the answer received by a right honourable friend of mine from the noble lords on the other side, the propositions being made to both at the same moment. To the propositions I made to the noble lords relative to the forming an administration upon the basis of the two principles I before alluded to, namely, the consideration of the laws affecting the Roman catholics, with a view to a conciliatory adjustment, and the prosecution of the war in the peninsula with adequate vigour, I received the following answer—‘The lords Grenville and

and Grey, with a view to the formation of an administration upon the basis proposed, desire it to be expressly understood, that they are willing to meet the consideration of the proposition with the complete abandonment of all personal feelings and considerations.' The answer I received from the other side was as follows—'It is thought unnecessary, on the part of lord Liverpool and his colleagues, to enter into a discussion of the propositions submitted to them, it being their determination not to form a part of any administration under marquis Wellesley.' Now, my lords, what opinion could I form of this answer, but that those who dictated it were actuated by personal animosity against me? Far be it, however, from me to attribute to members of this house what they disclaim; I have already said that I do not impute it to them as a crime, or that they intentionally threw obstacles in the way. I have merely stated the fact which caused the impression upon my mind, and which drew from me the expression to which so many references have been made.

The earl of Harrowby.—My lords, if I assumed a tone which might be considered unbecoming in this house, I have to apologize to your lordships for so doing; but when the noble lord threw out so serious a charge against those with whom I have the honour to act, and myself, of suffering feelings of personal animosity to stand in the way of any arrangement which might be considered beneficial to the country, it became my duty to call upon the noble lord to state the grounds upon which he made such a charge. My lords, we do not plead guilty to any such charge, and it is a decisive proof that we were actuated by no feelings of

animosity to the noble lord, that on the morning of the day on which notice had been given of the address so often alluded to, which was afterwards voted in another place, we offered to form an administration with that noble lord, himself to have the most distinguished place in that administration which he himself should point out. But did no circumstances intervene between that period and the period of the proposition referred to by the noble lord? Was it nothing that the correspondence between the noble lord and my noble friend should have been published on Thursday in the newspapers? and this too without the explanatory letter of my noble friend, respecting which a notice was given, that it would be published on the subsequent day; although, had the explanatory letter of my noble friend been published with the other correspondence, the decision in another place might have been very different to what it was. Could we have any confidence in negotiating with the noble lord, when it was thus discovered that the public were to be made parties to the negotiation step by step? And it is not a little singular, that the noble lord should thus have thought it right to publish this correspondence, and not have thought it equally proper to publish the correspondence in his recent negotiation with the noble lords on the other side. But, my lords, it was not merely this. Did no other circumstance happen? Was there not a statement published in the newspapers, in which the noble lord accused his late colleagues in the cabinet of incapacity to originate any measures for the welfare of the country? Public men are so accustomed to those kind of accusations, even from their own friends, that they become callous to them; but

the time and the circumstances chosen for the publication were calculated to wound our feelings in a tenfold degree,—to wound them through the memory of him who had just then fallen by the hands of an assassin, whom we considered as the life and soul of our cabinet, and whom we in the highest degree respected and esteemed. Was this a moment, my lords, for the publication of an attack upon the character of that right hon. gentleman, when he was no longer in existence to answer it? Was it fitting that, when we had just returned from the melancholy duty of following his hearse, the publication of such a statement should be thrust upon us? It was impossible, after the publication of such a statement, that we could cordially unite with the noble lord in any administration. The noble lord too, in that statement, urges his differences with us in the cabinet, of which differences we had previously no knowledge; and it is not a little remarkable that we should first hear from the noble lord, in this published statement, of differences in the cabinet, of which, whilst acting with him in the cabinet, we had no knowledge whatever. My lords, in the result which has taken place, after the failure of the negotiations of which you have heard, no alternative remained. It would have been a gross dereliction of our duty, under the circumstances that have recently happened, to have refused to join in the formation of an administration in support of the just prerogative of the crown; for, had we done that, the administration of the country must have been conceded to those whose opinions are decidedly hostile to those measures which have been sanctioned by the repeated approbation of majorities of both houses of parlia-

ment. We have therefore felt it our duty to obey the commands of the prince regent. If parliament does not support us it is their fault, we shall have the satisfaction of having done our duty.

The marquis Wellesley.—It becomes necessary for me, my lords, to enter into some explanation, in consequence of what has fallen from the noble earl. Does the noble earl mean to insinuate that I was a party to the publication of the statement to which he alludes, with reference to the right hon. gentleman late at the head of the administration? And yet, if he does not mean to insinuate that, how does he make out that its publication rendered it impossible for him and his colleagues to unite with me in an administration? My lords, I do expressly deny being a party to that publication. The facts are simply these: when I tendered my resignation of the office I held to the prince regent, his royal highness was pleased to request me to continue to hold that office until the expiration of the restrictions upon the regency. I obeyed his royal highness's commands; but having found that, previous to the expiration of the restrictions, the right hon. gentleman alluded to had recommended two or three times to the prince regent my immediate supersession, I did, in a conversation with the noble lord on the woolsack, than whom I am satisfied there does not exist a more honourable man in the country (and I call upon him to contradict me if I am incorrect), I did express to that noble lord that it was unmannerly in the person alluded to to go to the prince regent two or three times to recommend my immediate supersession. As to the statement itself, there are expressions in it which it must be manifest

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are not mine. The fact is, that many of my friends, who were very anxious with respect to the causes of my resignation, took down in writing expressions which I dropped in the heat of conversation, some of which I would now recall, but which I would not substantially retract. Many applications were made to my friends for the publication of the statement, but it was uniformly refused; and so far from my being a party to the publication, I was horror-struck at seeing it published at the time at which it was made public, and I would have given any sum of money to have recalled the publication. How then does the noble earl make out that I was a party to the publication? With respect to the right hon. gentleman alluded to, I believe no man to have excelled him in public and private virtues, in acuteness of intellect or mildness of temper: but however I may respect or esteem the virtues of an individual, it does not follow that I am to consider him a fit man to be placed at the head of a government. I highly respect and esteem my noble friend (lord Liverpool), for so I must still call him; but it does not follow from that, that I am bound to consider him as a fit man to be placed at the head of the government. An intimate knowledge of the virtues of the right hon. gentleman before alluded to could only be gained by a long acquaintance. I had little personal acquaintance with him; but, so far as I could judge, I highly respected his virtues; and I consider the act which deprived him of existence as a stain upon humanity. The purity of his character has thrown the lustre of martyrdom around his memory; but, with all that respect for his virtues and the

excellence of his character, I feel it my duty to say, that I did not consider him as a fit man to lead the councils of this great empire.—I will now proceed to another part of the noble earl's speech, in which he asserted that I had never expressed any difference of opinion from the rest of the cabinet. It is true that I might continue to act in unison with the other members on particular points; I might approve of their conduct partially; but, because I did not dissent from them on every question, is it to be presumed that my sentiments on all subjects, however great and important, were in perfect coincidence? In the cabinet I always endeavoured to act, as far as I could, with perfect cordiality; but I did imagine, until now, that I had shown sufficient ill-humour to convince my coadjutors of the opinions I entertained. I approved of many of their measures; but if I were wrong in so doing, I can only say, that if, upon the same terms, we should ever meet again, I will endeavour to correct my error. There yet remains another charge to be repelled, I mean the publication of the correspondence which passed during the negotiation which I was employed to conduct. I may, perhaps, have been blameable in allowing it; but if I have erred, I have erred from habit; for it is a very ordinary practice to satisfy the public by authentic information, upon a subject to which they look with the most painful anxiety. I am not aware that in the letters which were written on either side there was one word that ought to be concealed. I protest most solemnly, that I thought I was acting in a way best calculated to secure the characters of the noble lord and myself. But further I am

accused of not publishing, on the same day, the explanatory letter transmitted to me by the noble earl (Liverpool), and which he, for good reasons, no doubt, begged that I would not answer. I was desired, however, to annex it to the correspondence; and how was it possible for me to imagine that it was not to share the general fate? There might be some cause of complaint if I had not published it at all,—but it was not published on the same day. I own most honestly that I really thought the explanation wholly extraneous: as a friend of mine expressed it in another place, I believed it to be entirely of a controversial nature; and if it did not accompany the other documents, I was of opinion that it ought never to have appeared at all. It has been maintained, however, that the want of a knowledge of this letter had occasioned a very disagreeable vote in another place. This, however, is by no means the fact; for the friends of the noble earl took care to remedy the evil, by printing it several hours before the discussion which ended in this disagreeable vote commenced: it was printed too without any reply to it; and here I think I have a right to charge the noble earl (Liverpool) with something like unfairness—(*Hear, hear!*) I protest to God, that so far from thinking that I had acted unkindly, I imagined that, by forbearing to publish his explanatory epistle, I did him a favour; and I unfeignedly believe that his friend who caused its promulgation did the noble earl a most essential injury. The complaint is to be made not against me who withheld it, but against him who published it—(*Hear, hear!*) These, however, my lords, are quite trivial considera-

tions, and I am ashamed that the noble earl (Harrowby) felt himself reduced to the necessity of going into the detail of such insignificant points. The house will judge upon the whole case, whether every circumstance stated and relied upon by the other side does not in the strongest manner confirm the positions which alone entitled me to address your lordships, that obstacles had been opposed by the noble earl to the establishment of an administration, and that these obstacles had originated in feelings of a personal nature.

The earl of Harrowby.—I confess that the publication first alluded to by the noble marquis, regarding the war in the peninsula, did leave a heavy weight upon my mind, from which I am happy that by his explanation I am now relieved; but if, indeed, it were so extremely unpleasant to his feelings that it should go forth into the country, I should have imagined that I should have seen, in the paper immediately succeeding, a complete disavowal that it had been printed under the authority and with the approbation of the noble marquis.

Marquis Wellesley.—I beg to declare most positively and solemnly, that I knew nothing of the publication until it was shown me by my friend in the newspaper in which it was contained.

June 11. Mr. Wortley, in the house of commons, rose, agreeably to the notice he had given, to move an address to the prince regent, expressive of the regret of the house that his royal highness had not been enabled to follow up his gracious intention, as expressed in his answer to their last address, respecting the formation of an administration.—

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This motion gave rise to several long, animated and angry debates, in which lord Yarmouth and Mr. Sheridan took a distinguished part; but, as it terminated in nothing beneficial to the country, it is not necessary to pursue the subject any further. The motion was negatived.

June 26. Mr. N. Calvert, in the house of commons, moved, That the paper laid on the table, relative to French officers on parole, be printed. He said the great number of French officers who had taken an unfair and dishonourable advantage of the confidence placed in their honour by the government of this country was almost incredible; and he thought some effective measures should be adopted to prevent the recurrence of similar breaches of faith, and the abandonment, by those who broke their faith, of every principle of morality: the numbers were so great, that no former war was ever in the slightest degree to be compared to them. He thought therefore the Transport-board should be empowered to put an end to such shameful proceedings, or at least to render them less frequent. While he was on his legs on this subject, he could not help observing, that the enormous number of foreigners residing in this country amounted to a great grievance. It was his earnest wish to give every degree of protection to such unfortunate persons as had been compelled to reside here from persecution in their own country; but he thought those who had come here, and still remained, without being able to produce proof of such being their situation, should be sent out of the country directly.

Lord Castlereagh thanked the honourable gentleman for the observations he had made. The sub-

ject deserved every consideration, and government were very desirous to pay all attention to it, though there would be great difficulty in discriminating in a case so intermixed.

Mr. A. Baring said, he thought something was necessary to be done, as to officers breaking their parole; but still, from some statements he had received, even those persons thought they had reason to complain. He then mentioned the complaint of a French officer, who for that offence was now on board a prison-ship at Chatham. He was a man of great family and connections in France, as well as of education, and he complained of being put into the society of three or four hundred common soldiers of his country. He had stated that if an English officer, being a prisoner in France, had committed the same offence, he would have been committed to close confinement, but not in such company as he was, for he was actually over-run and devoured, as it were, by vermin.

Sir J. Sebright said, that when an officer had proved he was not to be trusted on his parole of honour, he had brought upon himself a debasement of character which justified his being connected with persons of an inferior rank; and though there were 400 common soldiers in the same place with him, he had, by his conduct, brought himself below their level.

Mr. Croker said, he was aware of the case alluded to. The gentleman—he begged the pardon of the house for calling him by such a name—(*Hear!*)—had attempted to escape, and was taken; upon which he was remanded to the same custody with the common men. He had stated such excuses and palliations to the Transport-board, as induced

to give him his parole again, which he again attempted to break. Such, indeed, was the case—(*Cries of Hear, hear!*) As to his complaint of being covered with dirt and vermin, if it was true, he. (Mr. Croker) would undertake to say that it must be his own fault. He had lately visited the prison-ships at Portsmouth, and found, after personal inquiry, but one just ground of complaint, upon which such an explanation took place as rendered it unlikely to occur again. He found that so far from being thrust into the hold, those who had broke their parole were carefully separated from the common men, and had a lighter cabin, and even billiard-tables for their amusement. They were not sent to the prison-ships as a punishment, but merely as a place of confinement, they having forfeited the indulgence of being at large. The board of admiralty had adopted a rule, not to admit any one to his parole again who had once broken it; but there was scarcely any one who, after such conduct, could not get gentlemen, otherwise highly respected, to sign their petitions. He hoped what had happened that night would render them more cautious in future, as their readiness had created a spirit of insolence and discontent.—He could assure the house, that no letter was received from them at the Admiralty which was not immediately attended to.

Lord Castlereagh said, there never was an instance of an English officer having broken his parole who was not stigmatized by his government, and deprived of promotion.

Mr. Croker mentioned an instance which occurred at the Admiralty only yesterday, when every powerful interest had been employed to promote a midshipman who had broken his parole some years ago;

but the answer given was, that an officer who had forfeited his honour, by breaking his parole, was no longer deserving his majesty's commission.—A bill was afterwards brought in on this subject, and carried through both houses, making it a transportable offence to aid in the escape of prisoners on their parole.

On the second reading of that bill in the house of lords, lord Sidmouth said, the object of the bill, he observed, was to provide a check to the disgraceful abuse, unhappily too prevalent in the country, of aiding in the escape of such prisoners. The long list of French prisoners who had recently broken their parole of honour was disgraceful to the individuals themselves, to the government which they served, and to the country to which they belonged. The splendid contrast afforded by English officers placed in a similar situation, must be matter of pride and exultation to every Briton. With feelings equally alive to the enjoyment of liberty, of which many of them had been too long deprived, they yet felt that there was something dearer to them than their homes—the preservation of their personal honour, and that of their sovereign and their country. Hardly an individual of them had been found to break his parole of honour, and thus palliate in some degree the very different conduct of the French prisoners. It was pleasing to commemorate that high and delicate sense of honour which caused this proud distinction; they had shown their superiority to the enemy in that characteristic of the soldier, as much as in their naval and military services. It appeared, from the papers on their lordships' table, that no less than 464 French officers had broken their parole within the last three years, few or none

none of whom could have effected their escape without the assistance of British subjects. It was melancholy to reflect that other descriptions of men had thus tarnished the honour of their country. It ought to be known, however, as a warning to all such, of the magnitude of this offence, that a learned judge (lord Ellenborough) had lately declared, that the crime of thus aiding the king's enemies approached so nearly to high treason, that he could hardly distinguish between them, and yet it was now only punished as a misdemeanour. The existing law was clearly insufficient for its prevention; but he (lord S.) would have been sorry to make the offence capital in the first instance, and it was now only proposed to make the punishment transportation, the duration of which to be proportioned to the nature of the case.

July 1. The marquis Wellesley, in the house of peers, rose to submit his promised resolution, on the subject of the political disabilities to which the Roman catholics of Great Britain and Ireland are subject. The question, he said, had been often agitated, but never fully, maturely, and deliberately considered. The ordinary maxims of policy had been violated. The more important any question was, the greater and more powerful the body which it concerned, the more extensive the interests involved in it—so much the more deliberately and attentively had that question been generally investigated: but, in regard to the disabilities to which the Roman catholic subjects of the empire were subjected, this course had been inverted. In their origin and in their progress, these laws had been more frequently the offspring of passion than of reason and sound wisdom; sometimes enacted

under the influence of terror—sometimes of vengeance—and at other times of contumely and contempt, combined with the operation of such passions. There had been many persons, no doubt, who acted on more honourable principles; but in the course of ages there had been much intermixture of the passions to which he had referred. These laws had never been formed into a system, to which the soundest maxims of state could be applied. The question, “how shall so great, numerous, and powerful a body be incorporated in the state, so as to render it least injurious or most beneficial?” had never been considered as a grand whole. The code had grown up by snatches, in the most irregular manner, till it was at last brought to its present condition, in which he could not call it a system. It was no system, it did not deserve the name. The attention of their lordships had often been called to it, but the legislature and the government had always shrunk from it. They had refused even to entertain the question, like a person embarrassed in his affairs, who shrunk from inspection, and carefully avoided a detailed examination; and thus a subject of such vast magnitude was still left open for persons of every description, who found it for their purpose to descant upon this strange and anomalous state of the law. “Now, then,” continued the noble marquis, “I would ask your lordships, is the time at last come for the deliberate consideration of this important subject? Is the season at length arrived, when we can apply our minds to the investigation, clear of those accidental circumstances, and distinct from those passions, which at various periods of our history swayed the passing of these regulations?”

tion? Are those circumstances past, which induced many of us to think delay expedient? Is the time come, when the question is no longer to float on the wings of error, on the whirlwind of passion, and the tempest of foreign war?—and are we at last to apply to it the maxims and policy of the constitution? Are we at length to consider how these disabilities accord with the principles of natural justice—with the spirit of the christian religion—and, above all, with that of our reformed religion? Shall we now, then, rescue this momentous subject from the hands of those who may wish to make use of it for the worst of purposes, and rest it upon those solid grounds, and sound principles, which have rendered this country pre-eminent among nations, for arts, arms, liberty, war, government, and religion?" His lordship proceeded to deliver a most argumentative speech, in which he exhibited the most striking and brilliant talents in the cause of religious liberty, and concluded with saying, "I am sincere in my opinion, that no time should be lost in taking it up by parliament; that it should not be suffered to float at the mercy of every man who may use his opportunity to distort and exaggerate the grievances of the people. Rescue it from the hands of the enemy; I do not speak of persons in Ireland, but rescue it from France. Let the agitation of the public mind only provoke us to take it up, and take it up as speedily as we can. If it were practicable, I would urge it upon your immediate consideration. Did I not on the 28th of April entreat you to go into an immediate committee? But I do not now call upon you for what would be impracticable; and, as there could be no hope of going

through the subject this session, let us determine to make it our earliest consideration for the approaching one. Next as to the time. Are we to leave the question in its present state, for the interval that may come between the prorogation of the house and its meeting again? Are we to leave it to the mercy of every man who turns his eye upon it? Are we to leave it to the practice of the enemy? If the time, if the mode, of the resolution are unsatisfactory to your lordships, am I to conclude that the object of my resolution is so? That object is to secure a final arrangement, satisfactory to all parties; so guarded as to remove discontents, without endangering the rights of any class of his majesty's subjects. The importance, the probable effect, the dangers of delay, all concur to press this great question upon me, and compel me to call upon you for some pledge of this speedy consideration. Then I, with others, whose assistance I shall be happy to claim—and after whom, or with whom, I am ready to take my share in the discussion of this question—shall be proud and happy to come forward with those measures which, by providing for a final arrangement, seem to us most calculated to ensure the happiness and honour of the country. Those measures must not be suffered to linger without a pledge. If they are, let parliament look to the consequence on the feelings of the country—let them, above all, look to its impression on Ireland—let them look to the consequence of telling any great body of men, that they shall not have a seat among us; that we have laid up their disabilities in the very temple of the constitution, and made their restraints the paladium of our liberties. I trust in God,

God, that we are now about to bind ourselves to that final arrangement which will amend all—secure all—reconcile all.” The marquis Wellesley then read his resolution:—‘That this house will, early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty’s Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the united kingdom, to the stability of the protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty’s subjects.’

The lord chancellor said, if the present motion was carried, and it meant not consideration but concession, as he hoped for God’s mercy, he did not think he should be living under the same constitution as hitherto. Feeling the weight of all those objections strongly pressing on his mind, it was his intention to conclude with a motion, upon which he should divide the house, if he was to stand alone.—A very long debate ensued, in which almost every noble lord who usually addresses the house delivered his sentiments. Among the supporters of the motion were the dukes of Sussex, Kent, and Norfolk; and lords Hardwicke, Holland, Mulgrave, Moira, Lansdowne, Melville, Stanhope, and Grenville.—On a division, the motion was negatived by a majority of one, there being 125 for it,

and 126 against it.

July 21. Mr. W. Smith, on the question that the toleration amendment bill be read a third time, rose for the purpose of making one or two observations. And, first, he could not help congratulating the house and the country on the singu-

lar progress of the present bill through that house, to this its last stage, without having provoked the expression of one sentiment of hostility against it. This he could not help looking upon as a most auspicious symptom of the rapid advance of liberal and enlightened opinion. The honourable gentleman then went into a history of the origin, rise, and progress of the present bill. He censured the measure proposed in a former session by another noble lord (Sidmouth), which he thought might have created the evils it was designed to prevent, though he had no hesitation in acquitting the noble lord of any intolerant intent. He declared it as his opinion, that this act would be generally acknowledged by the dissenters as a great benefit. He then brought up a clause allowing to the dissenters the same exemptions under this act as they enjoyed under that of the 19th of his present majesty.

Mr. Whitbread said, he had examined the bill, and he found it was the same he had himself intended to have brought in. He drew the same happy inferences from the silent progress of this bill as were drawn by his honourable friend, and he hoped it would continue till the great work of religious freedom received its final consummation, because he thought that the strength of the established church rested in the freedom of religious opinions. The clause was then brought up and agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time; when it was passed, and ordered to the lords; where it was passed without opposition.

Mr. Sheridan rose, in pursuance of his notice, to move for the production of copies of the correspondence that had lately taken place between our government and that
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of France; and in thus shortly adverting to it he almost felt as if he had tired them already. It had not been originally his intention to go into any detail upon a question, in his opinion, so clear; still less was it then his wish to do so, when the motion he had to make was to be conceded to him, and so considerable an interest had been excited to hear the sentiments of his honourable friend (Mr. Whitbread), who had left his country ease and occupations to come down to that house to prove that they were all in the wrong in approving of the answer given by this government to France. He confessed that he shared most largely in this general anxiety, as he felt impatient to hear how his honourable friend could contrive to make that proposition out. To be sure, his honourable friend might see what others could not; he knew his sagacity; he acknowledged his powers; and in thus committing himself against his honourable friend, he was but too conscious with what and whom he had to contend; but though he stood there in his own humility, opposed to all the weight of his honourable friend just at hand, and ready to bear down upon him:—though he was but the poor partridge timidly fluttering beneath the mighty bird hovering over his head, and ready to pounce upon him; notwithstanding all such disadvantages, he was ready to enter the lists with his honourable friend, to hear what arguments could be advanced by him to prove that the French government was sincere in their late overture, or to show that that proposition did not deserve the character which he (Mr. Sheridan) had already given it, that of being at once perfidious, insidious, and insulting—perfidious,

because it called upon us to do that which could not be done without the grossest perfidy to our allies, and the most treacherous violations of all our most solemn engagements—insidious, because it wanted to ensnare us into the appearance of doing what it never seriously meant we should do, because it apparently directed to us what was addressed to another—and insulting, because it had been both the former, and because it must have been made on the presumption, either that we were sufficiently besotted to be the dupes of such an artifice, or sufficiently degraded to connive at it. Of its insulting perfidious character he should not say another word, it was as insidious as either. He called it so, because it had been addressed really to another power, while nominally addressed to us. Did any man doubt that this proposition was never addressed to us?—was never meant for us?—When had it been made? In the heat of the Russian negotiation, the emperor of France, or the French government, call him what they pleased, a matter of very little import, was in the act of treating with Russia. Russia hesitates, and grows reluctant. In order, therefore, to excite her jealousies or fears, he strikes up the feint of a negotiation with England, and takes care to forward, with all possible dispatch, a list to Russia of all the great and many sacrifices he is willing to make to induce England to a peace. The letter of the duke of Bassano to the noble lord is dated the 17th of April; and the letter to count Romanzow, appraising the court of St. Petersburg of the offer made to England, is dated the 25th of the same month: the answer of our government was written the 23d of April. It was impossible,

possible, therefore, that our rejection of that proposition could have been forwarded to Russia at the same time with the intelligence of the proposals made us. In fact, it was never meant they should. They were in no hurry either for our answer, since he had heard that our flag of truce was fired at from the French coast, and that the mail was obliged to be forwarded by Morlaix. No reply had been given to our answer. Was any man who heard him surprised at this? Did any man seriously expect that Bonaparte would have sent an answer? He only wished for the appearance of a negotiation with England while menacing Russia—and ill-disposed as he must be at all times to our government, he did not think so meanly of it as to expect that it could have been caught by such a naked juggle. If he could, and that we had actually stepped into the snare with our eyes open, why then we can readily suppose that he might have been still more amiably frank in his further dealings with us. He might have said to us—"Russia is inexorable in her determination to resist that system that has for its object the extinction of all those ancient national rights and privileges that constitute the maritime power of England. She obstinately refuses to join me in attacking the source and sinews of your wealth and strength; let me beg, therefore, that you will join me in establishing the permanent blessings of a temporary truce. I will guaranty your ally, Spain, because I want 150,000 men, now employed there, to act against this Russia, who would not act against you; you will assist me therefore. I shall then destroy Russia, and, much obliged to you for your peaceable forbearance in the mean time,

I shall then return and destroy Spain." That such was no very extravagant statement, he left it to the house to decide. But rather than concede what it would be dishonour to yield—rather than stoop that flag that had waved high for England in every quarter of the world—I would scuttle the island, and let in the ocean to overwhelm them and it, sooner than consent to a surrender of that charter to which nature had set her seal, and which seemed to have been secured by the guaranty of Providence itself! Mr. Sheridan, after other observations approving of the answer given by his majesty's ministers, concluded by moving, That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying the production of the correspondence between the duke of Bassano and lord Castlereagh.

Mr. Whitbread seconded the motion. He said, that if any person had entered the house after the commencement of the speech of his right honourable friend, he might have supposed him (Mr. Sheridan) to be replying to a preceding speech made by himself (Mr. Whitbread), so entirely had his right hon. friend presumed what he would say, and then answered as his speech what had been merely a series of his own presumptions. He might, however, be supposed to have had some private communication with his right honourable friend upon this subject, but he assured the house he had not any, either written or verbal; none, at least, that could justify the conjectural speech which had been just put into his mouth, and then answered by him who had so conjectured it. He left it to the house to decide how applicable was the illustration which had contrasted him

him and his right hon. friend—his friend as the poor partridge, and himself as the formidable vulture. If all that had been said of the implacable hostility of the emperor of France were to be permitted to influence our deliberations, there must be interminable war between the two countries—it would be impossible to make peace—to even treat with France. They had been told that it was the object of France to ruin England; and what other was the object of England? But there seemed to be always one justice for England and another for the rest of the world. She, to be sure, was totally blameless in the exercise of her maritime power, though guilty of that abominable outrage, the seizure of the Spanish frigates; and of that other signal atrocity, that eternal blot upon our annals, the seizure of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. With respect to the negotiation pending between France and Russia, Russia had refused to continue the negotiation, unless France should first evacuate Prussia. He did, indeed, continued the honourable member, say on a former occasion, that it appeared to him that the late occasion was one of the few, when an attempt at negotiation might be made with more probability of success than at any other period. He knew he had always been considered as an enthusiast upon the subject of negotiation with France. It would be in the memory of the house, that at the commencement of the war in Spain, he regarded that as a favourable moment when this government ought to have sent a minister to Bonaparte at Bayonne. When too, after four years of unsuccessful war, Spain was still unsubdued, and France was incumbered with a war with Austria, he

thought that was another opportunity which should not be lost in attempting to negotiate with Bonaparte. At the present moment, also, when the emperor of France was distracted with a northern war, when he was disappointed in his reliance upon a person whom he had placed as the eventual heir to the crown of Sweden; when he was harassed with the war in Spain, and with difficulties at home, he did think that this also was a most fortunate moment to open a negotiation upon a basis of good faith and sincerity; and that ministers would have acted with prudence, had they advised the prince regent to send a direct proposition to France. Consequently, he thought it highly imprudent in the noble lord to return the answer which he did. In saying this, he would be the last man to crouch to any thing derogatory to the national honour. He believed France sincere in her overtures; and he believed she had always been sincere in them. He knew that doctrine was unpopular in the house of commons; he feared it was unpopular in the country: but if the house at all thought with him as to the sincerity of the French government on the late occasion, then they would agree with him also, that the noble lord should have returned a very different answer to what he did. The answer he could have wished to be returned was this: Upon such and such terms as you have proposed as a basis for negotiation, we are willing to treat; one, however, excepted; we cannot receive that; we do not, however, ask you to recognise Ferdinand VII. as the king of Spain, any more than we will consent to acknowledge the dynasty you wish to be founded: but we ask, that the existing authorities of Spain should be a party to
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the negotiation. Had such been the answer, and had the French government remained silent, as now, or returned a direct refusal, England would then have been completely justified in the eyes of reason, of justice, and of God. But, looking at the proposition in another point of view, he saw nothing that justified the jealous precaution of ministers. It was agreed that both countries should withdraw their armies. What then would have been the necessary consequence? Why, that king Joseph must certainly have gone very soon after the French army, if he had not found it prudent to retire in the very middle of it. Looking to the enthusiasm of the Spanish people for their hereditary sovereign, it was impossible that Joseph could have remained at Madrid without the presence of a French army in the country. Therefore that part of the proposition appeared so manifestly absurd, and so clearly tantamount to an actual renunciation of the views of Bonaparte with regard to Spain, that he saw nothing which could justly excite the timid jealousy of our government. Thus he had shown all that he would have had ministers do; he had shown all the humiliation and all the degradation to which he wished this country reduced. He, for one, saw no reason why this long war—so long, that some in that house had been born during its progress, and some among them had grown old—was ever begun at all; he saw no reason why it was re-commenced; and he knew not why negotiation had not oftener been entered into, and carried to much greater lengths than it ever had. A few years ago there was a sort of personal hatred in this country against Bonaparte; every one hated this man, and every one

therefore was an enemy to France. To feed that national enmity the war had been begun and carried on. For the purpose of crushing the emperor of France the most powerful combinations had been entered into. They had all failed. In the wars which he had waged, no one would say he was always wrong. Treaties which he had entered into were broken by the contracting parties. And how were they broken? By the machinations of persons who were paid, fed, and protected by this country. If we would persist in this course, we put ourselves in a condition out of which it was not easy to be extricated. Bonaparte knew that his destruction was our sole object—an object upon the accomplishment of which we seemed to place our hopes of national safety; and of course he would seek the destruction of this country in return.—After much more reasoning on the subject of France, Russia, Sweden, and America, he asked, was Russia to be subsidised, or Sweden?—or were both? Into what a scene were we plunging! A new coalition about to be formed against France, and yet, at this particular time, we could not condescend to enter upon negotiation!—not condescend to say upon what terms we should choose to negotiate. We had suffered our only chance (a northern war) to escape, and now we were taking a course that could only end in disappointment. He hoped he had now convinced his right hon. friend, that he did not wish any thing derogatory to the character of the British nation, and that he had advanced nothing so absurd and contradictory as that which he had undertaken to answer without his having said it. The motion was one he cordially approved of;
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it was one he should himself have made, had it not been made by his right honourable friend. He had no doubt he should be misapprehended as usual; he was prepared for such unpopularity; but he should have the satisfaction of knowing that he had done his duty.

Lord Castlereagh began by observing, that it certainly was not his intention to oppose the motion, and that the speech of the right honourable gentleman who made it was one that had considerably narrowed the discussion as far as related to himself. He would however say, that by the line of conduct recommended by the hon. gentleman (Mr. Whitbread) we should have paralysed all the exertions of our army, and lost all the advantages which they had gained for us; it would be attended, in short, by every possible disadvantage, and no one advantage. The efforts of Russia, at that critical moment, would have been paralysed. It would have been easy for any one of his counsellors, if so disposed, then to hold this language to the emperor of Russia—See, now Great Britain has withdrawn from the conquest, there is no alternative. You must now crouch to Bonaparte—you must get the best terms with the great emperor that you possibly can. He would not enter upon the conduct of this country in former negotiations; but he was convinced that a more disastrous proposition could not be imagined than any attempt towards negotiating at present; and he was also convinced, that the country, from one end to the other, was persuaded that peace could not be obtained on terms which it was possible for the country to accept, and that the only effect which any discussion upon the subject

could at present have, would be to paralyse its exertions. He certainly did not mean to say that the present ministry were resolved to wage an interminable war with the emperor of the French; but he thought they ought not to possess the confidence of the country if they did not, from a consideration of the nature and organization of his power, and the councils on which he acted, consider every overture which he might think proper to make to this country with the utmost distrust. The noble lord concluded with stating, that he had no objection to the production of the papers moved for.

The hon. C. Hutchinson said, that he could not but look on the ministry as in the highest degree culpable, if they were to show any thing but regret at having in any manner contributed to the present war between Russia and France, or if they had not done every thing in their power to prevent it. Such, however, did he believe, to be the infatuation of the ministry on this subject, and their ignorance of the comparative power of France and Russia, that he had no doubt they had done every thing in their power to instigate the Russians to a war, which for them could only be attended with the most fatal consequences. He complained of the abuse which was thrown upon the emperor of the French—of the names which were given him. He would ask, who was better entitled to his throne than Bonaparte? He would boldly assert that no person in ancient or modern times, who obtained a crown through a revolution, ever merited it better than he did. He was aware of the unpopularity of his assertion, but he would repeat it, that there never appeared a conqueror better entitled

to a crown than he was—that he never knew of a conqueror in ancient or modern times who had arrived at his end with so few acts of enormity to answer for personally as Bonaparte. He was aware of the outrages which always attend conquests, and as Bonaparte was the greatest of all conquerors, he had necessarily more of these outrages to answer for than any other; but he had less to answer for on the score of inflicting vengeance on private individuals.

Mr. Canning said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last, and an honourable gentleman who preceded him, had thought proper to enter upon a justification of the conduct of Bonaparte. He was, it seems, quite sincere in all his former endeavours for peace—quite sincere in the treaty of Amiens, and a friend to the independence of nations.—The honourable gentleman (Mr. C. Hutchinson) had thought proper to assert, that no person in ancient or modern times ever merited a crown better than Bonaparte. This was a language which, he would venture to say, without meaning any offence to that honourable gentleman, would be ridiculous, if it was not, from the immorality of it, highly dangerous. Hitherto usurpers had not reaped in their own persons the fruits of their usurpation; their posterity might afterwards reap those fruits, when the deeds of their ancestors were in a great measure forgotten; but it remained for the present age that the usurper himself should not only reap the fruits of his usurpation, but that he should be crowned with the applause of his contemporaries. This was certainly a new strain of morality in this country, and one from which the most dangerous consequences might follow. It was

a morality which was never, he believed, before inculcated by any authority whatsoever; for at all times the violation of liberty and independence had never been defended, but uniformly stigmatized, by every writer.

Mr. Sheridan replied, and the question was put and carried.

Many other subjects of considerable interest and importance were discussed in parliament, of which we can give merely the heads, having already surpassed the bounds usually allotted to this part of our volume. A secret committee having been appointed to consider the state of the northern counties, made their report, and a bill was brought in and passed into an act, after much discussion in both houses, entitled 'A bill for the better securing the public peace.' On the second reading of that bill in the house of peers, lord Sidmouth said he should briefly call their lordships' attention to some of the points contained in the report. From that it appeared that the open disturbances in the county of Nottingham, which had been got under by the vigilance of the magistrates, had extended themselves to other counties. A most dangerous spirit of disaffection was manifested in associations by delegates, in the levying of contributions, and the exacting of payments from the loyal and peaceable subjects, in binding themselves by a tremendous oath, and proceeding to acts of open violence, ransacking the houses of the loyal for arms and ammunition. Their movements were conducted by divisions and sections, and assumed the appearance of regular organization. He was surprised to see a smile on the countenance of a noble lord opposite (lord Holland), who was the ornament

ornament of the bench on which he sat: this surely was not a subject for derision; and his noble friend might feel himself perfectly tranquil in the metropolis, surrounded by all kinds of protection; but it was impossible to describe the alarm, the painful anxiety, which had been experienced by numbers of most respectable persons in the disturbed districts. A calm had not yet been produced. Only yesterday's post brought accounts of a respectable old man of seventy, in the west riding of Yorkshire, having his house entered, his arms taken away, and himself so much maltreated that his life was in danger. As he had heard, with regret, of reflections cast on the magistracy of those counties, he thought it only justice to assert, that their conduct had in general been most exemplary; and he could not let that opportunity pass without bearing his testimony to the conduct of general Maitland, whom he was proud to call his friend, and who, in the command with which he was intrusted, had acted with a delicacy, an intelligence and discretion, not to be exceeded. He trusted that the abundant harvest, of which we had the prospect, and the full employment likely to be given to our manufacturers, notwithstanding present appearances, would do much to allay the spirit of disaffection; but in the mean time the powers of the present bill were absolutely necessary. He regretted that its enactment should be delayed a single day, because he knew the feelings of multitudes of most respectable men in the disturbed districts, who were anxiously looking to it as a means of security.

Lord Grosvenor said, though he did not mean to oppose the bill; he

wished it to be delayed for some time. The recall of the orders in council had already done much to give employment and restore tranquillity, and the agitation which still remained would soon subside. The report of the secret committee seemed to have been drawn up by one of the ministers; for, from a family feeling, it described the promptitude and alertness of government where no one else saw it.

Lord Sidmouth contended, that any further delay would only encourage the progress of assassination, and the destruction of property. The report, he believed, was the report of the whole committee, and not of any individual.

Lord Holland said he should be very brief in his remarks, because an understanding appeared to exist, that there should be only one discussion on the bill; and it suited some noble lords that it should be deferred to another stage. But he, for one, wished to be understood as opposing the principle of the bill *in toto*. On one part of the noble viscount's speech he felt it necessary to say a few words. He had not treated the calamities and anxieties of individuals with derision, as the noble lord seemed to imagine; nothing could be further from his thoughts; but he had not been able to collect, from the speech of the noble lord, a single argument to show the necessity of such extraordinary powers, though he was not unwilling that something should be done, out of sheer decency to the noble lord who brought down the green bag with so much solemnity. He was persuaded that the dangers of the country had been prodigiously magnified.

Earl Stanhope never would consent to pass a bill hostile to the constitution,

constitution, without evidence of its necessity. The committee had examined no parole evidence, and two petitions against the bill had been presented that very day.—The bill was however passed, though not without a steady opposition from several members.

Lord Holland, in a most nervous and eloquent speech, brought in a bill to correct and reform the application of informations *ex officio*: he said this was the more necessary, as these kind of prosecutions had considerably increased of late. In seven years from 1800 there had been but 15 informations filed; whereas in the three later years there had been 42; and of these 15 had never been tried. He referred to the case of an individual who had three of these *ex officio* informations filed against him; of which only one had been proceeded in, and in that he was acquitted; but the expense to him had been 296*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*

Lord Ellenborough replied in his usual style, and moved that the bill be rejected, which it was, though the mover was ably supported in his arguments by lord Erskine and other noble lords.

Sir Thomas Turton introduced, by a most able speech, a number of

resolutions relating to the finances of the country, from which he inferred that it was the bounden duty of ministers to practise the most rigid æconomy, and to endeavour to procure to the people the blessings of peace, as the only effectual means of relieving the burdens of the country.

Mr. Tierney, by way of amendment, moved another series of resolutions in their stead, contending that nothing but strong measures of finance could save the country from ruin.

The chancellor of the exchequer said that the country was embarked in such a scale of expence that it would be imprudent to attempt to carry the war taxes to any thing like a corresponding amount. A tax on capital had been attempted in other countries, and had been found very productive; perhaps it might be advisable to propose a tax on capital in lieu of part of the income tax. He moved the previous question on the resolutions of sir Thomas Turton and Mr. Tierney, which was carried.

The parliament was prorogued on the 31st of July, with a speech to both houses, delivered by the lord chancellor, and which will be found among the Public Papers.

CHAPTER VI.

Change in the Opinions and Conduct of the Regent with respect to Mr. Perceval—that Change becomes more evident and marked as the Period for taking off the Restrictions approaches—The Opposition still retain their Hopes of coming into Power—The Prince becomes a Favourite with the Court Party—Awkward and embarrassing Situation in which the Opposition are placed—Expectations formed by the Popular Party of the Prince—their Disappointment—Feelings of the reflecting and impartial Part of the Nation with respect to the Regent—Disposed to make some Allowances for his youthful Follies, but do not entertain

entertain very sanguine Notions either of his Talents or of his political Consistency—The Regent takes no Step toward the Arrangement of a Ministry till the Restrictions are very nearly expiring—His Letter to the Duke of York—Remarks on his not communicating directly with his old Friends—On the Manner in which Lord Grenville is mentioned in the Letter—On the Letter itself, as indicating a Change in his political Opinions—On the probable Sincerity of his Wish to take Lords Grey and Grenville into Power—The Answer of these Noblemen—Remarks upon it—Feelings of the Nation on Mr. Perceval's being retained in Power—Little Sympathy for the Opposition—Resolutions and Petition of the Livery—Instruct their Representatives—Remarks on their Proceedings—their Address not received on the Throne—Proceedings of the Common Council.

AS the period approached at which the restrictions on the prince regent were to terminate, the curiosity and interest of the public in general were strongly excited; while the expectations, the hopes, the apprehensions, and the fears of the different political parties were respectively roused, according to the light in which they viewed the conduct that the prince had pursued while his powers were limited and restricted, and the inferences which they drew from that conduct.

It was well known that when the prince had resolved to continue Mr. Perceval as prime minister, he had considered himself as acting solely as his father's agent; and had expressly declared, that a regard to his father's plans, and what he might reasonably suppose would have been his wishes, had alone prompted him to this measure. These motives had not only been expressly and completely laid open to Mr. Perceval when the prince communicated to him his wishes that he would continue in power, but every opportunity seemed to be taken of conveying to Mr. Perceval's apprehension and feelings (in a manner he could not misunderstand, and which must have been sufficiently grating and humiliating to him) the prince's dislike of him, and at-

tachment to his old political and personal friends.

Only a very few months elapsed, however, before it was strongly rumoured that the regent's feelings and conduct towards Mr. Perceval were undergoing a change; and this rumour gained strength: and at last appealed to such open and unequivocal proofs, that it could no longer be doubted. Still the old friends of the prince clung to the hopes they had so long and fondly cherished; still they expected, and declared openly that they expected, that the prince would choose them as his ministers, whenever he could act of his own entire free will. As, however, there were instances of his public conduct, and proofs of his forming an attachment to Mr. Perceval,—the former of which could not easily or clearly be reconciled to his supposed whig principles, and the latter were undoubtedly indicative that his dislike to Mr. Perceval was on the wane, and was about to be succeeded by sentiments of a directly opposite nature:—his old friends were compelled to have recourse to many hypotheses, in order to satisfy themselves and the public that they had still reason to entertain hopes that they continued the regent's favourites, and would soon be his ministers.—With respect to the

the public measures which the prince pursued, there was not much difficulty in accounting for them: they were the measures of his ministers, not his own. He sanctioned them, indeed, but he did not approve of them; and he sanctioned them, only because in his actions as regent, he wished entirely to lose sight of his own opinions and principles, and to conduct himself solely and most strictly on the rules he laid down,—viz. as the agent of his father. But his old friends went further in explanation and defence of his public conduct; and the nation in general, at first, were disposed to go along with them: for although the regent, in what might strictly and properly be considered as the continuation of his father's measures, put himself completely into the hands of his ministers, and did not even express a wish to have a will of his own, yet, in other cases of a less important nature, he manifested his attachment to his old principles. As these instances were rather sought after by him, than merely taken advantage of when they occurred, and as they were employed in the most open and decisive manner to publish to the nation his sentiments and feelings, it was very natural for his old friends, and for the country at large, to regard them as proofs of his adherence to the political doctrines in which he had been brought up.

It was remarked, however, at the time that Mr. Perceval and his friends received, only with a smile of a very ambiguous, or rather alarming character and import, the appeal to these instances of the prince's consistency and steadiness, which was made to them with insulting triumph by the opposition. They pretended, indeed, that they had no hopes of continuing in of-

fice after the restrictions should be taken off: but their actions did not correspond with their language; and it was generally supposed, long before this period arrived, that their apprehensions on this point had completely vanished. Indeed, the change in the prince's sentiments and behaviour to them, on which, of course, they rested their hopes, was growing daily more decidedly marked, and more openly displayed: from complete dislike, manifested not in the most dignified or decorous manner, he gradually passed to endurance; from mere endurance, to something like interest and attachment; and had not the change been rather too rapid and violent, and the character of the prince not such as justified secure and complete dependence, it might fairly have been inferred, some time before the restrictions ceased, that the opposition and the prince were sundered for ever; and that Mr. Perceval would continue his minister, and Mr. Perceval's politics would become his politics.

As might naturally be expected, the feelings and language of the court party changed, as the change in the prince became more marked and evident: his former whig principles were forgotten, or they were ascribed solely to the influence of those men to whom, in the blind and warm confidence of youth, he had given up his mind and conduct. He was, however, now about to make ample atonement for the venial errors of his former life; and as that portion of his life had, in some degree, resembled the conduct of Henry V., while prince of Wales, his new flatterers did not hesitate to predict that, when he came to the throne, the same splendour of public success, the same

vigorous administration of affairs, and the same reform of private conduct, would be witnessed by an admiring nation.

The opposition durst not allow their language to be changed with respect to him, whatever change their sentiments and hopes might have undergone : till the period arrived when the restrictions ceased, it was prudent in them still to continue the language of flattery and expectation ; but the sore and awkward manner in which they eluded or rebutted the proofs of his attachment to Mr. Perceval, and the slights he put upon his own party, and the laboured though unsuccessful attempts which they made to convince the world that they still expected to be his ministers, sufficiently indicated the state of their feelings, and the bitter disappointment under which they writhed.

There was, however, a third party in the nation, who were likely to experience a still more bitter disappointment than was to be the lot of the regular opposition. This party consisted of sir Francis Burdett and his friends. It is not easy to perceive on what ground they had built their expectations, or whether they actually indulged them ; but they openly and loudly expressed their hopes, that when the prince became unrestricted regent, he would favour their darling scheme of parliamentary reform. Viewing him as friendly to this measure, they were loud, unequivocal, and almost violent, in his praise ; and their conduct was such as to have almost a ridiculous, or a suspicious effect : for when those men were seen applauding the prince, and outvying the court party in their expressions of zeal and attachment to royalty, and their former principles and conduct

were recollected, and brought into contrast with their present avowal and behaviour, it was extremely difficult to keep down the suspicion that all was not sincere ; that they wished merely to forward their own views and plans ; and that as soon as they perceived that the regent was cool or averse towards them, they would change their language and conduct towards him. This latter expectation, or conjecture, however, was not immediately or fully verified ; for it must be acknowledged, that long after the whig party had ceased to entertain any hopes that the prince would take them into power,—and when, in consequence of their disappointment, they had indulged in bitter and sarcastic language towards him, and with more rancour than prudence had endeavoured to revenge themselves upon him, for blasting their hopes and forsaking his old principles and friends,—even at this time, sir Francis Burdett and his party (though, if they were sincere in their expectations of the line of conduct which the regent would pursue, their disappointment must have been more extreme and bitter) still continued to indulge the hope that he would recover himself, forsake the political principles and conduct of his father, dismiss his father's ministers, and pay attention solely to what they represented as the wishes and the real interests of the nation.

Such was the state of political feeling, the nature and tendency of political expectation, with regard to the prince, among the three great parties in parliament : it is not so easy to ascertain and describe the feelings and expectations of the nation at large on this interesting and important subject. The prince had for a long time certainly been regarded

garded by them, with every wish to believe him both intelligent and radically good principled; and candour, which with the British nation is very cheerfully and liberally spread over the follies and faults of their sovereigns, had ascribed the behaviour and dispositions in his youth, which they could not approve, to the natural tendency of that period of life, encouraged by bad example, and stimulated by bad advisers. The manner in which he had been treated by his royal father also pleaded with them as an apology for his faults: he had been kept with something very like jealousy and suspicion, from all participation in public business; no care had been taken to form those habits of attention and application, which it would be necessary to call into immediate and active service as soon as he should succeed to the throne. The nation recollected, that when he had offered to fight at the head of his regiment for his country, on the alarm of an invasion, his offer had been haughtily and sullenly repulsed; they recollected all these things; and determined to abstain from all severe censure, if while sovereign or regent he did not discover those regular habits and that attention to business which had distinguished his father.

But while they were disposed to overlook or pardon much, they had limits to their candour. They reasonably supposed, that the events of the French revolution had read to sovereigns and princes such a lesson, as would indelibly impress on their conviction and memory the absolute necessity for, at least, a decorous line of life. This lesson, they hoped, would counteract in some degree the habits of dissipation or idleness, which a youth who

had been neglected, had formed and indulged. The appearance of propriety and decorum they expected from their sovereign, even if they actually did not exist: on these points they were disposed also to be rather strict in their expectations, from another cause. His majesty had always been distinguished for propriety of domestic and private conduct; and his unpopularity had been often redeemed or lessened by the recollection of his virtues as a father and a husband; and the regularity, temperance, and decorum which he displayed as a man. On the whole, therefore, the nation (though, as has been remarked, strongly disposed to regard their sovereigns with a candid eye, and to make allowance for their follies and foibles) tried the prince by rather a severe test, when they applied to him the example of his father, and expected that the calamities and disgrace which the French revolution had shed on most of the crowned heads of Europe, would dispose and enable him to break the fetters of habits long formed, and at his time of life become almost a second nature.

Such may be regarded as the feelings of the reflecting and considerate part of the nation with respect to the prince: with these feelings, they were more inclined to approve than censure his conduct in retaining Mr. Perceval in his ministry, when he first became regent: they looked upon it as a proof and instance of more regard to his father's memory (for he might almost be considered as dead to all the purposes of public life) than they had expected from the son. Such of the nation as were attached to the principles and conduct of Mr. Perceval, of course had

an additional motive for applauding the prince for not changing his father's ministers. But even that part of it who were disposed to condemn the measures which had been pursued during this king's reign, and the principles on which those measures had been grounded and justified, though, at first, disappointment and chagrin might have irritated their feelings against the prince for not dismissing Mr. Perceval, yet, on cool reflection, they rather approved than condemned. They were convinced they ought not to consider this action as a proof, or even a presumption, of the plan he would pursue when he became unrestricted regent; and ascribing it to the motive which the prince himself had expressly declared alone actuated him—respect for his father—the private character of the regent rose in their estimation; while they fondly cherished the belief, that the steadiness and consistency of his public conduct could not fairly or justly be impeached. But when, in the course of the restricted regency, the nation witnessed his dislike to Mr. Perceval fast passing away,—when they afterwards, before many months had elapsed, had undoubted proofs that the prince had absolutely forsaken his old friends, and thrown himself into the arms of his father's minister; and when it was evident that the public measures of Mr. Perceval were sanctioned by the regent, not merely in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, but because they met his own opinions, and received his own approbation,—all expressed their extreme surprise: while, in some, surprise was mixed with disappointment and vexation; in others, joy, exultation, and hope. It may, however, be remarked, that even

those who rejoiced in the change of sentiment which had taken place in the prince, had their joy mingled, and occasionally interrupted, with apprehension and suspicion; when they reflected on the uncalled-for and vehement proofs which, only a short time before, the prince had given of his attachment to whig principles, they could not keep down a suspicion, that his change was not sincere, or an apprehension that, if sincere, it would not be permanent.

In the mean time, the month of February, towards the termination of which the restrictions were to expire, approached and commenced; and no arrangements appeared to have been made for a total or even partial change of ministry. The opposition, however, even under these unpromising circumstances, still held out the idea that the prince would take them into power; they, rather rudely and imprudently called to his recollection, and to that of the nation, the sentiments which were contained in his celebrated letter to Mr. Perceval, when he desired him to continue minister: they contended, in the newspapers known to be devoted to them, and to be employed to express their opinions, that it was impossible the prince could retain the present ministers in power; that to suppose so would be a libel on his character; and that the more natural, as well as the more honourable expectation was, that he would with promptitude and pleasure embrace the earliest opportunity of freeing himself from men whom he had retained in power against his own inclinations, solely from causes and reasons which no longer existed. As there is no ground for supposing that the regent had opened his mind to Mr. Perceval and his col-

colleagues respecting the plan he meant to pursue when he became unrestricted regent, whatever inference they might have drawn from his general behaviour towards them, they thought it prudent as well as decorous to prepare for their removal; their conduct on this delicate and trying occasion, therefore, was more circumspect and proper than that of the opposition; and to a person who closely and narrowly watched both parties, the suspicion would almost unavoidably occur, that Mr. Perceval and his friends had actually more hope and confidence, in the midst of their silent preparations for removal, than the opposition, in the midst of their blustering and avowed preparations for becoming ministers.

At length the prince took a decisive step in this important and long delayed affair; and the character of this primary step, in several particulars, was such as could leave no doubt in the minds of cool and impartial persons, that he did not wish the opposition to come into power; and that not wishing it, he had offered it to them in such a manner, and on such conditions, as he knew would render the offer utterly objectionable. In the first place, instead of communicating directly either with lord Grey or lord Grenville, who were the heads of the opposition party, he wrote a letter to the duke of York, empowering him to communicate the contents of it to lord Grey. The very plea on which this mode of communication was justified, afforded an additional proof that the regent had lost all desire of employing the services of his old friends. It was stated, that according to usage and etiquette in these matters, he could not have written

directly either to lord Grey or lord Grenville, unless he had intended that the person so written to should become his prime minister, and should in every particular have the complete and uncontrolled arrangement of the cabinet. But as the prince did not mean either that lord Grey or lord Grenville on the one side, or Mr. Perceval on the other, should be his prime minister, without a mutual understanding and arrangement between the parties, he did not think it proper to give such a proof that he wished any of them to be his prime minister, as would have been afforded by commanding them to form an administration. This plea, then, on which the mode of communication was justified, sufficiently indicated that the prince did not wish lords Grey and Grenville to come into power, because he must have known them sufficiently well to have been convinced that, unless they had the entire and uncontrolled arrangement of an administration, they would not form a part of it.

But in the manner of the letter to the duke of York there was another proof (subordinate, indeed, to the one just discussed) that the prince was cooled in his attachment to the opposition; and that he intended to offer them the opportunity of coming into power rather to keep up appearances, and not to break the letter of the promises which seemed to be implied in his communication to Mr. Perceval, when he first became regent, than because he either wished or expected they would embrace it;—after stating his sentiments on public affairs, and the kind of administration which he was desirous to form, the prince, at the very conclusion

of his letter, appears suddenly to recollect himself, and adds, "You are authorised to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, *who I have no doubt will make them known to lord Grenville.*" Now, as the prince knew the close attachment between these two noblemen,—as his own observation and experience must have convinced him that this attachment would prevent the one from coming into power, if the other declined it, and that the character and disposition of lord Grenville rendered him feelingly alive to any appearance of neglect,—could he have devised any other means more likely to be efficacious in disgusting or affronting lord Grenville, than this bye mode of mentioning him at the very close of his letter? The dislike of the prince to this nobleman is supposed to have arisen, in a great degree, from the very open and decisive part which his relations took against the duke of York in the affair of Mrs. Clarke.

Having thus offered some preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed to the consideration of the letter itself.—[See Principal Occurrences, p. 45-7.]

In the commencement of the letter, the prince states and explains the reasons which had induced him to be silent so long on the arrangements he intended to form, and the measures he intended to pursue, when the restrictions were taken off his authority. The question of catholic emancipation had been discussed early in the session of parliament; and as it was his most anxious desire that this important subject should rest entirely on its own merits, and that no expectation of obtaining or preserving power should influence the

votes which might be given on that occasion, he had hitherto withheld his sentiments and intentions respecting the arrangements of an administration.

The letter next adverts at considerable length to the circumstances under which he had been appointed regent; the motives which had actuated his conduct at that period; and the gratification he felt in the reflection, that in the "opinion of those persons for whose judgement and honourable feelings he entertained the highest respect in various instances," he had acted, while restricted regent, as "the genuine representative of the august person whose functions he was appointed to discharge." "A new era had arrived:"—during the short period which had elapsed since he was appointed regent, the most splendid and decisive success had crowned the British arms; the public faith had been most solemnly and strictly observed towards our allies; "and if character is strength, as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms will show to the nations of the continent how much they may achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke."

Hitherto there is no passage or sentiment in this letter which points out the line of domestic or foreign policy which the prince wished to pursue: all is general, and unobjectionable by either party. The next sentence, however, comes more closely to particulars; but with much ingenuity it introduces the development of the foreign policy which the prince's administration was expected to pursue, by a reference to a very popular topic—the war in the peninsula. By the

the introduction of this topic so expressly, it must have been expected that the opposition would be considerably embarrassed: they had, from the commencement of the peninsular war, condemned it in strong and unequivocal terms, yet it was so decidedly and generally popular, that the noble lords to whom the letter to the duke of York was to be communicated, could hardly ground their refusal to come into power upon their aversion to the Spanish contest. Indeed, there is an expression in the letter on this subject, which, unless a very loose as well as a very candid interpretation be put upon it, must be regarded as a proof that the prince did not wish lords Grey and Grenville to form part of the new administration, or at least to take the lead in it, and give it the peculiar character of their own political principles and belief:—"In the critical situation of the war in the peninsula, *I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure which can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system.*" But had not lords Grey and Grenville strongly reprobated that system?—Had they not declared, that in their opinion the British troops ought to be withdrawn from the peninsula?—Had they not either passed over in silent and contemptuous silence the victories which the British arms had obtained in the peninsula, or questioned their utility and importance?—in short, Had they not uniformly expressed themselves in such a manner whenever the peninsular war was agitated, as unavoidably led to the belief, that if they should obtain the reins of government, it would be immediately and utterly abandoned? By taking these men into power, therefore, would not the prince be adopting, instead of

avoiding, a measure which would lead his allies to suppose that he meant to depart from the present system. Even on the supposition that lords Grey and Grenville had changed their opinions on the peninsular war, or that, since it was embarked in, they thought it right and expedient to continue the contest;—under either supposition, the introduction of them into power must have loosened the confidence and faith which the conduct of Great Britain had inspired into the Spanish and Portuguese nations, and which naturally looked up to Mr. Perceval and his associates alone for nourishment and support.

The conclusion of the letter affords, if possible, still less equivocal and accidental proofs that the prince anticipated with indifference, if not with positive dislike, the introduction of the whig party into power; for it must have been remarked, that though the avowed object of the letter was to express the prince's sentiments respecting "the arrangements for a future administration," no arrangement was even hinted at in the body of the letter; and the manner in which it is at last introduced, betrays such a careless indifference, as is hardly compatible with any idea of sincere earnestness:—"I cannot conclude, without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my life were formed, would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government." His motive for this wish is then given; "With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged."

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The letter concludes with the passage we have already alluded to : " You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, who I have no doubt will make them known to lord Grenville." In a postscript it is added, that a copy of the letter would be immediately sent to Mr. Perceval.

The prince regent's letter to the duke of York is dated on the 13th of February ; on the 15th lords Grey and Grenville returned their answer. After expressions of gratitude for the condescending manner in which the duke of York had communicated the prince's letter to them, they briefly recapitulate the first and principal part of it ; on this they observe, they shall offer no comments ; but supposing themselves to be alluded to in the concluding paragraph, where the prince intimates his wish, that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his royal highness's hands, and constitute a part of his government ; they consider it due to his royal highness and to themselves, to explain themselves with frankness and sincerity. The dilemma into which it is probable, as has been already remarked, that the prince expected they would be thrown, by his allusion to the peninsular war, they contrive to elude, by not adverting directly or specifically to that subject. They state generally, that it is impossible for them to unite with the present government ; that this determination has been adopted, after deliberate, impartial, and cool reflection : they disclaim all idea of grounding it on the principle of personal exclusion ; to public measures alone they have looked, and on them they differ so much with

the persons whom the prince wishes to form a part of the administration, that they cannot unite with them : their differences are too many and too important to admit of such an union. These differences, in another part of the letter, they declare, embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. These are the only passages which, by implication, can be fairly supposed to allude to the peninsular war ; and yet, though thus generally and vaguely expressed, they are sufficiently strong and direct to justify the conclusion, that on this most vital and important topic the sentiments and views of the noble lords were unchanged.

But though they are thus guarded on the subject of the peninsular war, on which they must have been sensible they differed from the nation at large, they dwell at considerable length on the question of catholic emancipation. It was believed that the prince had repeatedly and unsought declared, that this was a measure of primary importance ; and the catholics certainly, whether justly or unjustly, looked up to him as the supporter of what they conceived to be their rights, and confidently anticipated from him, as sovereign, the immediate and complete enjoyment of those rights. Under the impression of these circumstances,—convinced that the question of catholic emancipation, though perhaps not extremely popular, was every day forcing itself on the minds of the nation as one absolutely necessary for the tranquillity and security of the empire ; and being themselves firmly and conscientiously persuaded that no line of foreign policy could be long and successfully pursued while the catholics were discon-

discontented and oppressed,—they honourably, as well as wisely, dwelt with great emphasis and effect on this topic.

Adverting to that passage of his royal highness's letter which relates to the deliberations of parliament on the affairs of Ireland, they declare it to be "a subject of all others important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers." On this subject they differed essentially from his majesty's ministers; and in this difference of opinion they were more and more confirmed by every day's observation and experience. The subject they viewed, not only as important, but as urgent in the highest degree: delay on it would be pregnant with present and future danger: they would not answer for the safety of the empire, if the state of Ireland were not immediately investigated, and if a radical and effectual remedy were not applied to her grievances and misery. Thus deeply impressed with the urgent importance of catholic emancipation, they should, if they became his royal highness's ministers, as the first advice which they would consider it their duty to offer to his royal highness, press on him the necessity of recommending to parliament the repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his majesty's subjects still laboured, on account of their religious opinions. "Could we (they add) even for the shortest time make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the prospect of a measure, without which we could entertain no hope of rendering ourselves useful to his royal highness or the country." The letter then concludes with a cold and formal wish for the ease, honour, and ad-

vantage of his royal highness's government.

The result was what might naturally have been expected from the manner, tone, and substance, both of the regent's letter, and of the answer of lords Grey and Grenville. The regent had done what he considered it his duty, rather than what inclination prompted him to do, by offering to include some of his old friends in the ministerial arrangements: they had declined the offer; that he deserted them, therefore, was not his fault; at least it was hoped and expected that the nation would pardon, if they did not absolutely justify, the prince's conduct on this occasion. He had indeed separated himself from his old friends, and attached himself to Mr. Perceval; but he had separated himself from men who disapproved of the peninsular war—that war which had yielded such a rich harvest of success and glory, and which, both on this account, and on account of the policy which dictated its commencement and continuance, was extremely popular in the British empire.

Had the determination of the regent to retain Mr. Perceval disappointed the hopes and expectations only of the opposition and of their friends, it is highly probable that it would have been passed over without much notice or comment, and it certainly would not have excited very strong or very general dissatisfaction; for the opposition were not popular. Their conduct on many occasions, when consistency and firmness of principle had been looked for from them, had been vacillating, if not at direct variance with their professions and their avowed principles. Affecting to
glory,

glory, and to ground their claim to popularity, on their abhorrence of undefined and encroaching power, they had in more than one instance lent themselves to its support, when they thus expected to secure or recall the prince's favour ; and they had acted thus, when common sense and the smallest degree of foresight and experience might have taught them, that they were exposing themselves to the charge of inconsistency, with no chance or prospect of reaping any advantage from such tergiversation. To jobbing and speculation they had for many years declared themselves decided and violent enemies ; and yet in the affair of col. M'Mahon, and in other instances scarcely less marked, they had been either silent, cold, and reluctant disapprovers, or actual supporters. Till the period when for a short season they tasted the fruits of power, on the death of Mr. Pitt, they had regularly come forward as the friends of parliamentary reform : this measure they had held forth as the remedy for all the weaknesses which old age and mismanagement had brought on the constitution ; as the certain means of securing the rights and the interests of the people ; and as of such perpetual and paramount necessity, that no season, no circumstances could be unfit for carrying it into execution : but no sooner had they touched the treasury bench, than on this, as well as on other topics, their opinions underwent a complete and radical change. This change, indeed, they did not exhibit to the nation in all its naked deformity : they veiled it over under the plea, that the circumstances in which the British empire and Europe at large were placed, were so utterly changed, that a measure

formerly fraught with undoubted and great advantage, might now be prejudicial. Some of them even went further, and acknowledged that more mature reflection, and larger views of mankind, had convinced them that the benefits of parliamentary reform would be neither so certain nor so numerous as they before had fondly anticipated. By such conduct, while at the same time they still held themselves out as radically consistent ; as the friends of the people ; as the only party who entertained enlarged and liberal political views, and on whom alone the interests and happiness of the country could safely rest—they gradually sunk into unpopularity. The little which they had done while in power, (though, if all circumstances are considered, candour will advance plausible, if not satisfactory, reasons for this) when contrasted with what they had promised, and viewed in conjunction with their subsequent conduct ; on which we have already animadverted, had led the nation at large to regard them with indifference at least, if not with contempt and dislike.

On this account their disappointment in not being intrusted by the prince with the management of affairs was not sympathized in by the nation : but it was impossible to separate his desertion of them from his desertion of those principles which had first made them popular, and which they still professed, though they did not regulate their political measures. The prince also had passed over from a party, certainly not the favourites of the nation, to another party, which, though supported by many classes and ranks of the community, was extremely obnoxious to that class

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of men who make up for their want of numbers and consequence by their restless and loud clamours. He had also disappointed the hopes and expectations of a very respectable and well meaning class, not numerous, indeed, and more remarkable for their good principles and good intentions, than for the profoundness of their views, or the practicability of their schemes: these men had fondly looked forward to the period when the prince should ascend the throne, as the commencement of a new era:—he was to banish all speculation, corruption, and war. The Utopian visions with which their imagination had so long feasted their hopes was to be realized; and the fourth George was to renew the golden age in Britain.

These men uniting with those whose views were less pure and patriotic, determined to express the disappointment they had experienced by the prince's resolution to retain Mr. Perceval and his party. The city of London took the lead; a meeting of the livery was held on the 27th of March; it was numerously attended, and the proceedings were very interesting, as shewing the state of political feeling in the metropolis. The avowed object of the meeting was, "to take into consideration the unprecedented situation of the country, and to adopt such measures as might be thought necessary for promoting inquiry into the state of public affairs; for reforming public abuses; and above all, for effecting a reform in the representation of the people in parliament." From this statement of the object for which the livery were assembled, it will be sufficiently obvious that much latitude was given for discussion; that without wander-

ing from the point, the whole of the foreign and domestic policy of the country might relevantly be laid open and canvassed; and that neither in their discussions, nor in the resolutions which they might form, could there be much connexion or unity of subject.

The meeting was opened by a long speech from Mr. Waithman, in the course of which he contrived, with no small degree of ingenuity and success, to touch upon all the real and supposed grievances of the nation, in such a manner as to produce considerable sympathy and effect. The hopes which the country had entertained of the prince—the eager and fond satisfaction with which they looked forward to his reign, as the termination of that system of corruption, extravagance, grinding taxation, and unnecessary war, under which they had so long groaned—were brought forward in strong language, and were, perhaps, purposely exaggerated, in order that the contrast between what they expected, and what they witnessed and experienced, might be more deep and striking. It was not a difficult matter to select excellent topics for popular and impressive declamation on this subject; and these Mr. Waithman did not neglect. Mr. Perceval and lord Castlereagh, who had been charged with the unconstitutional act of bartering for seats in parliament, were still in power; the income tax was not only rendered more severe, but was carried into execution in a manner not unworthy of the inquisition; and what was the application and use of the money which was wrung from the nation in this violent and oppressive manner? Was it expended to secure or promote the real interest, of the country, to improve her agricul-

agriculture and commerce, or to benefit the condition of her inhabitants, it might be given without much reluctance; but the direct contrary was the fact: the nation had the mortification to see the taxes, wrung from the hard hands of honest industry, dissipated in extravagance; bestowed on unworthy favourites,—on men who spent it in attempts on the liberty of their country,—of that country from which they received it; or it was squandered away in wars, neither just nor necessary in their commencement, nor defensible in the objects for which they were continued, nor wise in the manner in which they were conducted.

From this topic Mr. Waithman passed to the depreciation of our paper-currency; "We had a fictitious depreciated paper-currency instead of the sterling coin of the realm; and hence we were in the habit of having forged notes thrust upon us, which, when taken to the Bank, were detained from us, and we had no possibility of tracing them back or recovering our losses."

At the close of his speech, Mr. Waithman described the kind of ministers who, in his opinion, could alone save or benefit the country: "they ought to be men of rank, property, and character in the country, and who had pledged themselves to those salutary reforms which were essentially necessary to save it. If the present ministers were dismissed only for the purpose of bringing in a set of men not radically different in their principles and conduct, the change would be a mere palliative, not a cure of the evil: there must be an entire change of system: that which was now and had been long pursued, would prove fatal to the country, by whomsoever its affairs

were administered. He therefore did not wish to remove the present ministers, unless the system itself was abandoned; if the system were persevered in, he had no choice on the subject of the men by whom it was to be pursued." Mr. Waithman concluded by moving twelve resolutions: the following is the substance of the most important of them.

That the baneful effects of corrupt and unconstitutional influence had long been witnessed with concern and anxiety; from the operations of this influence had flowed unnecessary and expensive wars, corruption, speculation, the increase of ministerial patronage, and oppressive taxation. By the waste and extravagance which it had produced, we had been compelled to have recourse to a paper-currency, which had become greatly depreciated, and which threatened confusion to the public finances, and ruin to the public creditor. This influence might also be traced in the protection which it had afforded to two individuals, who had been charged with trafficking in seats in the house of commons; in the refusal to inquire into the disgraceful and calamitous expedition to Walcheren; and in the reappointment of the duke of York: on all these points the sense of the nation had been utterly and most contemptuously disregarded. The ruin of our commerce; and the introduction into Great Britain of foreign mercenaries, formed the subjects of the 5th and 6th resolutions. All these evils the nation had called upon parliament to remove; but they had called in vain. Parliament had received and treated with indifference and disdain the petitions of the people, while free access to the throne had been denied

nied them. All these grievances the 8th resolution ascribed to the corrupt and inadequate state of the representation:—this, the great source of all their calamities, they confidently hoped would have been removed, when the restrictions on the powers of the regent ceased; and this hope they founded “on the avowed hostility of his royal highness to the system so long pursued, and on his own declarations;” they therefore beheld with grief and astonishment those men continued in power, who were the chief approvers and supporters of that system which his royal highness had reprobated; such an event was afflicting to a loyal and intelligent people, and portentous to the welfare of the empire. They therefore resolved to address his royal highness, representing their numerous grievances, and praying that he would be pleased to dismiss his evil advisers, and to call into the public service such men only as were pledged to the country to effect those salutary reformatations so imperiously called for; to correct those abuses and corruptions which had taken root in every department of the state, and to accomplish that radical and effectual reform in the house of commons which should make it truly speak the independent and loyal feelings of the people; and no longer continue the convenient engine of the sinister views and corrupt resources of any minister for the time being.

The resolutions in general, as well as the petition, were carried, almost unanimously; afterwards, Mr. Waithman moved an instruction to their representatives to support in parliament the spirit of the resolutions: this motion necessarily brought up the city members. Sir William Curtis openly declared,

“that he considered himself a free man when he entered parliament, and should always so consider himself: he should always hear the opinions of his constituents with pleasure, but determine for himself;” and he frankly told them he disapproved of most of the doctrines contained in most of the resolutions, and could not support them. Alderman Combe was of a directly opposite opinion from sir William Curtis, both with regard to the duty of a member of parliament, and with regard to the resolutions: “he would either obey the instructions of his constituents, or resign his seat.” Sir Charles Price next rose; but owing to the clamorous disapprobation with which he was received, little of his speech could be heard: he disapproved of the resolutions, and in parliament would be guided only by his own conscientious opinion. Sir James Shaw expressed similar sentiments on both these points, but was received with still louder marks of disapprobation.

The proceedings of the livery on this occasion naturally suggest some reflections on the unfair and illiberal manner in which they received the speeches of those who opposed the resolutions; on the doctrine on which Mr. Waithman founded his motion for instructing their representatives; and on the proof which the spirit and tendency of the resolutions, and the very great majority by which they were carried, afford of the independence and the actual political sentiments of the livery of London.

Those who espouse and maintain what are called whig principles, lay claim to a greater share of political information and liberality than what they are disposed to attribute to their opponents; and
those

those who go still further than the whigs in their political sentiments,—who maintain that their object and wish is to restore the genuine British constitution by a reform in parliament,—assume to themselves the merit of being still more liberal and candid, and greater enemies to oppression and violence in every sort. They triumphantly contend, that as the opinions they hold are founded in truth, they do not require the support of authority, much less of authority backed by bribes and threats; that truth requires only free and open discussion to win its way among all classes of mankind. But what is the fact, as displayed in all popular assemblies: are the whigs, or those who arrogate to themselves a still greater portion of intellect, political purity, and soundness of principle, more disposed than their opponents to listen with calm, cool, and liberal attention to free discussion? Certainly they are not; and we may therefore very fairly conclude that the opinions which they profess to hold are either taken up at random, and are not the result of inquiry and conviction, or they are not their genuine sentiments. When their opponents step forward to refute the arguments which they have brought forward, why do they silence them with loud and violent clamour? Are they afraid that their own opinions will not stand the test of investigation? This they dare not maintain: on the contrary, they ought to hold that the greater opportunity their opponents have to display their sentiments, the more the weakness and inconsistency of them will be laid bare, and consequently the more clearly the truth will appear. But if the conduct of those who lay claim to the respected and proud

title of friends of liberty, is inconsistent and unworthy of them, when they refuse to listen to the arguments of their opponents; how much more disgraceful is it, when they will not permit their opponents to rebut the charges that they bring forward on these public occasions against their political character and conduct? It is only necessary to peruse the proceedings of one common hall, to perceive instances of this most shameful and illiberal conduct. A city orator steps forward, and accuses his representatives, or one of his fellow citizens, with selling his conscience and vote to the minister of the day: he stigmatizes him with the most corrupt proceedings: he accuses him of being an enemy to the people: he thus not only endeavours to blacken and injure his character, but he exposes him to the indignation of the populace. All this may be very fair and justifiable, provided the charges are brought forward in an open and manly manner—not supported by mere declamation, and an appeal to the feelings and prejudices of the audience, but by well authenticated facts, and just deductions from those facts—and above all, if the accused person is allowed a candid, attentive, dispassionate, and full hearing;—and that this would be the case most completely; that all this would be granted, or rather offered to the accused, uninformed people would be prone to anticipate, when their accusers are men who are constantly inveighing against falsehood and tyranny,—who are blaming government for checking, controlling, or preventing free and full discussion, or for condemning without a fair and legal trial. How bitterly must those be disappointed who entertain such expectations; how astonished

nished and indignant must they be, when they perceive that the accused are absolutely refused a patient and calm hearing; that as soon as they rise to explain or defend their principles or conduct, loud, angry, and violent clamour drowns their voices, and compels them to sit down! Can men who act in this manner really believe what they profess? have they any just and well grounded claim to that superiority over their opponents which they assume to themselves? or can any real benefit to the cause, which they espouse and defend be expected from them? The cause they espouse is that of truth and liberty—the cause which of all others is most rapidly and assuredly promoted by liberality, free discussion, and candour; and which from no mode of behaviour receives such a fatal blow, as from violent and clamorous attempts to silence investigation.

But it has been urged in exculpation of this behaviour on the part of the patriots (as they exclusively term themselves), that it is improper and absurd to expect from them cool and dispassionate feelings at a time when their anger and indignation are roused by the political profligacy of their representatives. Assuredly political profligacy should always be visited by anger and indignation; but the fact of such profligacy should previously be established on the most undoubted and full testimony. If these persons were real friends to their own cause, they would bring forward their charges in a cool manner; they would appeal to facts for their truth and justice, and afterwards they would listen attentively to what the accused had to urge in reply and defence. If the charges were well grounded, the attempt to

repel them or explain them away, in most cases, would only fix them more strongly and closely on the accused; and the cause of truth and liberty, in this as in all other cases, where open and full discussion is allowed, would be benefited. But how contrary is the conduct of the patriots! and by that conduct how plainly do they discover that they are ignorant of the superior nature and privileges of the cause they espouse! They silence by clamour those whom they accuse; they thus not only act unjustly and unfairly towards them, but most ignorantly and blindly towards the cause of truth and liberty. On the whole, therefore, it may be laid down as a proposition which cannot be denied, that such conduct as that which is too often displayed in popular assemblies, by those who arrogate to themselves the title of patriots, is unworthy of their cause, highly prejudicial to it, most illiberal and unjust to their opponents; and that it affords a well grounded presumption that their political sentiments are the result of mere feeling and prejudice; and that so springing, and so exhibiting themselves, such patriots can neither be trusted for consistency and firmness of conduct in the hour of temptation or danger, nor can they really benefit and extend the cause of truth and liberty. It will be observed, in the account which has been given of the proceedings of the common hall, that Mr. Waithman moved an instruction to their representatives to support in parliament the spirit of the resolutions of the day: that while sir William Curtis, sir Charles Price, and sir James Shaw declared, that when in parliament they could only vote in the manner which their judgments and consciences approved,

and therefore could not obey the instructions of their constituents where they were convinced that such instructions were erroneous, alderman Combe expressly stated, that he should either obey the instructions of his constituents, or else resign his seat.

The question, how far a representative ought to obey the instructions of his constituents, is one of considerable difficulty, as well as interest and importance. In a superficial and popular view of the subject, it would seem to be of easy and obvious solution; and this solution would be, that in all cases a representative ought to be guided by the instructions or the supposed wishes of his constituents. The main argument on which this discussion is grounded rests, almost exclusively, on a verbal observation: A member of parliament, it is said, is, by the very appellation given to him, the *representative* of his constituents: but how can he *represent* them, unless he acts as they would act, and votes as they would vote? But even this argument will not bear out the inference which is drawn from it; for a representative (in the common and legitimate sense of the word) has some powers given him: he is scarcely in any case, or under any circumstances, supposed to be entirely bound up from acting according to the dictates of his own judgement. In fact, the duty of a representative is to do the best for his constituents; and if this is the duty of a person who is appointed to act for another on common occasions, it is certainly much more the duty of a member of parliament.

On this point, as on all others of practical policy, regard must be had to a comparison of difficulties

and disadvantages; and that course must be pursued which embraces and secures the greatest number of advantages, counterbalanced by as few evils, and those of as trifling a nature as possible. The evils which are supposed to result from a representative not obeying the instructions of his constituents, or which actually do result, only appear great and alarming when viewed through the medium of popular prejudice, and under the impression of popular feeling; while the evils which actually flow from a representative obeying the instructions of his constituents are real, numerous, and strike deeply at the root of political liberty, and the public tranquillity and happiness. The grand and leading principle on which the doctrine is built, that a representative ought to obey the instructions of his constituents, is this; that there can be no actual or valuable liberty where the will and wishes of the people are contravened; that their will and wishes on all the fundamental and leading points ought to be consulted and followed; and that therefore, as it is the right of the people to express their will and wishes, it is the duty of the government, and more especially of their representatives in parliament, to follow it when so expressed. This proposition, perhaps, may be allowed to be unexceptionable in a certain sense, and yet, undoubtedly it is very exceptionable when explained in a definite and clear manner. Most governments are now aware, that where the will and wishes of the people are generally and decidedly against them, they cannot stand; they therefore endeavour, by means which they have always in their power, to gain over the sentiments

iments of the people, or at least to silence them, instead, as formerly, of proceeding in direct and violent opposition to them. It is also true, that where the wishes and opinions of the people are opposed to the best form of government, or the wisest and most salutary measures, that form and those measures will be of no avail in rendering them contented and happy. But a difference ought always to be made between the long established and settled opinions (or prejudices they may be) of the people, and opinions they take up from the circumstances or impressions of the moment, maintain for a short time with violence and clamour, and then resign with the most complete apathy and indifference. Are the representatives of the people to be equally bound by the former and the latter set of opinions? As prudent and wise men, they will lay aside their support of a measure, however beneficial to the nation they may be convinced it would be, if they are convinced that the popular opposition to it is so deeply and permanently seated that it will not be speedily or quietly conquered. But though they may consent to relinquish what is good, certainly no instructions from their constituents ought to induce them to bring into parliament, or to support there by their speeches or votes, what they are convinced is prejudicial; and perhaps what their knowledge and experience of popular feeling and sentiment leads them to expect will be abandoned by their constituents as readily as it was embraced. In discussing this question, it ought always to be recollected that a member of parliament, if he is anxious to discharge the duties of his situation completely and conscientiously, should consider the in-

terests of the nation at large, not the local interests, and much less the temporary and irritated prejudices of his own constituents; and though a member of parliament would be justified, on the score of prudence and policy, in withdrawing his support from a measure against which the nation at large had set themselves in complete and decided array,—however much he might regret the necessity for so doing,—yet he certainly could not be justified in abandoning a wise and salutary measure, to which the nation at large was not adverse, merely because his own constituents instructed him to oppose it.

We have hitherto considered the question solely in reference to the interests of the nation, and to the conscientious discharge of the duty of the representative: in these points of view, the doctrine that representatives ought to obey the instructions of their constituents cannot be defended: if they did, the interests of the nation would often be sacrificed to popular and temporary clamour, and the real independence and usefulness of a member of parliament would be utterly destroyed. None would accept the situation but men of desperate and profligate principles and character, whose sole object would be to rouse and flatter the prejudices and worst feelings of the populace: the measures of government would be unstable and undignified, and the house of commons would soon be the contempt even of the men who insisted on filling it with such representatives.

But the question may be considered in another point of view. The sole object of the constituents in returning men to parliament must be supposed to be, to watch over and promote their interests as

part of the nation, and their interests so far as they depend on local circumstances. It may be admitted that, with respect to the last class of interests, representatives ought to be guided solely by the wishes of their constituents, for two very obvious and cogent reasons, neither of which applies to the first set of interests, and which therefore serve to draw the line between what constituents ought to claim and expect from their representatives and what they ought not;—and, on the other hand, what the latter ought to do at the bidding of their constituents, and what they ought not. In the first place, so far as local interests are concerned, the constituents must be better judges of them than their representatives can be; for this reason, therefore, he should be guided by their instructions; but, in the second place, the duty of a member of parliament to the nation at large cannot possibly interfere in cases where the local interests of his constituents are concerned: he ought therefore to act by their instructions, because they are the best judges of what is fit and proper to be done, and by obeying their instructions it is impossible he can contravene the paramount duty he owes to the nation. But where his constituents instruct him on questions of national interest the case is nearly reversed: he must be supposed to possess means and opportunities of informing himself on all questions of general policy, whether domestic or foreign, much more extensive and accurate than his constituents can command; he can view the subject much more coolly, leisurely and comprehensively than they can: besides, they view it only as their particular prejudices place it before them, or as their local interests are promoted or in-

jured; he can view it apart from these sources of error. The representative indeed may be ignorant, or prejudiced, or he may be corrupt; but, as it is only a choice of evils, the question is, whether the real interests of the constituents will not be more effectually and certainly promoted, if they are intrusted to a person of superior judgement and talents, placed in a situation where he can obtain the best means of information, or if they are kept in the hands of men who can only occasionally examine them, and who scarcely ever come to the examination with adequate knowledge, or with cool and dispassionate minds. If therefore the house of commons are to be the real guardians of the public interests, the members of it ought to be allowed to follow their own judgement in all questions of domestic and foreign policy: the constituents indeed have an undoubted right (and a right which they ought frequently to exercise and jealously to watch) not only to petition the house of commons, but to inform their representatives of their sentiments: but instead of directing them to vote in a particular manner, they should confine themselves to a statement of the facts and arguments that have induced them to adopt the particular opinion which they wish their constituents to hold and support in parliament. It is possible they may be able to bring over their constituents to their way of thinking; but if they do not, they should not expect them to forsake their own merely in compliance with their instructions; for they may be assured that they would not be benefited by changing a member who voted on his own cool and well-informed judgement for one who gave up what he was convinced was true, just

just and beneficial, in compliance with the clamour and violence of popular feeling and prejudice.

Were a judgement to be formed of the political principles and independence of the livery of London from the character which uniformly marks their proceedings, when assembled in common hall, it would undoubtedly be extremely erroneous, unless indeed the common and just observation occurred and was applied to them, that those who are most loud in their professions are not always the most sincere, and that those who talk most of the sacrifices which they would endure, to manifest or support their political principles, frequently flinch in a disgraceful and cowardly manner when that trial is at hand. Even with this remark in mind, and applied to the livery of London, it would scarcely be expected that the men who almost unanimously reprobated the conduct and principles of three of their representatives;—who ascribed all the misery and slavery, which they insisted nearly overwhelmed the nation, to the measures of ministers, which measures these reprobated representatives had uniformly supported in parliament;—who felt such an abhorrence at the men and their conduct that they could not endure to hear them speak, and thus permitted the strength and vividness of their abhorrence to drive from their recollection those principles of independence and liberty of which they professed themselves the admirers and supporters;—it would scarcely have been expected that when such men had an opportunity of electing their members of parliament, they would return the very same representatives:—yet so it has been repeatedly. To judge from the proceedings of

the common halls, it would be supposed that all the four members for the city of London would be returned of the popular party;—that such men as sir William Curtis, sir Charles Price, and sir James Shaw, not having been permitted even to explain or defend their conduct at the common halls, would not have offered themselves on a dissolution of parliament; and that any person of opposite principles, especially such a man as Mr. Waithman, would have been elected by nearly as great a majority as sanctioned his opinions and resolutions in the common hall.—A dissolution of parliament took place this year, and we shall just anticipate the events and transactions connected with it, so far as to say, that sir William Curtis and sir James Shaw were elected, and that the popular candidates (with the exception of alderman Combe, but including Mr. Waithman) were thrown out.

This circumstance, and it is not singular or unprecedented in the city of London, gives room for serious reflection; and certainly, when duly reflected on, will not tend to raise our opinion of popular firmness, independence, or consistency; for it must be traced to a cause by no means honourable to the livery of London. In the time of an election, the ministerial candidates of course exert all the influence which they possess, either in themselves, or in the persons of their friends; and this influence enables them to injure, in pecuniary concerns, most of those who will not vote for them. Hence those men, who are so loud and clamorous in the professions of their independence, and love of liberty, in a common hall, are not only silent, but acquiescent and submissive, in

the time of an election. In a common hall they reprobate in the most unqualified and violent language their representatives for constantly voting with ministers: they ascribe their support of ministers to interested motives: they do not scruple to affirm that conscience or judgement has nothing to do with their parliamentary conduct: but that the sole consideration and inquiry with their representatives is, whether ministers will reward them for their support and votes. This conduct, which they ascribe to them in common with the great majority of the house of commons, they very justly stigmatize, as corrupt in the extreme, and as highly injurious to the best interests of the nation. They contend, and contend upon plausible ground at least, that if the house of commons were purged of such men, only the public good would be consulted and pursued in their debates and proceedings: they go still further, they declare that the representatives of the people should obey in all cases the instructions of the people; and when their representatives refuse to give their assent to this proposition, they brand them with the severest censure they can inflict. An election comes on, and the same men are chosen by them; do they not therefore contribute to all the evils which they ascribe to a corrupt house of commons? If their representatives are censurable for supporting bad and profligate ministers, are not they equally censurable for choosing such representatives? are not their representatives almost justified in refusing to abide by the instructions of such constituents, even supposing the general doctrine that constituents ought to instruct their representatives were sound and beneficial? May they not fairly urge—"We can-

not believe you sincere in the profession of your principles, in the reprobation of our conduct, or in the instructions which you give us, in your public meetings, when you uniformly support and return us with a great majority at every new election, and throw out those men whom you applaud in the very place where you censure us."

But if such conduct is inconsistent, and ought therefore to be reprobated, how much more does it deserve reprobation, when the motives which produce it are laid open! The unpopular candidates are returned, because they have more interest; because they can best promote the pecuniary advantage of the voter: that is, the citizens of London return their representatives to parliament for the same reasons, which they affirm lead these representatives to support ministers; and thus act in the very same manner, and from the very same motives, which they reprobate in such violent and unqualified language. So far their conduct and that of their representatives is nearly paralleled; but if the examination be more close and strict, it will appear that their political turpitude is more gross and glaring: their representatives assert that the measures of ministers have their approbation; that they are convinced, after having weighed and considered them well, that their object and tendency is to promote and secure the real interests of the nation; while they are equally convinced that the principles and measures of their opponents are inconsistent with the stability of the British constitution, and would be productive of anarchy and misery:—with these convictions, they moreover contend that they are not only justified in giving their hearty and uniform support to

to ministers, but that they should deserve the severest reprobation if they acted otherwise. It is not necessary to inquire how far this statement is accurate, or whether it will bear the test of examination and inquiry: there is at least an appearance of consistency: the representatives vote and act as they declare they are convinced is right and will benefit the nation:—they do not support men, whom they consider as the enemies of the country, nor do they oppose whig principles, and at the same time express their belief that they are the principles of the British constitution, and essentially and intimately connected with its purity and perpetuity. With this let us contrast the professions and conduct of the constituents: they reprobate the character and parliamentary conduct of their representatives, and yet return them to parliament; that is, they give those men their support whom they believe to be enemies to their country;—while those men whom they regard as real patriots, whom they distinguish by their approbation at all public meetings, they desert, or ineffectually support, when an election occurs.

Can any plea be urged in defence or palliation of such conduct? Let us examine the only plea which is brought forward: it is said that they must vote for the representatives whose political principles and conduct they disapprove, otherwise they will be ruined; that their business depends upon these representatives or their friends; and that it will be diminished, if not entirely destroyed, if they refuse their votes:—this is indeed rather a strong case in appearance; but it will hardly bear a close and minute inspection. Is it meant to be asserted that absolute ruin will be the

consequence of their not voting for those representatives; or only that their circumstances will be much injured?—It can hardly be, in such a place as London, that ruin could be drawn down upon any great number of citizens, by any line of conduct which they might pursue at an election. They might indeed be put to much inconvenience; their business might be lessened for a time, or perhaps regularly and permanently, though where the population is so numerous this could hardly be the case:—but allowing that much inconvenience would result,—that their pecuniary circumstances would be affected;—that they consequently would be obliged to change their mode of life, and to deprive themselves of some of its luxuries, or even its comforts; still this will afford but a feeble and insufficient apology for their conduct. It proves that they are friends of liberty and independence, only when they require no sacrifices; but when sacrifices are required, rather than expose themselves to their endurance, they will abandon their principles. Such, a calm and impartial view of the circumstances of the case must determine it to be; and it certainly affords a salutary lesson, and may teach us to moderate our hopes and expectations with respect to the alleged benefits of parliamentary reform, and to coincide with the maxim, that before parliament can possibly be pure and independent, it is absolutely necessary that the people should be so.

In consequence of the prince regent refusing to receive the address of the livery on the throne, another common hall was summoned, in which, after several violent speeches, resolutions were passed, repeating the grievances stated in the former

resolutions, and another address was drawn up. The prince however still persevered in his refusal to receive the address of the livery on the throne, as being contrary to etiquette and established usage. The livery, on the other hand, contended that it was always customary to honour the reception of their addresses in this manner, till the time of John Wilkes, when lord Hertford the chamberlain informed him that his majesty would not for the future receive on the throne any address, except from the body corporate; that is, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council: the researches of the livery further ascertained, that even since this declaration two addresses had been received on the throne from the court of lieutenancy.

As, however, these precedents had no influence with the regent or his advisers, the livery were obliged to deliver their address in the usual way; but a common council was soon after assembled "for the purpose of considering the propriety of addressing the prince regent on the distressed and embarrassed state of the country, and praying for redress of the grievances under which the people laboured;"—a long debate ensued, in the course of which, all the real and supposed grievances and distresses of the country were depicted in strong colours by one party;—while by the other party it was contended that the country was in a very happy, contented and

flourishing condition. On a division there appeared for the motion 98, against it 92; leaving a majority of 6. This address, as proceeding from the body corporate of the city of London, the prince was obliged to receive on his throne. This mortification, for such it must have been, might easily have been avoided by a little acquiescence in the wishes of the people;—but the commencement of the regent's government had not been popular; nothing had been done to relieve the people from their burdens; on the contrary, in the case of colonel Macmahon, a new public officer had been billeted upon them; the civil list had been increased; reversions had been defended; and all these obnoxious measures had been resorted to, at a period when the burdens of the nation were already enormous, and their distress was unparalleled. These circumstances led many, who were by no means disposed to approve of the proceedings of the livery or common council, and who were convinced that some of the measures which they reprobated in their resolutions and addresses were really beneficial or necessary, sincerely to lament that so much reason had been given for complaint and dissatisfaction, and by no means to augur well of a reign, the commencement of which was greeted with a list of grievances and an application for their removal.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Parties at the Commencement of the unrestricted Regency—The Ministry divided—Lord Wellesley at the Head of one Part of it, and Mr. Perceval at the Head of the other—Character of Lord Wellesley as displayed in India—Inquiry into the Nature and Degree of his Talents—Doubts respecting their Utility in the Circumstances of Great Britain—Grounds of his Difference with Mr. Perceval, partly from private and partly from public Causes—His Statement—Examination of it, as developing his political Principles and Views; and his Talents—Character of his State Papers and Speeches—The Nature and Extent of the political Information which they display—The Faults of his Style—Mr. Canning—View of his Politics and Talents—The latter compared with the Talents of Lord Wellesley—The Consideration of Mr. Perceval's Politics and Character deferred—Lord Liverpool his chief Supporter—Character and Talents of that Nobleman—The old and regular Opposition—Lords Grenville and Grey—Their Difference of Opinion at the Beginning of the French War—Points in which their Opinions have mutually approached—The Character and Talents of each considered—Causes of their declining Popularity—Lord Holland and Mr. Whitbread between the Opposition and the Popular Party—Their Character—Sir Francis Burdett—Maxims of his Party—His Character.

AS the period when the restrictions were taken off the regency may, without impropriety, be regarded as the commencement of a new reign, it will not be uninteresting or irrelevant, before proceeding to the enumeration and discussion of some of the most important topics which came before parliament during the session of 1812, in a general, brief and rapid manner to appreciate the talents, and to unfold the political principles and conduct, of the leading parties in parliament. Some notice has already been taken of their political principles and views, in the short preliminary observations which we offered at the commencement of the last chapter; but as these had reference entirely to the expectations each party entertained of the prince, they will scarcely interfere with, and certainly will not render unnecessary, what we are about now to lay before our readers.—At the

same time it may be proper to premise that only the grand and leading points of domestic and foreign policy, as supported by the different parties in parliament, will be touched upon, in endeavouring to depict the nature and character of their political principles and views; and that in endeavouring to form an estimate of their talents, only the general outline and most striking features will be given.

The ministry consisted of two parties, not more distinguished from each other by the objects which they endeavoured to secure, and the means which they were disposed to employ to attain these objects, than by the nature and character of their talents: these two parties did not cordially coalesce: but their want of complete union arose from other causes, besides those which were involved in the different views and objects which they had, and in the difference of their

their dispositions and talents. At the head of one party was Mr. Perceval; and the person who supported him with most steadiness, and in the most useful and effectual manner, if not with any remarkable ability, was lord Liverpool: at the head of the other party of the ministers was the marquis of Wellesley; and little inferior to him in power and influence was Mr. Canning, who, though not forming one of the ministry, may in this estimate be fairly considered, from his intimate connection with the marquis of Wellesley, in that light. The difference between Mr. Perceval and the marquis of Wellesley arose partly from personal motives and partly from political and general considerations: the high and ambitious views of the latter would not permit him to brook with quiet and patient submission the ascendancy in political rank and influence which Mr. Perceval possessed as first lord of the treasury: but he was too prudent and politic, to bring forward his objections to Mr. Perceval's premiership, on such grounds; though the grounds he did choose to bring forward equally appealed to his fancied superiority. He objected to Mr. Perceval as first lord of the treasury, because he did not consider him as possessing talents equal to the difficulties of the situation, especially in the momentous crisis of this country and of Europe. This crisis called for and required talents of the first order; and those of Mr. Perceval, the marquis, or his friends, who were known to speak his sentiments, represented as of a secondary rank: he thus implied, in no ambiguous or diffident language, that he should be put into the situation which Mr. Perceval held; that, if this were done, the

country would be brought out of the arduous crisis with safety and honour—but that if Mr. Perceval were continued at the head of affairs, safety might perhaps be secured, but certainly not an honourable safety, and much less than splendid rank, to which the friends of lord Wellesley conceived he was calculated, if at the head of the government, to raise Great Britain.

The measures which lord Wellesley approved and endeavoured to persuade his colleagues uniformly and systematically to adopt, were undoubtedly marked with great energy and decision, and may lead us to a just estimate of his talents: in India he had displayed uncommon promptitude: he conceived with great rapidity; he took a comprehensive rather than a profound view of the object he wished to obtain; of the different means by which it might be possible, or would be prudent to secure it; of the difficulties which lay in the way; and of the collateral and incidental advantages which, independently of the main advantage, would flow from the accomplishment of the plan he proposed to follow:—but in India he was still more distinguished by celerity of action, and by executing every design on the grandest scale. It seemed to be his favourite and leading principle that much depended on rapid and combined execution; and that opportunities were often lost, and the attainment of important objects rendered impracticable, by not coming forward with the most ample and well organized means. In India these rules of conduct, not only were particularly applicable and successful, but they could be reduced to practice with the utmost precision, and in all their minuteness: the power of the marquis there

there was absolute: every thing was at his command: he had under him only military men, who were habituated to immediate, unreflecting and unlimited obedience; or civil officers, who, from the nature of the government in India, were nearly cast in the same mould, with respect to the habits and extent of their obedience as military men. He could also take his views, not only of his own means, but of the difficulties he was likely to encounter, with the utmost clearness and facility: there was not in the management of affairs in India the same complexity of arrangement, the same clashing or opposition of interest, or the same necessity for intriguing or accommodating policy, which there must exist in all European governments, and especially in a free government like that of Great Britain. It may therefore be allowed, that the talents of the marquis of Wellesley, as they displayed themselves in India,—as they appeared there to splendid victories—to enlargement of territory—to a tranquil and well organized state of things, where before there had been almost constant war and disturbance, and to the testimony and conviction of all who had served under him,—were undoubtedly splendid and uncommon. But the utility of talents must depend upon circumstances; and though splendid talents may affect to despise local or temporary circumstances, and boldly proclaim their control over them; yet it may fairly be considered as one of the best and safest tests of talents, that they can condescend to weigh well and take into consideration what is local, particular or temporary, as well as what is general, grand and lasting. In fact, the talents of a real statesman are not required to be splendid

or imposing: as they are men, whose business is to act on the great mass of mankind, their abilities should rather be of a useful nature, which can be turned to account on common and every day occasions, as well as on others of rare occurrence and great emergency. If we reflect therefore on the marquis of Wellesley's talents, as adapted and applied to the administration of affairs, in such a country as Great Britain, we shall be strongly disposed to doubt their utility: Great Britain is eminently a commercial country, as well as a country blessed with a free constitution; and it may reasonably be questioned, whether the marquis of Wellesley would be a proper prime minister for Great Britain, considered in either of these characters. Perhaps Mr. Pitt and his successors in office, in their political arrangements, and indeed in nearly the whole of their foreign policy, looked too much to the commercial interests of the country; it perhaps would have been better for us, in several respects, if the natural tendency of men to accumulate wealth, and to regard it as the paramount good, had not been encouraged and supported by government. But as our commerce is now absolutely necessary, not only to the maintenance of our wars, but even to our existence,—a minister who would despise it, who would sacrifice it to the purposes of what he deemed honourable and grand enterprise, would not be a safe or proper minister for Great Britain; and yet such is the nature of the marquis of Wellesley's talents: such the bearing of his disposition; and such the character of his favourite plans, that if he were prime minister, commerce would become a secondary consideration in the measures of govern-

government. On this account it is rather singular that he should have been a favourite with commercial men; they were undoubtedly right in expecting, that if he became minister, he would conduct affairs on a grander scale than Mr. Perceval did, and probably act with more decision and vigour; but they probably would have been disappointed if they expected that this superior comprehension of plan, and decision, and vigour of execution, would stoop to as careful a watch over the interests of commerce, as Mr. Perceval uniformly displayed.

Those who deemed the preservation of the British constitution in its genuine purity and in full operation, an object of infinitely greater magnitude and consequence than the most brilliant and decisive victories, looked forward to the administration of the marquis of Wellesley with considerable alarm: this alarm was natural enough, when they reflected on the nature of his administration in India, and were induced to believe, from the consideration of his talents and disposition, that in Great Britain he would act on the same principles and in the same manner. The alarm was probably, however, in some degree groundless; for could we suppose lord Wellesley to be completely destitute of common prudence, common sense, and regard to his own safety and character, it is hardly to be supposed that he would follow the same plan of government here, which he had adopted in India. At the same time, the very ground of his difference with Mr. Perceval, his accusing him of being deficient in vigour and decision, seemed to point out, that if he himself were at the head of administration, more vigour and decision would be employed, than were compatible with

the form if not with the spirit of the British constitution. At least there is good ground for apprehending, that a person who regards vigour and decision as the characteristics of a superior statesman, as essentially necessary in the management of public affairs; and who moreover had been accustomed to act without restraint or control, would exhibit them even when they were incompatible with the spirit of the British constitution.

In this attempt to delineate the marquis's talents and political principles, we have given him credit for such a degree of the former as we believe him to possess; and though we are disposed not to approve of the latter, we have no disposition to reprobate them in such strong and unqualified terms as some of his adversaries. It is however proper to remark, that the talents of the marquis are rated very low, or rather held forth as nearly useless, by many: on this ground, that there is such a disposition to indolence in his constitution and habits, that he cannot bring himself to employ the talents which he possesses;—that there is no regularity or continuance of application about him;—that, while in office, the business of his department, so far as it depended upon him, was conducted in a very careless and dilatory manner. But assuredly the man who in India displayed so much energy, who was uncommonly prompt, decisive and unwearied in the management of public affairs, and who, by these features in his character, had built up the fame which he possessed, and which as an ambitious man he must have been anxious to secure if not to extend, could hardly, all at once, merely by his removal to England, where there was greater scope

scope for his talents and ambition, suffer himself to droop into indolence and listless inactivity: the truth probably is, that he was not where he thought he ought to have been—he was not where his talents could have full play—where his ambition could be completely gratified; and thus in a secondary and unworthy situation, he did not deign to put forth those energies of character, which he reserved and cherished in the hope that they would find a more ample and worthy theatre for their display.

We have hitherto touched only upon the several points of difference between the marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Perceval: but from what we have said, it must be apparent that where there was, on one side, a firm conviction of the incompetency of his colleague, and also a decided difference with respect to the management of public affairs, they could not long continue to act together. Accordingly, soon after the regent came into the possession of unrestricted authority, lord Wellesley tendered his resignation. At first the prince was unwilling to accept it; but on lord Wellesley's pressing it again, the prince acceded to his request. Lord Wellesley thought it due to himself to draw up a statement of the reasons which had induced him to leave the ministry of which Mr. Perceval was the head; and as this statement contains a full and accurate display of the points of difference between them, and also gives considerable insight into the structure of lord Wellesley's mind, and the general cast of his politics, we shall lay it entire before our readers.

“ Lord Wellesley expressed his intention to resign, because his general opinions, for a long time past, on various important ques-

tions, had not sufficient weight to justify him towards the public, or towards his own character, in continuing in office; and because he had no hope of obtaining from the cabinet (as then constituted) a greater portion of attention than he had already experienced.

“ Lord Wellesley's objections to remaining in the cabinet arose, in a great degree, from the narrow and imperfect scale on which the efforts in the peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to him by Mr. Perceval, that it was impracticable to enlarge that system. The cabinet followed Mr. Perceval implicitly. Lord Wellesley thought that it was perfectly practicable to extend the plan in the peninsula; and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country or the allies, to continue the present contracted scheme. No hope existed of converting Mr. Perceval or any of his colleagues; no alternative, therefore, remained for lord Wellesley but to resign, or to submit to be the instrument of a system which he never advised, and which he could not approve.

“ Lord Wellesley had repeatedly, with great reluctance, yielded his opinions to the cabinet on many other important points. He was sincerely convinced by experience, that in every such instance he had submitted to opinions more incorrect than his own; and had sacrificed to the object of accommodation and temporary harmony, more than he could justify in point of strict public duty. In fact, he was convinced by experience, that the cabinet neither possessed ability nor knowledge to devise a good plan, nor temper and discernment to adopt what he now thought necessary, unless Mr. Perceval should concur with lord Wellesley. To
Mr.

nently kept on foot in the peninsula, but how could they have been supplied with the necessary provisions, ammunition, and stores, and especially how could they have been paid? In consequence of the unfavourable state of exchange, Great Britain was remitting money to the peninsula, at a loss of between 25 and 30 per cent.; and it is evident, however political economists may differ respecting the primary and efficient cause of this unfavourable exchange, they all must agree, that the greater the quantity of money which it was necessary for Great Britain to remit to the peninsula, the worse the exchange would necessarily become. Thus, if the plan of lord Wellesley, of keeping a larger army in the peninsula, had been put in execution, an increase of taxes would have been requisite; and this increase must have been in a greater proportion than the mere increase in the number of the troops; since it is probable that if one half more troops had been kept there, the exchange would have fallen upwards of 10 per cent.; thus requiring taxes equal not only to the support of the additional number of troops, but also to the diminished pecuniary power of the bills drawn to pay them.

With respect to the second consideration, whether, if lord Wellesley's plan of keeping a larger army in the peninsula had been clearly and satisfactorily proved to have been practicable, it would have been prudent or safe to have adopted it, there is more room for speculation and reasoning. Undoubtedly the object this government had in view, in the war in the peninsula, was to drive the French beyond the Pyrenees, and to restore to Spain and Portugal their ancient governments and their national independ-

ence. This object, however, though highly advantageous and important, both as it would have checked the power of Bonaparte, tarnished the splendour of his military reputation, and thus further diminished his power; and, by rescuing the peninsula from his grasp, deprived him of the means of threatening if not of invading Ireland; though on these accounts the war in the peninsula was certainly an object of great consequence, yet the successful and full attainment of that object might be purchased at too dear a rate. If, in order to accomplish it, it were necessary to strip Great Britain of all her disposable forces; to raise taxes on the very necessities of human life; to increase the misery of her already starving manufacturers; certainly a pause for reflection ought to be allowed, before such a measure was resorted to. By freeing the peninsula from the French, we undoubtedly diminished the power of Bonaparte, and secured ourselves against that, viz. the invasion of Ireland, to secure ourselves against which has always been held out as one of the principal reasons for having commenced and continued this war. But if the French were driven out of the peninsula at the expense of the loss of all, or nearly of all, our disposable force, and at the much greater and more fatal expense of the last shilling which languishing and oppressed commerce and trade could supply, should we have much reason to congratulate ourselves on our success? The success at best would be but partial, either against Bonaparte or in our own favour. He could not indeed any longer threaten us with an invasion from the peninsula; but stripped as we should be of troops with a depressed and discontented population, his threat of invading

ts from other parts of his extensive territories would create greater and more well-founded alarm. Could it be expected that complete and permanent success in the peninsula would so cripple the power of Bonaparte, as to deprive him of the means of extending the plans of his tyrannical ambition, or seriously dispose him to give peace to distracted and worn out Europe, then no sacrifices could be too great; Great Britain would be perfectly justified in sending out her last man, and in spending her last guinea in the peninsular contest.

Hitherto we have argued the question in dispute between lord Wellesley and Mr. Perceval, on the supposition that Great Britain not only could have greatly and permanently increased her armies in the peninsula, but that by this increased force she could have succeeded in driving the French beyond the Pyrenees. But this latter supposition is very questionable: Bonaparte, no doubt, would not be disposed to have quietly and tamely yielded up the fruits of his usurpation: indeed, from his natural disposition, as well as from the general tenor of his conduct, there is reason to believe, that he clings to what he has gained by treachery, with more eagerness and obstinacy than to what he has conquered by force; and the same disposition and tone of feeling frequently leads him so far aside from a wise and prudent line of policy, as to induce him to calculate the importance of an object, not so much by its real nature, as by its connexion with his own schemes, and by its having once been touched by his grasping hand. Undoubtedly, therefore, if we had increased our force in the peninsula, he would have sent in a proportional number of French troops.

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Even let us suppose that he could have spared only such an additional number of troops as would have protracted the war for a few years, not driven us back to our lines near Lisbon, nor kept us in check on the frontiers of Portugal; could we have supported the war on this extended scale for many years? could we have supported it as long as Bonaparte could? When we reflect on what he has done; on the immense armies which he has constantly on foot, ever since the commencement of the second revolutionary war; on the continual supplies of troops which these armies must have required, to keep them up to their regular and complete establishment; on the facility and quickness with which the enormous population of France, and of the conquered countries, enables him to raise his supplies; and on the skill of his generals, which though not equal to that of our general in the peninsula, would at least be sufficient to sell him victory at a very dear rate, and to protract the contest in every practicable manner; when we reflect on all these circumstances, we may well doubt whether Great Britain could endure and maintain the war in the peninsula, so long as Bonaparte could. From this statement we may therefore infer, that Mr. Perceval acted on a much more wise, as well as prudent plan, than lord Wellesley was disposed to have followed; but may we not also be led strongly to doubt of the policy of protracting the peninsular war beyond the period which it may be deemed proper and fair to allow for the Spaniards to prove that they are disposed and capable of preserving their national independence, if we ever obtain it for them?

The other point of political dif-
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ference between lord Wellesley and Mr. Perceval, as explained in the statement of the former, related to the catholic question. It is highly probable that several considerations weighed with lord Wellesley in so strongly recommending catholic emancipation as he did to the prince: the principles and views of the marquis are by no means illiberal or narrow: indeed, the very character of his talents, and that proud and grasping ambition with which he is charged, must banish from his disposition and principles every thing that is narrow and illiberal. But we shall confine our observations to the source of difference between him and Mr. Perceval, respecting catholic emancipation, as exhibiting itself only in one point of view; and this we shall do, because thus it is naturally connected with their difference of opinion respecting the mode of conducting the peninsular war.

Lord Wellesley, when called upon to point out the sources from which a much larger force than had hitherto been employed in the peninsula, and one adequate to the purposes he had in view, could be drawn, chiefly directed the attention of Mr. Perceval to the catholics in Ireland: he maintained, that if catholic emancipation were granted, our military force would be much increased: in addition, therefore, to the usual arguments for this measure, drawn from considerations of justice and of civil policy, he urged its immediate adoption on the ground that it was intimately connected with the success of the peninsular war. The question of the justice of catholic emancipation is one of such magnitude and importance, that it is unsafe, and unfair to it, to rest its defence on weak or questionable grounds: if it should

be granted, the propriety of granting it may be shown by an appeal to facts that cannot be questioned, and to arguments which cannot satisfactorily be arraigned. Collateral and inferior considerations in its favour and support ought not, indeed, to be neglected or despised; but they ought to be well weighed before they are brought forward, and they ought on no account, and at no time, to be permitted to occupy the place and attention which the grander and more weighty considerations of justice and civil liberty demand. Of this inferior and questionable class of arguments in favour of catholic emancipation, we must regard the one which connects it with the success of our war in Spain, and which we think would have been but slightly noticed, had not the particular views and wishes of the marquis of Wellesley and his friends, respecting this war, required its introduction and use. They contend that, in consequence of the restraints imposed on the catholics, the catholic population of Ireland is not serviceable in our armies nearly to so great an extent as it would be: if catholic emancipation were granted. Now this statement may be opposed by an appeal to fact as well as argument: both in our army and navy the proportion of Irish catholics is very great, greater than the catholic population of Ireland would have led us previously to suppose. As, therefore, the number of Irish catholics is so great in the navy and army, it is natural to suppose, that those who do not enter into either, are prevented by other considerations and motives than those dependent upon or derived from the want of catholic emancipation. For, if this consideration prevented those from entering into the navy or army, who remain in Ireland, would

would it not have the same effect on the great majority of catholics? for we must always recollect that the lower classes among catholics, and especially among the Irish catholics, have a greater uniformity of religious feeling, and religious scruples, than the lower classes among the protestants: this arises not only from their greater ignorance and superstition, but also from the very great influence which their priests possess over their minds and conduct. Why should the lower classes of the Irish catholics refuse to enter into the navy or army? As they generally enter into regiments where the majority are catholics, they are not exposed to the contempt or derision of their protestant fellow soldiers. As long, indeed, as they were prevented from going to mass, and compelled to attend a protestant place of worship, they must have felt strong objections to enlisting; but now that the commander in chief has issued orders that they shall be permitted the free exercise of their own religion, this objection must have vanished; and it is not easy to conceive any other, or at least any other that could be removed by catholic emancipation; for even were the catholics emancipated, the catholic soldier would still be as much exposed as ever to the ridicule or contempt of his protestant companions, if they were disposed to display it. Though, therefore, catholic emancipation would benefit Ireland to a degree that can hardly be anticipated, by removing the principal barrier which opposes the spread of knowledge and civilization; though every friend to justice and civil liberty must earnestly wish its completion; though, by the change which it would effect in the relative situation and feelings of the protest-

ant and catholic, it would bless Ireland with quietness, order, and industry; though it would open for the higher ranks military and political emoluments and honours, and thus might give to the army a number of good officers; it may well be doubted, whether, in addition to these advantages, it would much increase the number of Irish catholic soldiers or sailors.

But though the marquis Wellesley appears to have been unfounded in his expectation that catholic emancipation would thus benefit his favourite measure of a more extended warfare in the peninsula; yet, considered in another point of view, it would undoubtedly have that effect in some degree. Ireland is not at present tranquil: it is, perhaps, too much to suppose that catholic emancipation alone is necessary to make her tranquil; but if this were granted, it would introduce gradually a more friendly disposition to Great Britain; and, what is of infinitely greater importance, it would, as has been already stated, gradually introduce knowledge and civilization into those parts of Ireland which at present, from being far behind in these respects, are most disposed to be turbulent and dissatisfied. Even those to whom catholic emancipation would bring no positive and direct benefit, from whom it would remove no irritating or degrading pressure, that is, the great bulk of the catholic population in Ireland, would hail it with satisfaction, as a proof that Great Britain was at length disposed to do them justice, to treat them as brothers, and to admit them to an equal participation of her privileges and blessings. When this change of feeling towards Britain were effected, troops would be no longer necessary to keep Ireland

quiet, and consequently the armies in the peninsula might be reinforced.

The marquis of Wellesley, therefore, in his difference with Mr. Perceval respecting catholic emancipation, so far as he maintained the necessity of that measure on the grounds of a just, honourable, and safe policy, had undoubtedly the advantage of his opponent in the rectitude and wisdom of his plans: but if he could not convince him that catholic emancipation ought to be granted, because it was unjust to deprive any class of citizens of their civil and political rights, when no danger could arise to the state from their enjoyment and exercise, he could hardly expect to produce conviction, by connecting catholic emancipation with the successful issue of the war in the peninsula; and even if he had proved this point, the prejudices of Mr. Perceval would still have presented to his imagination and his fears evil consequences flowing from this measure to the British constitution, which would by no means have been compensated by the most brilliant and decisive military success.

It will not be necessary to dwell long on the other parts of lord Wellesley's statement; these relate chiefly to his conviction of the incompetency of Mr. Perceval and his colleagues, and his consequent unwillingness to serve *under* the former, and to his complaint that Mr. Perceval had dealt unfairly by him, in attempting, without any communication to lord Wellesley, to induce the prince regent to remove him before the expiration of the restrictions; in repeatedly urging the attempt with great earnestness, and in severally proposing lord Moira, lord Castlereagh, and lord Sidmouth, or some of his party,

to supersede lord Wellesley without an hour of delay; Mr. Perceval never giving any intimation to the marquis of these proceedings, nor even of his wish for his immediate retirement. As the intrigues of statesmen are proverbial, and as the affairs of political life are, almost avowedly, conducted on different and more lax principles of morality than those which regulate private life, it is not easy to determine the exact degree of culpability which would attach to Mr. Perceval, even if this accusation were satisfactorily proved. But as far as circumstances have transpired, lord Wellesley used his endeavours to remove Mr. Perceval, most probably from those motives principally which his statement unfolds and explains; and Mr. Perceval, on his side, was not wanting in his efforts to remove lord Wellesley, on account of the superior talent and political capacity which he challenged for himself, and the contempt with which he treated most of his colleagues. It is probable also, from their different characters and feelings, that the efforts of lord Wellesley would be more direct and open than those of Mr. Perceval; but still the character of the latter must shelter him from the merited and credited imputation of having acted in a manner towards lord Wellesley, not justified by the known and acknowledged laws of political life, and sanctioned by long established usage in such cases.

As we have entered thus fully and minutely into the political views and sentiments of the marquis of Wellesley, it will not be necessary to expatiate upon those of Mr. Canning: between these two there appears to be a complete and perfect similarity of opinion, on all the grand and fundamental questions of domestic

domestic and foreign policy ; and what is still more extraordinary, neither of them affected to take the lead of the other in political life ; so that it is neither said that Mr. Canning is of lord Wellesley's party, nor that lord Wellesley is of Mr. Canning's. But though they agree so completely in their political sentiments, yet there is a considerable difference in the character of their talents : they are undoubtedly both men of no common powers of mind ; perhaps the talents of both may be best characterized by one epithet—they are imposing ; but still they differ in several respects, and the difference appears most decidedly and conspicuously in their speeches and public papers. In the speeches, and more particularly in the public papers of the marquis of Wellesley, especially in those which he wrote while ambassador in Spain, there is a great deal of sound political knowledge, no common or limited knowledge of human nature ; and more especially they display a perfect acquaintance with the temper, disposition and errors of the Spanish government and people ; such an acquaintance, indeed, as enabled him to point out in the most satisfactory manner, the different sources of the errors and misfortunes into which they had fallen in their contests with France, and the means by which they might in future be avoided : but these papers were still more honourable to the marquis, when considered in another point of view ; they contained the most liberal views of political and civil liberty ; they strongly urged the necessity of bringing all the energies of the Spanish nation to act against the French, by giving the former an interest in the contest, by removing their grievances, raising their political rank, and increasing

their civil privileges. Such advice from the marquis of Wellesley may be suspected to have proceeded solely from his persuasion, that in the peculiar and urgent circumstances in which Spain was placed, no other means would be sufficient to drive the French out of the peninsula, and not from any love of the measures he recommended, abstractedly considered. But this construction is certainly uncandid : at any rate, much credit must be given to his sagacity, and to the liberal turn of his mind, in perceiving when he ought to relax from his favourite notions on civil liberty, and in his being disposed to relax when he was convinced circumstances demanded it. Hitherto we have drawn our opinions of the marquis's talents solely from the contents of these papers : of the style and manner in which they are written, it is not possible to speak so favourably ; it is, however, in these respects that they differ principally from the state papers of Mr. Canning ; and this will enable us to mark the distinction between the characters of their respective talents ; for the sentiments of Mr. Canning's state papers are very similar to those brought forward in the marquis of Wellesley's ; differing only as circumstances required, and from those circumstances displaying a higher and more haughty tone of political feeling. The style of the marquis's state papers is full of " pomp and circumstance ;" its peculiar characteristic is amplification—turgid, and if the expression may be permitted, bloated amplification. The impression which the sentiments and political information contained in them gives of the marquis's talents, is diminished, in no slight degree, by a consideration of the style in which they are written : from the

former we should conclude, that vigour, decision, and rapidity, were the features of his mind, and that his knowledge of mankind, and of the science of politics, had been acquired with little effort, and rather by intuition, than by slow, regular, and patient observation and experience; but these deductions, drawn from the matter in the marquis's state papers, and from his general conduct in public life, cannot be reconciled with his style; not because it is highly and ambitiously laboured, and that this labour has been evidently attended with a good deal of effort; but because the labour is almost exclusively directed to minute circumstances, to the interposition of circumstances in the train of illustration or argument, which a rapid and vigorous mind would have overlooked, or, if they had been perceived, would have neglected, and which are not even necessary to make a clear or strong impression on the understanding of the readers. It has been remarked as a decided and wonderful proof of the great superiority of sir Isaac Newton's talents and knowledge, that in his *Principia* he passes over many intermediate steps in his demonstrations, and arrives at the proof without registering the whole process of thought which brought him there; if this be a mark of great talents, it is certainly wanting in the state papers of the marquis of Wellesley.

The most striking difference between the character of lord Wellesley's mind and that of Mr. Canning, and the same difference also marks their disposition, consists in this: the former never stoops from a solemn and dignified train of thought; whatever he speaks or writes, and the manner in which he speaks or writes, strongly partakes

of eastern magnificence. Mr. Canning, on the other hand, though, when occasion requires it, he can confine himself, in his speeches and state papers, to serious and dignified discussion, yet seems naturally more disposed to gay and sarcastic humour; and even in some of his more laboured and important state papers a vein of proud sarcasm may be traced; but it is thrown in so appropriately, and managed with so much effect, that it adds to the conclusiveness of the statement or argument, and to the support of the cause, without detracting from the dignity and decorum of diplomatic correspondence.

Such were the men who, though they agreed with Mr. Perceval in the general cast of his politics, yet differed from him in some important points, and more decidedly, perhaps, in the manner in which they were disposed to carry into execution public measures, than in the measures themselves; and to these men no inconsiderable portion of the nation looked up, as best calculated, by their commanding abilities, to conduct its affairs in the arduous and unparalleled contest in which it was engaged. They were unpopular with two descriptions of people—with those who apprehended, if they came into power, that what they deemed the unconstitutional principles of Mr. Perceval would be pushed to a still greater length, and carried into execution with a higher and more vigorous hand; though, therefore, this description of people disliked Mr. Perceval, their dislike to lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning was still greater; they considered both parties disposed to trench on the constitution, but as the latter possessed greater talents, they were more to be dreaded. Of those who approved entirely

entirely of the political principles and measures of Mr. Perceval, and who extended their approbation to those of lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, there were some from timidity, some from a conviction of impracticability, and others from an undefined dread of the habits which the marquis had acquired in India, who were disposed to prefer the more cautious and prudent plans of Mr. Perceval, to the more daring, vigorous, and decisive measures which were recommended by Mr. Canning and his friend.

As a melancholy occasion for delineating the political views and principles, and estimating the talents of Mr. Perceval, will soon present itself, we shall omit them now, and proceed to notice the earl of Liverpool, his most firm, steady, and useful colleague. Perhaps few statesmen have enjoyed such *hereditary* advantages as this nobleman: his father had been long in power; and though he was not a man of first rate abilities, yet by close and regular application, and by the opportunities which his situation gave him, he obtained a ready and extensive acquaintance with the fundamental principles of politics, and a complete insight into the various, and often discordant means, by which that acquaintance may be turned to public benefit, or individual honour and emolument. His son was early initiated into the mysteries and intrigues of political life; and the first circumstance which strongly attracted the notice, though at the same time it raised the ridicule of the nation, was his proposal, in the house of commons, at the commencement of the first revolutionary war, to march to Paris. As he has never since displayed a sanguine temperament, nor a creative imagination, this

flight can hardly be attributed entirely to the glow or inexperience of youth, but may, perhaps, with more justice, be regarded as proceeding from more sober and calculating feelings. Since that time his speeches in parliament have been distinguished by sound reasoning, where his principles were correct, and his cause well founded, by clear and perspicuous statements, and by language appropriate to such matter; not ornamented or impassioned, and rather diffuse than nervous. The knowledge he possesses, both on the general principles of political science, and on the particular topics of the day, is so well arranged, and so completely at his command, that he is never at a loss to bring it forward in the most advantageous manner, whenever there is occasion for it. The habits which he has acquired of patient and regular attention to business are so strong, that they are never broken through by any of those causes which are so apt to render the talents and knowledge of our statesmen of little use, either to themselves or the public: business, indeed, with him seems the first consideration; when that is attended to, but not before, he permits the calls of polished society to influence him. In short, the earl of Liverpool may fairly be deemed a man, who has so much improved himself by application, that his talents now, though certainly not of such a high order as those of many other statesmen, and by no means brilliant, are much more useful and applicable. With respect to his political sentiments, they are derived from the school of Mr. Pitt; but he has discovered more candour and good sense than that statesman, in permitting a variation in the circumstances of Great Britain and Eu-

rope; and the result of experience to modify his sentiments and views in several respects.

At the head of the old and regular opposition, lords Grey and Grenville are placed: when we look back to the beginning of the first French war, and contrast the political sentiments of these two persons at that time, the one the admirer of the French revolution, and the advocate of parliamentary reform; the other the avowed and haughty enemy of French principles, and the strenuous opposer of every attempt to alter the representation of the people of this country; the one continually prophesying success and aggrandizement to France, from every attempt to conquer or restrain her; the other, notwithstanding the repeated failures of the continental coalitions, the evident, inherent, and irradicable causes of these failures, and the glory and power which each attempt to subjugate France crowned her with, still urging on the exhausted state of the continent; it would not have been expected that these two noblemen could ever coalesce. It is difficult to conjecture upon what principle or compromise this union has taken place: It is rumoured, indeed, that lord Grenville no longer is an advocate for continental alliances; that he is now averse from forcing on the continental states against France; and that the gigantic power of that nation, which his former measures contributed in no small degree to raise, he now believes to be unassailable. His opinions respecting the war in Spain give countenance to these rumours: for certainly nothing but a total and radical change of sentiment respecting the power of France, and the practicability of resisting her, could have led him so

strenuously to oppose the peninsular war. As, therefore, lord Grenville may be fairly supposed to have changed his opinions on this point, so far he has approached lord Grey; and while he has been making advances to a union of sentiment on his part, lord Grey has also been approaching towards him; for he is no longer the advocate for parliamentary reform; he no longer avows those notions on civil liberty, which were the theme of his applause in the early part of his life. But it would be unfair to this nobleman, to suppose that in this respect he had gone completely over to the sentiments which lord Grenville maintained and acted upon at the beginning of the French revolution; it is much more reasonable as well as candid, to suppose that lord Grenville, either from a change in the circumstances of the times, or from a radical change in his own opinions, has forsaken those high tory principles which he professed at that period.

Still, however, notwithstanding this mutual approach, there must be considerable diversity of political sentiment between them; and the suspicion of this, joined to the dislike which the nation feel towards coalitions, rather created a prejudice against Mr. Fox's administration: that that statesman did so little while in power of what he had professed and promised while out of power, and that, of what he actually did, so much looked like the conduct of Mr. Pitt, which he had uniformly and warmly reprobated, was generally ascribed to his connexion with lord Grenville; and the breaking off of the negotiation for peace, on Mr. Fox's death, was solely attributed to the influence and views of that nobleman. The popularity of this party had been preserved with great difficulty, even while

while Mr. Fox was alive : on his decease, it declined rapidly. On many points the sentiments they avowed differed so much from those which they had formerly maintained, that they lost the support and confidence of their admirers and adherents among the public ; while the change was either not sufficiently radical and extensive, or had about it such an air of suspicion, that they failed to gain the confidence of those to whose sentiments they approached. They scarcely ever took up the popular side of any question with zeal or consistency ; their support was either languid, or they threw in some exception, some reservation or doubt, which rendered the party whose cause they espoused, ungrateful for their support. By such conduct, their popularity had sunk very low at the period when the prince became regent ; and their behaviour on this occasion, as has been already remarked, was not calculated to raise it : in the hope of preserving or regaining his favour, they countenanced and supported measures, which but for this hope they would have opposed and condemned ; and when the prince had, beyond all doubt, deserted them and their principles, they still preserved to him such a lingering affection, displayed in such half measures, neither condemning nor supporting his ministers, that they sacrificed the small share of popularity which they still possessed, and did not re-establish themselves in his good opinion.

If we were to review the conduct of the party at the head of which lords Grey and Grenville now are, we should be disposed to question their talents. While in power their expeditions were ill planned and worse

executed : they had laid down a laudable rule of œconomy ; but they adhered to it with such unstatesmanlike punctuality, that, when money might have been judiciously and advantageously employed, they still were saving and œconomical. Nothing displays narrower abilities, than ignorance when to break through general rules, or obstinate attachment to them : and yet the men at the head of this party undoubtedly possess great talents ; lord Grenville has had all the advantages which the earl of Liverpool has enjoyed, and these advantages have been bestowed on talents of a much superior order to what the latter nobleman possesses. Nothing distinguishes lord Grenville so much, as the lucid order and arrangement of his thoughts ; the immense mass of political information which he brings to bear on any question ; the dignified and sometimes haughty tone of his argument and declamation ; and the precision and energy of his style. The peculiar cast of his mind is also very distinguishable in his state papers, and more particularly in his speeches : in the latter, all subjects are treated with nearly an equal degree of solemnity, both in language and manner ; he never unbends, nor does he ever display that warmth which indicates a lively imagination, or strong feelings ; the warmth which he does display, rather results from haughtiness of disposition than from strength of feeling. His knowledge of courts and of politics seems more extensive and accurate than his knowledge of mankind ; or perhaps the statement will be more candid and just, if we allow his knowledge of mankind to be considerable, but ascribe the little advantage

vantage he has derived from it, to the reserved and unconciliating nature of his temper and habits.

The talents of lord Grey are certainly of a higher order than those of lord Grenville: his eloquence is more direct and impassioned; his arguments are more frequently enforced or illustrated by an appeal to the imagination and feelings of his audience; the information he possesses is less the result of methodical and arduous application, than of quick and lively abilities, directed with zeal and earnestness rather than with unvarying steadiness. Even his haughtiness is of a different cast from that of lord Grenville—it is less solemn and pompous; more open, direct, and impetuous. There is no feature in lord Grey's character more honourable to him than his contempt of popular prejudice; he has often exposed himself to obloquy, by setting himself against the temporary delusion of the people; and while a calm and explicit statement of the motives which led him to oppose it, might perhaps have saved him from this obloquy, he has never stooped to give it.

On two very important occasions, the conduct of lords Grey and Grenville went directly against the opinions and feelings of the nation, and contributed in no trifling degree to weaken their influence, both in parliament and in the country; we allude to the war in Spain, and to the inquiry into the charges against the duke of York. Respecting the former, they had both opposed it in the most direct and unqualified manner, anticipating from it nothing but defeat and disaster on our part, and victory and success on the part of Bonaparte. Lord Grey, indeed, after the retreat of Massena, in a manly and candid manner re-

canted in some measure, and in some respects, his former opinions respecting the peninsular war; but from causes not well understood, though probably connected with the recollection of his opposition to the war till that event happened, his strictures on it even after he had declared that his opinion was changed, whenever any thing unfortunate or unpromising occurred, and principally his close connexion with lord Grenville, he certainly did not obtain full and ready credit with the nation for warm and sincere attachment to the Spanish cause. Had lord Grenville also recanted his opinions, the opposition might have gained more credit on this occasion; but as he either absented himself from parliament when the British victories in Spain, or the conduct of the war there, were likely to be the subjects of discussion, or, if present on these occasions, preserved a sullen and disapproving silence, it was, probably unfairly, concluded, that the opposition were not zealous in the Spanish cause, and that, when partial or temporary disaster happened, they would again come forth with condemnation, and their usual prophesying of evil. Whatever credit lord Grey might have gained with one part of the nation, for declaring in parliament that his sentiments respecting the peninsular war, were changed, he lost a larger portion of popularity with another part of the nation, by his sentiments respecting the duke of York: these sentiments did not come openly and regularly before parliament or the nation; but, it was well known that he considered the duke of York an injured, persecuted, and perhaps an innocent man; and it is believed that he declared, if he had been prime minister, he would

would have defended him against the most violent popular clamour. Now that the minds of men are cool, that the whole of the investigation into the charges against the duke of York can be sifted with due attention and impartiality, it is probable that the criminality which was fixed upon him, while the proceedings were fresh, will appear considerably less; but after all, there was much to censure in his conduct, much that required some mark of public and parliamentary censure; and in the state of the public opinion and feeling at that period, a statesman would have displayed a most romantic and perilous attachment to what he conceived to be the cause of justice and innocence, who would have kept the duke of York in power, in spite of the opinion of the people, so very peremptorily and generally expressed.

From all these causes, however, and others, which affected the great body of the opposition, as well as their leaders, they sunk in popularity with the nation at large; and though their numerical force in parliament was not much lessened, yet they never could bring it to act with sufficient union, or to bear with effect on any very important question. In fact, on those questions of reform and economy, which had so long drawn the line of distinction between them and the ministry, which had been considered as the distinguishing tenets of the whig party, and which had contributed principally to their popularity, they were now, in a great measure, silent or lukewarm. So far then as these were concerned, the nation saw little difference between them and the ministry; while on those subjects that had contributed to throw a lustre over the

moderate talents of ministry, and to hide from public view their attachment to tory principles,—we refer principally to the support which they had given to the Spanish patriots,—the opposition contrived to increase and extend the unpopularity, which their desertion of their old and peculiar principles had first created.

There were, however, both in the house of lords and in the house of commons, a few, who, though they connected themselves generally with the opposition, yet retained a greater share of the good opinion and confidence of the nation, than the body of that party. In the house of lords, lord Holland may be particularly pointed out as enjoying a considerable share of popularity; his relationship to Mr. Fox, his resemblance to that statesman in the warm and ingenuous nature of his disposition and feelings, and the liberal and enlightened ideas which he always expressed on the subject of civil and religious liberty, endeared him to all who venerated the memory of Mr. Fox, and who looked in vain to lord Grey or lord Grenville, for such a complete, uniform, and radical adherence to his principles, as they discovered in lord Holland. With those also, of the ministerial party, who were zealous and sanguine in their support of the peninsular war, lord Holland was a favourite; his attachment to the cause of Spain, and his confidence in her success, at the time when the opposition either held it forth as hopeless, or branded it as a cause of no magnitude and importance, proved that he was not so much a party man, as to sacrifice his own opinions to party purposes and party consistency. The manner, also, in which he advocated the cause of Spain,

Spain, came home to the feelings of all who were alive to a hatred of tyranny, and a love of liberty and independence: when he spoke on the subject, all the natural and genuine ardour of his mind broke forth; with unstudied but impressive eloquence he painted the situation of the Spaniards, and portrayed their character. Lord Holland, therefore, was regarded with more confidence, hope, and attachment, than the rest of the old and regular opposition, by that part of the nation who professed the principles of Mr. Fox; while by those whose opinions coincided with the ministry, he was viewed with less distrust and dislike than the rest of his party.

In the house of commons, Mr. Whitbread might be considered as holding a place between the old and regular opposition, and the popular party. On many points he indeed voted with the latter; but he did not always, nor did he carry his principles to such an extreme length. The subject on which he dwelt with most emphasis, and most frequently, was the necessity and practicability of peace: on this point he differed from the regular opposition: they when in power had attempted to make peace; and probably the experience they then had of the insincerity of Bonaparte, led them to despair of concluding a peace with him on safe and honourable terms. Mr. Whitbread, on the other hand, contended that Bonaparte was sincere in the desire he had frequently expressed of concluding the war; that peace ought to have been made when lord Lauderdale was at Paris in 1806, and that since that period many opportunities had occurred, and had been neglected by the British government, when the war might

have been terminated. Some of the advocates for peace rest their cause on this ground, that it is in vain to combat with Bonaparte; that the issue of every contest is only the increased extent and firmer establishment of his power: but Mr. Whitbread seems to fix his opinion respecting peace on other grounds, and to give Bonaparte credit for more moderation and sincerity than his past conduct and general character warrant. It may be remarked as a most singular circumstance, that those persons in this country who profess to have the greatest abhorrence of ministerial tyranny and oppression, look with the utmost coolness and indifference on the tyranny and oppression of Bonaparte. The regular opposition do not mention it with that abhorrence which might be expected from them; but the leaders of the popular party in parliament go further—they are almost always ready to find an excuse for the conduct of Bonaparte: the most violent and unjustifiable acts of his tyranny raise but feeble indignation in their mind; while the most trifling act of ministerial oppression is inveighed against with the utmost bitterness. There is another circumstance, connected with this subject, which not very honourably distinguishes the regular opposition, those who with Mr. Whitbread take their stand between them and the popular party; and the distinction is marked more deeply in proportion as the love of liberty is more strongly professed. Ready and unsuspecting credence is given to every account of Bonaparte's success, while accounts of the success of his opponents are received with coldness and distrust. Were it not for these things, the conduct of

Mr.

Mr. Whitbread and of the popular party would be hailed with more satisfaction, and inspire more confidence with the real lovers of their country; for they deserve ample credit for the undaunted and unwearied firmness with which they set themselves against public abuses, and against every instance of oppression. It may indeed be objected, and it has been both to Mr. Whitbread and to sir Francis Burdett, that they often bring forward charges, which on inquiry turn out to be groundless: such cases must happen, in spite of all their care and inquiry: but it is infinitely better that the natural tendency of power to abuse and oppression should be checked by the knowledge that it is closely and constantly watched, even though unjust charges may be brought against it, than that it should be suffered to proceed in its career unnoticed and uncontrolled. With respect to the talents of Mr. Whitbread, they are naturally strong and vigorous; he displays, perhaps, greater knowledge of mankind, than of the principles of political science, and enforces his statements rather by a few direct and powerful arguments expressed in plain and nervous language, than by a methodical and regular process of reasoning.

Sir Francis Burdett is decidedly at the head of the popular party: the favourite and leading maxims of this party are, that whatever regards Britain, and Britons, is of

infinitely more importance than checking the power of Bonaparte; that Britons are likely to suffer more from ministerial profligacy and wastefulness, than from the conquests of the French; and that to expose and defeat ministers in any of their schemes for curtailing the liberty of the subject, or increasing his burdens, is a much more honourable and just cause of congratulation, than any victory gained over the French. These maxims are founded on very narrow views of the interests of this country: had Britain not been so commercial as she is; had the existence of her power not depended so much as it actually does, on her commerce; had she always kept aloof from foreign connections, and sought within herself alone the sources of her wealth and well-being, it would have been practicable and proper to have acted on these maxims: but situated as Britain is, though they ought to have some weight, they ought not exclusively, or even principally, to form the views and regulate the conduct of the nation. The talents of sir Francis Burdett are excellently well suited to the part which he acts: they would not have been so suitable, had they been assisted by regular and methodical study: he is particularly happy in seizing upon those topics which admit of popular illustration; and he illustrates them in a manner which those for whom he speaks and writes, best relish and understand.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alarm excited by the Murders in the Metropolis—Different Plans for improving the Police—Remarks on them—Disturbances in the Manufacturing Districts—their probable Origin and Causes—Extent and Object—Oath taken by the Insurgents—Report of the Committee on this Subject—Distress occasioned by the Orders in Council—Petitions against them—Declaration of the British Government on this Subject—Mr. Perceval agrees to hear Evidence against the Orders in Council—Points at issue between the Defenders and Opposers of them—Evidence begun—interrupted by the Assassination of Mr. Perceval—Particulars of that horrid Event—Bellingham's Motives and Defence of his Conduct—the Grievances of which he complained—his Trial—Calmness of his Behaviour on this Occasion—Ingenuity and Acuteness of his Defence—impartial Charge of the Judge—Remarks on the Precipitancy of the Trial—his Execution—Sketch of his Life—Character—Talents—Political Conduct and Principles of Mr. Perceval—his Talents seem to rise with his Rise in Situation—his Faults as a public Man—precipitate and obstinate—very acute in Debate—but rather specious and particular, than solid and philosophical—his excellent private and domestic Character—Provision made for his Wife and Family.

ALTHOUGH the first year of the prince's regency had been gloriously distinguished by our military successes in the peninsular war, yet at home great distress and dissatisfaction prevailed. It seldom happens that the labouring classes of the metropolis suffer nearly so much as those in the country, from the pressure of the times; the trades in which they are engaged depend less on foreign commerce: the wages which they receive are more regular and steady: hence, while discontent and misery frequently grind down the comforts and the spirits of the manufacturing classes in the country, people of a similar rank in society, and engaged in similar business in the metropolis, pass through times of public calamity almost untouched. The consequence is, that the higher ranks in the metropolis, not witnessing that distress of which the country in general complains, but, on the contrary, having unequivocal and

numerous proofs continually before their eyes, that the labouring classes are comfortably supplied with all, or nearly all, those things to which they have been accustomed, or are supposed to have a natural and well-founded claim, neither sympathize for the distress which prevails in the country, nor are disposed to remove it by any change in the conduct of public affairs. They are, indeed, well disposed to contribute pecuniary assistance, whenever it is necessary; but further they are unwilling to go: they are slow to believe that distress may give rise to such a change of feeling and opinion in the great body of the nation, as may endanger the tranquillity of the community, and conceive that when they have contributed pecuniary relief they have performed their whole duty, and secured the re-establishment of tranquillity and order. Events, however, occurred in the metropolis, during the winter of 1811, which

which roused the alarm and apprehensions of its inhabitants in a most extraordinary degree : we allude to the murders which were committed in the neighbourhood of Wapping : the atrocious and unparalleled nature of these murders ; the secrecy with which they were committed ; the extreme difficulty of tracing, by the utmost vigilance and activity of the law, those who had committed them, made a most singular impression on the minds of the inhabitants of the metropolis. They immediately conceived that the character of the British nation was entirely changed ; that they had become a nation of assassins ; that a regular and systematic plan of similar murders was laid, and would, as opportunity served, be acted upon. For a considerable length of time after these murders were perpetrated, not only were the minds of men considerably agitated, and their apprehensions of similar atrocities excited ; this was natural, and might have been expected ; but they could not view the subject with the coolness of common sense : certain undefined fears harassed and weakened the public intellect ; and had the British government, as many governments would have done, taken advantage of these apprehensions, they might without much difficulty have established in the metropolis, a system of police equal in rigour and tyranny to that under which the inhabitants of Paris have long groaned.

There were not wanting those who openly and strongly recommended such a measure, who insisted on its necessity and advantage, and who expressed their willingness to submit to the most strict military police, rather than be again exposed to such alarms as had agitated them in consequence of the

murders in 1811. Other plans, in fact, equally objectionable, and equally hostile to the spirit of a free government, but rather more softened in their objectionable features, were proposed : a military police, it was very properly observed, would be at once cumbrous, expensive, and inefficient : for all the useful and lawful purposes of a police it would be inefficient, while for the purposes of tyrannizing over the people, it would be well adapted and completely efficient : respecting the system of *espionage*, which was also recommended, it was observed, that it might, indeed, for a time detect or prevent robberies ; but this effect would be produced only for a time, unless the system was frequently changed and amended ; while the experiment would be utterly unsuited to the constitution, and the natural feelings of Britons. The third scheme, which recommended an application to government to give new powers to the magistracy, and to establish a kind of government police, certainly seemed free from many of the objections to which the other schemes were exposed ; but it is evident that, by such a scheme, the powers and patronage of government would have been considerably extended and increased, while it is very doubtful, whether the public benefit derived from it would at all compensate for this certain and serious evil.

Such were the principal plans recommended for putting the police of the metropolis on a better and more efficient footing. By a reference to the Parliamentary Proceedings, it will be seen that Mr. Ryder, as secretary of state for the home department, brought the subject regularly before parliament, and the measure that he proposed, is detailed there : on it we shall

shall only remark, that it does not strike at the root of the evil; while it must be acknowledged that few subjects are more difficult, and at the same time more important, than the establishment of such a police, in the metropolis of a free country, as shall at once preserve the peace and safety of its inhabitants, and not infringe on their civil rights, or expose them to the apprehension or infliction of more severe or strict measures than are absolutely necessary.

We have hinted at the erroneous and absurd idea which was entertained by many people, that the murders in the metropolis indicated that the character of the British nation was changed: as the alarm respecting these events subsided, and men reflected with more coolness, this idea was very properly abandoned; but very shortly afterwards, events occurred in several of the manufacturing counties, which proved that the public mind and feelings were agitated much more deeply and extensively than had been imagined. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the motives and causes which gave rise to the disturbances in the manufacturing counties, the real and ultimate objects which the insurgents had in view, and even the extent and ramifications of these disturbances. The representations on all these points were excessively different, and frequently diametrically opposite: it is certain, however, that the disturbances first broke out in Nottinghamshire; that the person who headed the insurgents either bore or assumed the name of Ludd; and hence, not only in this county, but also in the other counties into which the disturbances subsequently spread, they called themselves, and were universally known by the

name of, Luddites. The avowed and immediate object of the Luddites was the destruction of certain frames, the use of which had superseded manual labour in the manufacture of several articles. The antipathy of the manufacturing classes to all kinds of machinery, which limits the necessity for manual labour, is well known, and the effects of this antipathy have been repeatedly felt in most of the manufacturing districts of the island. But as experience had proved that the introduction or improvement of machinery, though at first it supersedes manual labour, yet in a short time creates a greater and more steady demand for it; it may well be doubted, whether the disturbances in Nottinghamshire can properly and satisfactorily be ascribed solely or principally to this cause. Another motive has been assigned for them, which, however, is much too refined to have existed or operated among such a class of people as were engaged in the disturbances. It seems that the articles manufactured by the newly introduced machinery, though apparently of good fabric, are in reality of much inferior quality: this circumstance being discovered, the demand for Nottinghamshire goods of this description had considerably lessened, and suspicion had fallen on all articles of a similar nature from this county. The labouring classes, it is alleged, were therefore indignant at the continued use of these frames, and insisted on their being given up, not because they superseded manual labour, but because the articles which were manufactured by means of them were of inferior quality, and injured the character and sale of Nottingham goods. Such a supposition, however, cannot for a moment be maintained,

maintained, as it is very unlikely that the master manufacturers would be so blind to their own interests, as to continue the use of machinery which injured their goods, or that the labouring classes would go about to destroy that machinery, which in a very short time must have been abandoned from its inefficiency. The truth seems to be, that the insurgents were first roused by the pressure of the times, which, with respect to them, was greatly increased by the introduction of these frames: being thus roused, from very simple motives, and with one object only in view, namely, the destruction of the obnoxious machinery, they were stimulated to greater excesses, and urged on to objects of a more extended nature, partly by a feeling of their own strength, partly by finding that the grievance of which they complained was not removed, and partly by the intrigues of disaffected people who mixed themselves with them.

At first government was disposed to disregard these disturbances: they considered them as merely the result of local and temporary distress, occasioned by a decline of the manufactures of the district in which they originated; and they consequently believed that they would soon subside. Hence they adopted no measures of a decisive or extraordinary nature, but confided in the vigilance and powers of the magistrates to preserve the peace. It was soon, however, apparent, not only that the disturbances were extending, but that they were assuming an organization, which indicated some deep and extensive design, as well as considerable means and talents to carry that design into execution. Indeed, in the course of a very short time from 1812.

the first breaking out of the disturbances in Nottinghamshire, they had spread in a most alarming degree; nearly the whole of the manufacturing districts of England, including the counties of Chester, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and part of Staffordshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire, were in a most disturbed and agitated state; but the organization of the disturbances was still more formidable and alarming than their extent. How this organization was effected and preserved is not known; but every thing seemed done according to a preconcerted and regular plan. Communications were kept up among all parts of the disturbed districts: the movements and proceedings of the insurgents were all in concert and cooperation; and what is still more extraordinary, notwithstanding such an immense number of people were concerned in the disturbances, and these people were spread over such a large extent of country, the utmost secrecy respecting their designs was preserved.

From the report of the select committee it appeared, that large bodies of rioters were in the habit of assembling in the night time, with blackened faces, and armed with different kinds of weapons; they broke into every house where they suspected there was any machinery, which they broke to pieces, spreading terror all round the neighbourhood. They did not confine their riotous and destructive operations to the night time, but assembled for the purposes of breaking machinery, and even to attack such individuals as were particularly obnoxious to them, in the open day. The insurgents in the west riding of Yorkshire marked out several master manufacturers, and

and against one of them, Mr. Horsefall, four men were dispatched, who fired at him on the public road in the open day. Besides entering houses in order to break machinery, the rioters were in the habit of extorting money by threats and terror. Large bodies of them traversed the disturbed districts, looking chiefly for fire-arms; and they were so determined and successful in obtaining them, that in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield nearly every house had been stripped of them. All their proceedings evidently were the result of an organized system, and did not proceed from any sudden impulse. The committee gave it as their opinion, that their object originally was the destruction of machinery alone; but in the progress of the disturbances this had become only a secondary and inferior object. Language of a most disloyal and insurrectionary nature was habitually used by them. The discipline to which they had submitted was most strict and complete; they had regular muster rolls; but they were not called over by names, but by numbers. In their communication with each other, they employed rockets and bluelights. They had their committees, sub-committees, and secret committees, with regular signs and countersigns, by which they carried on their written communications: these, however, they did not intrust to the post-office, but there were a number of them constantly and regularly employed in carrying communications from one part of the disturbed district to another. They had also their delegates, and an oath was appointed to be taken by each member to the following purport:—"I, A. B., do solemnly swear before the Almighty God, that I will never reveal the name

or names of any member of members of the association, nor the place or places of the meeting of any bodies of members, or of their secret committees, under the penalty of being put out of the world by the first brother I meet, and of having my name blotted out for ever from amongst my countrymen: and I do further swear, that I will pursue with unceasing vengeance any member who shall be guilty of any such discovery."

Many persons were unwilling to credit the reports of the extent and organization of these disturbances, on the ground that such a large number of poor people could not be supported without work; but it appeared from the report of the committee, that the funds of the friendly societies, in many instances, were applied to their support, and that two-pence a week was appointed to be paid by each member to their respective delegates. In many instances it was found difficult to collect this weekly tax; in consequence of which disturbances had taken place among themselves.

In consequence of the report of the secret committee, which, however, was not laid before parliament till the beginning of July, government determined to adopt decisive and vigorous measures against the insurgents. A bill was brought in which made it a capital crime to administer illegal oaths; and the powers of magistrates in the disturbed districts were considerably enlarged. These measures were strongly objected to by Mr. Whitbread, sir Francis Bardett, and several other members, on various grounds. They urged that the report of the secret committee had been entirely made up from documents and evidence which were by no means entitled to implicit belief, and

and which certainly ought not to guide parliament when they were about to legislate for the purpose of curtailng the liberty of the subject, and increasing the number of capital crimes already much too great in the British code of laws. These gentlemen further contended, that the disturbances were neither so extensive, nor of such an alarming character and tendency, as had been represented in the report of the secret committee; that if the house of commons would go into further evidence, it could be satisfactorily proved, that many of the most notorious acts of violence, committed in the disturbed counties, had been instigated and planned, not by the insurgents, but by spies sent among them, first to rouse them to illegal actions, and then to inform against them; that at any rate, if such strong and severe measures as those proposed by ministers were to be resorted to, it would be but fair that government should, at the same time, as much as lay in their power, remove the real cause of the disturbances which they were about to punish; that the principal cause of them must be sought in the increase of taxation, and the destruction of commerce and manufactures; and that these, in their turn, originated in the foolish and wicked continuance of a war without object and without hope, and in the profligate expenditure of the public money.—These representations, however, had no effect: perhaps they were ill-timed and injudicious; and though we certainly acquit such men as Mr. Whitbread and sir Francis Burdett of any intention or desire to countenance and encourage the violent and outrageous proceedings of the insurgents, yet their speeches in parliament, it is to be feared, might

have had that effect. When the people of any country are so ill-advised as to have recourse to violence and force, for the purpose of removing their real or supposed grievances, or obtaining what they consider to be their right, it is the first and most imperious duty of government to subdue them, with the least possible oppression and bloodshed, undoubtedly; but government would be highly criminal, and neither consult the good of the nation at large, nor even of the insurgents, if they did not instantly restore order and tranquillity by such means as should do it most completely and most speedily. After order and tranquillity are restored, government have another duty to perform, equally imperious, but which, it must be acknowledged, they are slower in the performance of, viz. the removal of every real and well-founded cause of complaint and dissatisfaction. A government that with equal judgement and promptitude performs both these duties will be at once respected and loved, and will best secure the well-being of the nation committed to its charge.

Besides the measures that were adopted by parliament for restoring order and tranquillity to the disturbed districts, large bodies of troops were sent into them: wherever they were stationed, every thing was quiet; but in those places which were not kept down by a military force, the disturbances still continued; only they were carried on in a more secret manner, and with such method and rapidity that the object of the insurgents was generally effected before the troops sent for to disperse them could arrive. Gradually, however, order was restored; and the revival of trade, and consequent in-

crease of wages, by manifestly contributing to this effect, unequivocally and satisfactorily proved, that one cause at least of the disturbances was the distressed state of the labouring classes, arising from the decay of trade, the lowness of their wages, the extreme dearness of the necessaries of life, and the pressure of taxation.

But the subject which occupied the attention of parliament during the session of 1812 most closely, and for the greatest length of time, and which certainly in its nature was of the utmost importance, regarded the repeal of the orders of council. In the course of our former volumes we have had occasion to notice and explain these orders in council; it may nevertheless be proper very briefly to recapitulate their causes, principles, and intended object. In the year 1806, the British government declared nearly the whole coast of France in a state of blockade: this declaration Bonaparte maintained was directly contrary to the law of nations, since according to that law, and the constant usage of the governments of Europe in consonance to that law, no coast could be declared to be in a state of blockade, unless the force actually employed to blockade it was amply sufficient for that purpose. Bonaparte did not pretend to deny that the British navy was sufficiently numerous and powerful effectually to blockade all the line of coast which our orders in council had declared to be in a state of blockade; but he maintained that we did not *actually* employ a sufficient force, and therefore we had transgressed the law of nations. We do not at present mean to reason on the subject, nor to inquire whether the British government or Bonaparte

were in the wrong, but merely to state facts: in consequence of the order of council of 1806, Bonaparte issued his Berlin and Milan decrees, by which he declared the whole British empire in a state of blockade, and that he was determined to consider as *denationalized*, every vessel which submitted to the unauthorised maritime rights and pretensions of this country. His object was manifest; indeed it was publicly avowed: he justly considered that the power of Britain depended on her commerce, and he inferred that if he could exclude our commerce from the continent he should effect our ruin. The British government, on the other hand, though fully sensible of how much consequence commerce was to this country, yet were convinced that it was of infinitely more importance to the continent of Europe: they did not pretend to say that Britain could exist without commerce, but they thought in such a trial of endurance the continent would yield first: they therefore were resolved that France should *not* receive British colonial produce, nor British manufactured goods; and at the same time they resolved that she should be shut out from all supplies of merchandize which neutral nations had been in the habit of sending to her. In conformity with these views, new orders in council were issued. France was not only declared in a state of blockade, so as to prevent the admission of manufactured or colonial goods, but it was expressly stated, that unless neutral nations submitted to pay a transit duty to Great Britain, no trade of any kind would be permitted between them and France. By this measure, in connexion with the decrees of Bonaparte, neutral nations were placed in an embarrassing

tassing predicament, and were exposed to most severe and tyrannical measures. Great Britain declared that neutral ships bound for France must previously visit her ports, and not only visit them, but pay a duty for permission to proceed to France. Bonaparte, on the other hand, declared, that if any neutral vessel suffered herself to be searched by a British ship, and much more if she entered a British port, on her voyage to France, she should be seized on her arrival in France, and her cargo confiscated. America was the neutral nation which suffered most; or, indeed, to speak correctly, was the only neutral nation: hence she complained bitterly, but ineffectually, of the conduct of the belligerent powers towards her; and in order to be revenged, and if possible to bring them to treat her with justice, she passed her non-intercourse law: by this law France suffered little, Great Britain very much, since America, a very flourishing state, took off a very considerable quantity of our manufactures.

There were several points at issue between those who maintained that the British orders of council ought to be repealed, and those who held an opposite opinion; they differed respecting the nature, extent, and causes of the distress which prevailed in the manufacturing districts, and respecting the manner in which that distress might be most completely removed. The distress was so manifest, that it could not be denied; but the advocates for the orders in council insisted that it had been greatly exaggerated; that similar distress had prevailed at former periods; that, in fact, it necessarily resulted from the usual fluctuations in trade; and that it would be removed when trade re-

vived, which probably would happen in a short time. At any rate, they maintained that the repeal of the orders in council would not remove or greatly lessen the distress; that it was unfair to hold out such an idea, since it excited expectations which certainly would not be realised.

The idea, however, that the orders in council were the only of the principal causes of the decay of trade, and of the consequent distress, both among the master manufacturers and the labouring classes, was very strong and prevalent. Petitions came in to the house of commons from all the principal manufacturing districts in the kingdom, and from those seaports which chiefly depended for their commerce on their intercourse with America: the petitioners begged to be permitted to prove their case by evidence before the house of commons; they asserted they could prove that unparalleled distress prevailed throughout the most populous parts of Great Britain; that this distress had been gradually increasing, till it had become intolerable; that it was not possible to remove or even alleviate it by the charitable exertions of individuals; that many of those who were still disposed, and who formerly had been enabled, to relieve the distress of the labouring classes, were themselves great sufferers, and consequently were not in a situation to grant relief; that, even if they were, the relief could not possibly be effectual, as it could not be permanent, whereas the distress would be permanent unless the orders in council were repealed: that, if they were repealed, trade would again revive and flourish, they also offered to prove. For a long time Mr. Perceval objected to

hearing evidence; he maintained, not only that the distress was not nearly so great as had been represented, but that, even if it were, it could not be removed or alleviated, if that depended on the repeal of the orders of council: he felt as much as any man could do for the distress of manufacturing classes; but they were only a part of the community, and his duty as prime minister would not permit him to consider their benefit, if it interfered with the honour or the interest of the nation at large. On these grounds he at first opposed hearing evidence against the orders of council; by consenting to hear it, he was afraid he should raise expectations he could not fulfil, and thus only increase the discontent instead of diminishing it.

While petitions were pouring in from all quarters, a circumstance occurred which encouraged the hopes of those who suffered from the operation of the orders of council. As these orders were evidently and professedly retaliative, the British government, in its disputes with America, had all along declared its readiness to repeal them, whenever the Berlin and Milan decrees should be repealed. The American government early in the spring of 1812 notified to our government that Bonaparte had rescinded these decrees, and it therefore called upon us to repeal our orders in council. Soon after this notification, the French minister for foreign affairs declared the Berlin and Milan decrees to be in force, in these words—"All the British orders of council are rescinded; the principles of the treaty of Utrecht are in full vigour. The Berlin and Milan decrees will remain against those powers who allow their flag to be denation-

alized." This declaration destroyed the hopes of those who suffered from the orders in council, almost as soon as they were formed; and they completely despaired of being allowed to produce evidence before the house of commons,—when the declaration of the British government appeared. This declaration, which was put forth in consequence of the declaration of the French minister for foreign affairs, just given, expressly stated that the Berlin and Milan decrees were not repealed, notwithstanding the communication of the American minister to that effect; and in proof of their non-repeal, the official report of the minister for foreign affairs is noticed. As, therefore, the cause and justification of the British orders in council still remained, the British government publicly declared their determination still to adhere to them, and thus to resist the introduction and establishment of an arbitrary code, which the government of France had openly avowed its purpose to impose by force upon the world as the law of nations.

The declaration of the British government then proceeds to recapitulate all the circumstances which had produced the orders in council, and to explain in a clear, open, and manly manner, the future conduct which it meant to pursue. Dexterosely declaring that the orders in council are repealed, whenever the Berlin and Milan decrees should be rescinded, it insists at the same time, with great propriety, that, as those edicts were as fully in force as the British orders, there ought to be, in America, only one law for England and France; and "that the United States should recall those measures of hostile exclusion which, under a misconception of the real views

views and conduct of the French government, America had exclusively applied to the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain." This declaration seemed to remove all chance of the British ministry consenting to hear evidence against the orders of council: but the petitioners still persevered; the distresses of the country increased and extended; dissatisfaction spread among many descriptions of persons, who had been formerly remarkable for peaceful and contented loyalty. Still, however, in all probability, Mr. Perceval would have remained firm in his determination not to appoint a committee and hear evidence, had it not been for the circumstance that many members of the house of commons, who usually supported him, and who possessed great weight with him, in the house, and in the nation at large, expressly declared that they thought a committee ought to be appointed; that, as the petitions were so numerous and so urgent, it would look like slighting the distresses of which they complained, if no opportunity were given to the petitioners to prove the truth of their allegations. When Mr. Perceval had recourse to his former argument, that if he consented to the appointment of a committee, and to the examination of evidence, the petitioners would naturally expect the removal of the supposed cause of their grievances, it was urged, that no promise or pledge could be conceived as either given or implied, by consenting to such measures; and that, at any rate, justice as well as prudence required that the petitioners should be heard: this would manifest a disposition on the part of government to relieve their distresses, provided they could prove that they originated in

the orders in council, and provided ministers were convinced that the repeal of these orders would not produce more real and extensive injury than it removed. On the other hand, if the petitioners failed in proving their point, they could not fairly and reasonably expect the repeal of the orders of council; and if even they proved their point, but ministers could make it appear that the nation at large would suffer, though individuals might be relieved, by the repeal, then ministers would be justified, and supported by the nation, in refusing to repeal them. At length Mr. Perceval gave a reluctant consent to the appointment of a committee, and to the hearing of evidence: the evidence began on the 29th of April, and on the 11th of May it was interrupted, and the whole nation thrown into the utmost consternation and horror, by the atrocious assassination of the prime minister.

Soon after five o'clock, Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, when a person, who some time before had taken his station in the recess of the doorway, within the lobby, drew out a small pistol, and shot him in the lower part of the left breast; the ball entered the heart, and occasioned almost instant death. Mr. Perceval after the shot merely moved forward a few steps, and as he was in the act of falling some persons stepped forward and caught him. All that escaped his lips previously to his falling was "murder," or "murdered," uttered in a low, faint, and nearly inarticulate voice. A surgeon was immediately sent for; but on examining the wound, he pronounced the case utterly hopeless. In about ten or twelve minutes he expired. The deed was committed so suddenly, that the

person who fired the pistol was not instantly recognised by those in the lobby: after he had fired it, he very deliberately retired to a bench, on which he seated himself, with the pistol still in his hand; and when he was discovered by means of it, and challenged with being the assassin, he merely replied, "I am the unhappy man!" appearing quite undisturbed. He was immediately examined in the house of commons before several members who were justices of the peace. General Gascoigne, one of the members for Liverpool, recognised him; his name was Bellingham: on his examination, he again admitted the fact, expressing a wish to say something in his justification; but he was told that any thing he might feel desirous of stating in extenuation of his crime, he had better reserve for his trial.

The trial of Bellingham took place on Friday, the 15th of May: perhaps it would have been better if it had not been so hurried: it was doubtless desirable, for the purposes of substantial justice, that the smallest period of time should elapse between the crime and the punishment; but there would have been more decorum, and probably more solemnity, if there had been less the appearance of precipitation. On his trial, he conducted himself with great coolness and presence of mind: he was fully and deeply impressed with the idea, that he was perfectly justified in what he had done, and with the expectation that he would be acquitted, and his conduct approved, by the nation. His defence was remarkable for its acuteness; he stated, that he had been engaged in extensive commercial concerns in Russia; by the tyranny and oppression of that government he had been stripped of

nearly all his property: he had applied to the British ambassador at the court of Petersburg for redress, but could obtain none; on the contrary, his memorials and representations were disregarded. In consequence of this, he had returned to England, where he had laid the hardship and injustice of his case before his majesty's ministers, but they also refused to do any thing in his behalf. He then formed his resolution, and this resolution he had communicated to the officers at Bow-street; they had transmitted it to the treasury, but he was told he might do his worst. He had no antipathy or ill-will towards Mr. Perceval; he was sorry, as sorry as any of the friends of that gentleman could be, for his fate; but he was convinced that much public good would result, if ministers were taught to pay more attention to the just claims of individuals, and he thought that the act he had committed would effectually teach them that lesson. It was not, therefore, so much from a sense of individual injury that he had destroyed Mr. Perceval, as from the belief that this act would prove a public good. He concluded by expressing his firm conviction, that it was impossible, by the law of the country, to convict him of the crime of wilful murder, unless it was proved that he had malice prepense towards the unfortunate gentleman for whose death he was then on his trial, and towards whom he utterly denied all personal or intentional malice. His counsel wished to have put in a plea of insanity: but this the prisoner rejected; he declared he was perfectly sane; that he acted from a well-defined motive; that reflection, instead of creating compunction and remorse for the deed which he had perpetrated, only convinced

convinced and consoled him the more; that if he were found guilty, he should prefer death a thousand times, to the injuries and indignities which he had experienced in Russia. Sir James Mansfield, in his charge to the jury, impressed on them the necessity of putting entirely out of their minds all consideration of the high character of Mr. Perceval; they were to weigh the facts, as they had been proved in evidence, independently of all personal considerations. The jury, after retiring a short time, returned their verdict — *Gilty*. Bellingham, even at the time of his execution, retained the same conviction and feelings with respect to the nature of the act he had perpetrated, which he had expressed during his trial.

Mr. Perceval was born in the year 1762: his father was the late earl of Egmont, whose son he was by a second marriage. He was educated at Harrow school, where he was distinguished for his gentleness of manner, benevolence of disposition, and goodness of heart; those who knew him when he was at Harrow were not surprised at the good fortune which distinguished his future life, nor at the warm attachment which his political and personal friends felt towards him. He was, however, from his very boyhood, principally distinguished by his meekness, which appears to have resulted partly from nature, and partly from principle; “in early life he had it from nature, and therefore was gentle and benevolent without reflection; in his riper years, the discipline of christianity improved his natural sweetness, and he became still more gentle, and still more benevolent, because he belonged to a religion whose end and origin are universal love.”

At Harrow he was contemporary with sir William Jones: after having passed the usual time at this school, he was sent to Trinity college, Cambridge; here he formed some of the dearest and most valuable connexions of his future life, and by them he was duly appreciated both for the qualities of his head and heart. As soon as his collegiate studies were completed, he entered himself a member of Lincoln's-inn, and pursued the study of the law as a profession. It is certainly much to the credit of Mr. Perceval, that, whereas many in this profession are rather lax in their religious notions, as well as in their moral practice, he continued, as he had always been, attached to religion, and conspicuous for the purity of his life, carefully guarding himself from the influence of the examples which were round him. He was remarkable for close and regular application: he knew that eminence cannot be obtained in the law without them; but that with them, united with good and useful talents, and fair and honourable character, a person stands a fair chance of rising to eminence. While employed as a barrister, he was remarkable for his mild and gentlemanly behaviour; for that kind of behaviour, which is too rare both at the bar and in the house of commons, but which was so fully displayed by him, when he became prime minister, in the latter place, as to call forth the well-merited encomiums of his warmest political opponents.

At a very early age he was appointed counsel to the admiralty, and in the year 1799 he was honoured with a silk gown: about this time the university of Cambridge manifested their respect for him, by appointing him one of their counsel.

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In consequence of the decease of his mother's brother, a vacancy was created in the borough of Northampton, which introduced Mr. Perceval into parliamentary life: he immediately gave his support to the principles and measures of Mr. Pitt, and the same line of politics he regularly and consistently pursued through the remainder of his life. But he was, if possible, still more attached to the feelings and sentiments of Mr. Pitt, respecting the established church, than to those which regarded the civil part of the British constitution; he was a warm and, many would say, rather a bigoted member of the church of England—a decided and unyielding enemy to all innovations; to all alterations in her discipline or doctrine; and he looked upon those bulwarks which had been raised to separate and protect her from the catholics on the one hand, and the protestant dissenters on the other, as absolutely necessary for her safe and honourable existence.

Mr. Perceval had not been long in parliament, before he was rewarded for his attachment to Mr. Pitt, and for his support of his political principles and conduct, by being appointed attorney-general. In the discharge of the duties of this arduous and by no means popular office, Mr. Perceval endeavoured to combine all that he conceived he owed to government, with a proper and scrupulous regard to the liberty of the subject. Many may indeed be disposed to think that his ideas respecting the liberty of the subject were narrow and contracted, and to doubt the propriety of appointing to the office of attorney-general any man who is not deeply imbued with the genuine principles of the British constitution: but whatever difference

of opinion there may be on this point, all who were acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Perceval, while he was attorney-general, must give him full and ready credit for having done most scrupulously what he conceived to be his duty, and for having abstained from all unnecessary severity and harshness in the exercise of it.

Few men have entered parliament who took more pains than Mr. Perceval did to make himself acquainted with all the detail of parliamentary duty: indeed, both as member of parliament and as attorney-general (and the same remark may with still greater justice and propriety be applied to him when he became prime minister) he was most indefatigable in business; he considered that his country had the first and most imperious call upon his time, his talents, and his acquirements; and such were his order, regularity, and punctuality, that he was enabled in a very short space of time to dispatch a wonderful quantity of intricate and important business.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Perceval for the first time appeared in opposition; and perhaps it may be justly said, that the peculiar nature and value of his talents, as a member of parliament, became most conspicuous and marked when he rose as an opposition speaker: in this character, "he was animated without asperity, earnest without ostentation, attached to his own party, without an indiscriminate contention with his adversaries."

When the Fox administration quitted office towards the beginning of the year 1807, Mr. Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: but as the duke of Portland, who was first lord of the treasury,

treasury, was very old and infirm, and seldom took an active or decided part in the administration of public affairs, Mr. Perceval, even then, may be regarded as the prime minister of Great Britain: this he nominally as well as virtually became, on the demise of that nobleman, in the course of the subsequent year.

The situation of this country and of Europe, at the period when Mr. Perceval became prime minister, was awfully difficult; it required great talents exercised with uncommon delicacy, as well as decision and vigour. The talents of Mr. Perceval can hardly be said to have been of the first order; and it must be confessed that the decision and vigour, which he most undoubtedly possessed, not unfrequently were mixed with something like precipitation and obstinacy. He seems to have imbibed and acted upon a most erroneous and dangerous idea, which a prime minister above all men should exclude from his thoughts, that a measure once adopted, a principle once openly avowed or acted upon, ought on no account, and under no circumstances, to be abandoned. The relative circumstances of Great Britain and of Europe most undoubtedly required political bravery; they required that the prime minister of this country should have a mind above fear and embarrassing scruples; in short, that he should take a comprehensive, profound and cool view of the state of the civilized world; of the means which Britain possessed of preserving her honour and independence, or of contributing towards restoring national honour and independence to Europe. When this view was once taken, then decided, firm and prompt conduct corresponding to it

was equally requisite. But it must be obvious, that at all times, and under all circumstances, and particularly under the present circumstances of Great Britain and Europe, decision, firmness and promptitude, if they are not preceded and guided by thorough and intimate political knowledge, as well as the soundest political principles and views, must do infinite mischief. This knowledge Mr. Perceval certainly did not possess in a degree which either the state of Europe required, or which could justify the pertinacity with which he adhered to measures that he had once adopted.

If this failing in Mr. Perceval's character was conspicuous, and injurious to his own usefulness as well as to the interests of the country, in his political views, it was still more conspicuous in the views he took of the religious part of our constitution. It would be uncandid to suppose that he was not sincere in his objections to catholic emancipation, or to the removal of all those hardships which in such an obnoxious manner mark a distinction between dissenters and members of the established church: but it may be lamented that he did not perceive, that, as the good of society alone ought to be the object, and must be the justification, of all civil disabilities on account of religious opinions,—so, when that good may be secured without them, their continuance becomes in the highest degree criminal. But Mr. Perceval seems to have been very adverse to admit the idea, that circumstances might alter so essentially, as to render that proper and safe, which formerly would have been unjust and dangerous, and to have had a decided antipathy against any change in the political or religious constitution of the British empire.

As a public speaker, Mr. Perceval certainly rose very much in reputation, and in excellence, after he became prime minister: as chancellor of the exchequer, and consequently the leading man in the house of commons it was necessary that he should be ready and able to explain and defend all his measures; and this duty, arduous under all circumstances, was particularly so in his case, as there was scarcely any other member of administration in that house, competent to the task of relieving or supporting him. He soon, however, proved that he needed no assistance; he had made himself so completely acquainted with every topic that was likely to be regularly and fully discussed, or even to be incidentally touched upon, that he was never taken unawares, or found at a loss. In the statement of his measures he was remarkably methodical and perspicuous: in the arguments he adduced to defend them, he was sometimes minutely particular, and by no means so luminous as in the statement of his measures. By many he was deemed particularly to excel in his replies; in rebutting any severe remark that came unexpectedly upon him, and in turning the fact adduced, or the argument used, against his opponent. In short, his speeches, if carefully examined, will let us completely into the nature and extent of his talents: they display no large or comprehensive views: the arguments and illustrations that they contain, do not proceed on any philosophical and luminous principles; but they are distinguished by their detail, by taking up a detached argument, and grounding it on the particular circumstances of the case, rather than upon any general maxim. This species of public speaking,

however, was well adapted to his audience; for in a mixed and numerous assembly, such as the house of commons, there will always be found many more who can comprehend particular arguments than general reasoning, and who will deem the special pleader a man of much greater abilities than a comprehensive and philosophical statesman.

As Mr. Perceval had undoubtedly fallen a victim to the faithful and conscientious discharge of his public duty, parliament provided for his wife and numerous family in a liberal and handsome manner: to them his death was a most grievous loss; for, in domestic life, few men were more amiable and more respected than Mr. Perceval: this part of his character is thus most justly described in the following passage, extracted from a "Funeral discourse" which appeared soon after his burial, with which we shall conclude this brief, but we trust impartial, attempt to appreciate his talents, and display his political principles and views.

"It would be unpardonable not to dwell upon the simplicity in which he lived in the midst of his numerous family. Many of those who shall read this, are, no doubt, good husbands and affectionate fathers; yet none of them, though they may be in private life, can pass a greater portion of their time with their family than did this first minister of the first kingdom in the world. If any of his brother-ministers made him an ordinary visit, they found him at a simple family meal, or, perhaps, writing in the midst of his children playing round him.

"No one, indeed, dispatched the most important public business with more ease, more simplicity, and less ostentation. One of his young boys

boys accompanied him to the house of commons on the fatal day which proved his last; and his final meeting of his children was at a simple family dinner, taken in the midst of them, about half-past two o'clock in the afternoon on that ever-to-be lamented day.

"Mr. Perceval was not much given either to public amusements or fashionable visiting; and when he did frequent them, he was usually accompanied by the greater part of his children. No man, indeed, passed so much of his time in this endearing society. If, in any unexpected emergency in public business, there was a sudden call for him, no one had any difficulty in finding him; every one knew where to seek him; it was not in the midnight rout, the gaming-house, or in the revels of the tavern, but in the society of his own hearth and family.

"It now only remains that we follow Mr. Perceval to the last affecting incident of his life. As a public office invests the individual with some part of the reverence and sacredness which belong to the state in its collective character, it is natural that the death of an officer of eminence, putting aside every other consideration, when that death is dealt by the blow of an assassin and overtakes him in the discharge of his public functions, should excite an universal regret in the hearts of a grateful people. It gives occasion, moreover, to a feeling of sacrilegious horror, when the individual so eminent in his office, so loved and honoured for his virtues, falls within the very verge of the sanctuary, and is slain as it were upon the very altar of the constitution."

CHAPTER IX.

Negotiations for a new Ministry—Lord Liverpool applies to the Marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning—his Overtures rejected by them—The Regent seems disposed to retain the Earl of Liverpool and his Colleagues—Motion of Mr. Wortley—Address to the Prince—his Reply—Lord Wellesley attempts to form a Ministry—applies to Lords Grey and Grenville—Difficulties and Objections with them—applies to Lord Liverpool—positively refused—Lord Wellesley gives up his Commission—The Earl of Moira authorized to form a Ministry—Proceedings between him and Lords Grey and Grenville—Difficulty started respecting the Household—Lord Moira's strange Conduct in this Affair—Remarks on the Objections urged by Lords Grey and Grenville on the Subject of the Household—The Earl of Liverpool appointed Minister—The Sincerity of the Negotiation questionable—Evidence on the Orders of Council—Abstract of the Points proved—Distress—Causes—Want of American Trade—Probability of regaining it—Curious Repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees—Orders in Council repealed—Ministers yield on other Points—Barracks—Catholics—Dissolution of Parliament—Elections in London and Liverpool.

BY the death of Mr. Perceval, the ministry was supposed to be deprived of such a very large proportion of its strength and talent, and consequently had lost so very much of its hold on the confidence and good opinion of the nation, that no expectation was formed, even by their own partisans, by those who rated their abilities and qualifications most highly, that they would be able, without assistance, to carry on the affairs of the nation. They themselves soon proved by their conduct, that they were conscious of their own incapacity, and that they had been held together, and preserved in the high situation which they had so long filled under the most arduous and perilous circumstances of the country, solely by the superior abilities of Mr. Perceval. As however the prince was resolved, if possible, to retain them in power, it became necessary to look round for support, if not for a head, to their administration. The connexion which had for some time subsisted between them, the marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning; the general coincidence of their political views and principles; the known partiality of the regent for the marquis Wellesley, and his equally well known dislike for his old friends, which it was believed was now entertained on political as well as personal grounds; all these circumstances naturally induced the remains of Mr. Perceval's administration (for though he was but one, yet he was so important a member, that the others, deprived of him, may justly be called the remains,) to turn their attention to the marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning. They entertained some hopes that they might succeed: one cause of the marquis's separation was undoubtedly removed by the death of

Mr. Perceval; and this circumstance not only removed a personal cause of separation, but, as the decided opposition to catholic emancipation, which Mr. Perceval entertained, was not supposed to actuate the other members of that party, it was considered extremely probable that on this point there would not be a very wide or irreconcilable difference of opinion.

On the part of Mr. Canning, however, there was a personal difficulty rather delicate than formidable: it was understood that the regent did not intend to remove lord Castlereagh from the situation which he held; and that he not only was to continue to fill that situation, but also to preserve the situation in which he stood in the house of commons; or, in other words, he was to have the management of the house of commons. To this it was supposed Mr. Canning would object. He certainly, to be consistent, must have objected to lord Castlereagh remaining in that situation, for which at the period of the expedition to Walcheren Mr. Canning had declared him incompetent; and by coming into power on the condition that lord Castlereagh was to preserve the management of the house of commons, Mr. Canning would in fact acknowledge that he came into power under lord Castlereagh, under one on whose incompetency he had decided, and who had, when they acted together before, yielded the precedence in the house of commons to Mr. Canning.

As however lord Liverpool and his friends could not expect to complete or form any administration without the aid of lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, it was necessary to compromise where they could not actually reconcile differences of opinion, whether they arose from personal

personal or political considerations. Accordingly lord Liverpool had a long conversation with the marquis of Wellesley and Mr. Canning on the 17th of May; and afterwards he submitted to them in writing the proposals which he was directed and authorized to make, by the prince regent: his proposal was, not to admit lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning on equal terms into office; they, and the friends whom by subsequent regulations they might introduce into government, were to be subordinate,—subordinate, not merely in general, but minutely and in all their situations: so that, in fact, lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning were only invited to strengthen the administration of lord Liverpool, not to supply the place of Mr. Perceval. It was expressly stated by lord Liverpool, that he was to take the lead in the house of lords, and lord Castlereagh in the house of commons. It was hardly to be supposed that lord Wellesley, who had refused to serve his country under Mr. Perceval, would submit to hold a situation under lord Liverpool, who, as Mr. Perceval had predominated over him, must have been considered as inferior to Mr. Perceval.

But there were other obstacles in the way of this arrangement: those which we have mentioned, being of a private and personal nature, and consequently very delicate even to be hinted at, and much more so to be openly avowed and brought forward, were kept in the back ground. Both lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning objected to coming into office with lord Liverpool and his colleagues on two considerations, principally: the difference of opinion between themselves and ministers on the catholic claims, and on the management of the war

in the peninsula. With respect to the first point, lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning declared, that they would not recommend a hasty and unconditional repeal of the disqualifications under which the Roman catholics in Ireland laboured; but they thought immediate and sincere attention ought to be paid by ministers to the subject, so as to convince the catholics that their grievances would be considered, and that, if it were found practicable to remove them without endangering the established church, they would be removed. Lord Liverpool, on the other hand, contended that his sentiments on this subject had been much mistaken; he disclaimed the idea of placing the catholics under everlasting disqualifications, and wished to be understood as limiting his refusal of their demands to the present time only. But as he did not point out those circumstances in the present time which made it improper or unsafe immediately to take the catholic claims into consideration, or specify any possible future period when his present objections and difficulties would cease to exist, lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning considered their difference of opinion on this subject as essential, and quite inconsistent with conscientious, cordial, and useful cooperation.

With respect to the conduct of the war in the peninsula, it will be recollected, that lord Wellesley, in the statement which he issued on separating from Mr. Perceval, declared it to be his opinion, that it was perfectly practicable to extend the plan of it, and that it was neither safe nor honest to this country nor our allies to continue the present inadequate scheme. Mr. Perceval, on the contrary, contended that the peninsular war had been con-

conducted on as extensive a scale as the circumstances and the means of this country would allow or justify. Lord Liverpool, however, in his communication to lord Wellesley on the present occasion, allowed, that since the resignation of the latter it had been found practicable to extend the system in the peninsula; but, while he allowed this, he still maintained that it was absolutely impossible to reduce to practice the wishes and plans of lord Wellesley on this head. The latter, in his reply to this part of lord Liverpool's communication, declared that he still entertained the same views and opinions, without diminution or alteration; and that he was convinced that a considerable extension of the scale of our operations in the peninsula, and also an effectual correction of many branches of our system in that operation, were objects of indispensable necessity and of easy attainment. On this point of difference it is impossible not to inquire, how it came to pass, if this extended system, and this proposed reformation of abuses in the conduct of the peninsular war, were of such easy attainment, that lord Wellesley could not state and explain it to the satisfaction and conviction of lord Liverpool.—We have made this remark before: but the present correspondence between lord Wellesley and lord Liverpool again presses it forward; and we cannot help thinking that the nation would have given the former more credit for talents, if, instead of constantly repeating that the war in Spain was mismanaged—that it was starved for want of money and men—and that by a more correct, vigorous and extended system it might be gloriously and honourably terminated in a short time, he had con-

descended to specify the instances of mismanagement; to explain the sources from which greater supplies of money and men might be drawn; and to prove, or at least render it probable, that the war, if thus conducted on an extended and improved system, would accomplish its object completely in a short period.

Lord Liverpool, in his communication with lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, had carefully abstained from mentioning the opposition. Of this omission lord Wellesley takes express notice in a manner highly honourable to himself. He remarks, that the avowed object of the regent was to form a strong and efficient government—such a government as the situation of Great Britain and of Europe demanded: but in his opinion, and as far as his opportunities of observation reached, in the opinion of the public, no administration which did not comprise some of the opposition could prove advantageous to the prince regent, conciliatory towards Ireland, or equal to the conduct of the war on a scale of sufficient extent.

Lord Wellesley concluded his communication to lord Liverpool with stating the general result of the dispassionate consideration which he had taken of the subject: in his opinion, “a cabinet might be formed on an intermediate principle respecting the Roman catholic claims, equally exempt from the dangers of instant unqualified concession, and from those of inconsiderate peremptory exclusion: the entire resources of the empire might be applied to the great objects of the war, with general consent, upon a full understanding of the real exigency of the present crisis; and concord and union at home might secure ultimate and permanent success abroad.”

A strong

A strong and general suspicion went abroad, that the attempt to form an efficient administration had not originated in perfect sincerity, and that consequently it had not been conducted with all that zeal and earnestness which ought to have attended it, and from the exercise of which more satisfactory consequences would have followed. At any rate, all seemed agreed, that in the circumstances of the country no common obstacles or difficulties should be permitted to oppose the formation of a powerful and able administration; and however many persons might differ with lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning on the subjects of catholic emancipation and the conduct of the peninsular war, yet few were found, who were not convinced that they were much more proper to be at the head of an administration than either lord Liverpool or any of his colleagues.

In consequence of the general feeling, disappointment and suspicion, arising from the failure of the attempt to introduce lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning into power, Mr. Stewart Wortley on the 21st of May proposed in the house of commons an address to the prince regent: in the speech preceding this address, he proposed three questions to the conscience of every member; whether it was not absolutely necessary that an administration should possess the confidence of the people;—whether the present administration did possess that confidence;—and whether all had been done that could be to form such an administration. On the first point there could be no difference of opinion; with respect to the second, he contended that the administration, without Mr. Perceval, had been tried, and was found not to

possess the confidence of the people; on the third point, whoever read the communications which had passed between lord Liverpool and lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning would be persuaded that all had not been done that might and ought to be done to form an administration that would possess the confidence of the people:—all might indeed have been done, which was compatible with lord Liverpool remaining at the head of administration, and with his acting on the system which he had hitherto pursued; but that was not the question: had not the nation a right to expect, that neither the personal ambition nor the peculiar political sentiments of lord Liverpool should be obstacles in the way of the formation of such an administration as the circumstances of the country required, and as would possess the confidence of the people? He therefore moved that a humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, praying him to take such measures as would enable him, under the present circumstances of the country, to form a strong and efficient administration. The motion for this address was carried by a majority of four against ministers. In reply to the address, the prince regent stated that he would take it into his serious and immediate consideration.

The marquis of Wellesley was employed, in the first instance, to endeavour to form an administration: on the 23d of May he addressed a communication to lords Grey and Grenville: in this communication he stated that he considered himself merely the instrument of executing his royal highness's commands, and that he neither claimed nor desired for himself any station

in the administration which the regent might have it in contemplation to form: the administration however, in order to agree with his royal highness's sentiments, to be useful to the country, and to possess the confidence of the nation, in lord Wellesley's opinion, should resolve to take into immediate consideration the claims of the Roman catholics, and should resolve to prosecute the war in the peninsula on a scale of adequate vigour:—he therefore wished to know, whether lords Grey and Grenville would consent to form part of an administration constituted on these principles. In reply to this communication from lord Wellesley, these noblemen entered into a distinct and full explanation:—on the question which regarded the catholics they fully agreed with him: he could not be more deeply and sincerely convinced than they were and had long been, of the most imperious necessity of conciliating the catholics as speedily as circumstances would admit:—with respect to the peninsular war, they were convinced that the sooner it were brought to a termination, the better it must be both for Great Britain and the nations more particularly engaged and interested in it: but they were also decidedly of opinion, that the question respecting the mode of conducting the war was one not of principle but of policy—a question the solution of which must depend on information which they did not and could not possess. While they agreed therefore with lord Wellesley, that the war in the peninsula ought to be carried on on the most extensive scale, in order to be advantageous to the interests of all concerned in it, they could not, from not possessing the same

information as he did, come to the same conclusion with him, that it would be either practicable or prudent to extend the scale on which we had hitherto conducted the peninsular war. On this point they declared they were open to conviction; and as they agreed with lord Wellesley in the main question, that the war, while it continued, ought to be conducted with vigour, they imagined that, if he actually could prove that more vigour was practicable and proper, there would not be the smallest difference of opinion between them on this point. In reply to a similar communication that was made from Mr. Canning to lords Grey and Grenville, the former nobleman observed, that there was a difference in the mode of wording the two principles proposed as a basis of a new administration: as this difference, however, besides being verbal, was extremely trifling and unimportant, it certainly was not worth the notice or observation of lord Grey; and lord Wellesley, without the smallest delay or hesitation, proved that both he and Mr. Canning meant the same thing, though they expressed their ideas in rather different language. This explanation lord Grey, to whom it was addressed, declared to be perfectly satisfactory: there seemed therefore to be no essential difference between Mr. Canning and lord Wellesley on the one part, and lords Grey and Grenville on the other:—but as lord Wellesley had not yet been actually empowered by the prince regent to form an administration, but merely authorized to sound the expectations, and the principles of lords Grey and Grenville, nothing could at that time be absolutely and finally determined upon.

In the mean time Mr. Canning had written to lord Liverpool, for the purpose of ascertaining whether he and his colleagues would form part of an administration of which lord Wellesley was to be a member, if not the head. In reply to this letter lord Liverpool stated, that he and his colleagues did not think it necessary to enter into any discussion of the principles laid down in it, which were the same as those contained in the communication from lord Wellesley to lords Grey and Grenville, because they felt themselves bound to decline the proposal of becoming members of an administration to be formed by lord Wellesley. Mr. Canning very justly remarked on this reply, that such a personal objection would not, in the opinion of the country, be a sufficient justification for refusing to act with an administration to the public principles of which lord Liverpool and his colleagues did not urge any insurmountable objection.—Lord Liverpool endeavoured to repel the charge that he was actuated by motives purely personal; in what he did, he thought he was perfectly justifiable on public grounds. Lord Wellesley had expressed sentiments with regard to Mr. Perceval, which lord Liverpool considered as attacking his political principles and views; and on this ground he must decline to act with him.

As there was now no hope that lord Liverpool and his colleagues would be induced to act with lord Wellesley, while on the other hand lords Grey and Grenville had in substance coincided with the main principles on which the regent wished to form an extended and powerful administration, lord Wellesley received full powers for this purpose: the nature of these

powers he communicated to lords Grey and Grenville on the first of June: in this communication, after stating that the two propositions contained in his minute of the 23d were intended by his royal highness to constitute the foundation of his administration, he declared the pleasure of the regent, that he (lord Wellesley) should be first commissioner of the treasury; and that lord Moira, lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning should be members of the cabinet: as the cabinet was to contain twelve or thirteen members, the regent wished lords Grey and Grenville to mention four persons (if the cabinet should consist of twelve) and five persons (if it should consist of thirteen) to become members of it: his royal highness did not wish to exclude any of the friends of lords Grey and Grenville, but whomsoever they should recommend he would appoint to a seat in the cabinet. As however the number of which the cabinet was to consist would be still incomplete, lord Wellesley was empowered and commanded to fill up the vacant situations from among his royal highness's ministers, or from among any other persons whom he might think proper. In reply to this communication from lord Wellesley, lords Grey and Grenville observed, that the proposal which it contained was founded on a principle of disunion and jealousy, which they disliked, and which must necessarily defeat the very object which the house of commons recommended, the formation of a strong and efficient government: they were not called upon, as had been usual on such occasions, to discuss the various and important considerations, both of measures and of arrangements, which belong to the formation of a new administration; but they were

merely desired to recommend to his royal highness a number limited, by previous stipulation, of persons willing to be included in a cabinet, of which the outlines were already distinctively arranged. Such an administration, they were convinced, could neither possess the confidence of the nation, nor act with that decision and unanimity which were absolutely necessary to secure and promote its welfare. As, therefore, the project which was presented to them tended to establish a kind of interior and controlling cabinet, which must give rise to a system of counteraction inconsistent with the prosecution of any beneficial and steady course of policy, they requested permission to decline all participation in a government constituted on such principles; perfectly convinced that the certain loss of character, which must arise from it to themselves, would be productive only of disunion and weakness in the administration of the public affairs.

As soon as lord Moira was informed of the purport of the answer which lords Grey and Grenville sent to lord Wellesley, he addressed a letter to lord Grey, in which, with great zeal and earnestness, he endeavoured to prove that they had misconceived the principle of lord Wellesley's offer for the formation of an administration: he stated that lord Wellesley had no wish to possess a preponderance in the cabinet: so far from it, he had named lords Moira and Erskine, the known friends of lords Grey and Grenville, in order that the latter might perceive that the number submitted for their exclusive nomination was not narrowed by the necessity of adverting to these noblemen. With respect to the reference to members of the late cabinet, or

other persons, it went solely on the idea, that they would be such as would concur with lords Grey and Grenville, and with lord Wellesley, in the principles laid down for the formation of the projected ministry. Lord Moira concluded with expressing his firm belief that it was impossible that the spirit of fairness could have been carried further than it had been in every part of lord Wellesley's communication; and in lamenting that an arrangement so important for the interests of the country should go off, upon points which he could not but think not at all connected with the real substance of the case, or with the honour of lords Grey and Grenville.

As the marquis of Wellesley had thus completely failed in his attempts to form an administration, he resigned his powers into the hands of the prince regent, who resolved to employ lord Moira on this arduous, delicate, and important undertaking. But what must appear singular, the regent pursued the same line when he employed lord Moira, as he had done when he first employed the marquis of Wellesley: instead of giving full powers at once to his lordship to arrange and form an administration, he merely commanded him to *sound* lords Grey and Grenville with respect to their willingness to constitute part of it. This appears from a letter which lord Moira addressed to lords Grey and Grenville on the 5th of June, proposing an interview; in which he tells them, that if the issue of the conference which he requested proved such as he hoped, he would then solicit the prince regent's permission to address them formally. To this lords Grey and Grenville very properly replied, that as no advantage was likely

likely to be derived to the object which lord Moira had in view, by unauthorized discussions, they could not agree to the proposed interview, nor take any step towards determining the prince regent to authorize lord Moira to address them personally. They would always receive with dutiful submission his royal highness's commands, through whatever person, or in whatever manner, they were conveyed to them; but as his royal highness had not been pleased to require their advice, they could not think of giving it.

This reply of lords Grey and Grenville appears to have hurt and displeased lord Moira; for in his next communication he writes to them in a more guarded and distant manner; expressing his doubts whether the desired object could be obtained so easily and effectually by the mode they suggested, as by the mode that he had proposed: however, as he had now received the prince regent's instructions to take steps towards the formation of a ministry, and was particularly authorized to address himself to lords Grey and Grenville, he requested to know when and where he could wait upon them. He added, that he should wish to bring lord Erskine with him.

An interview accordingly took place on the 6th of June. The conversation commenced with mutual explanations respecting those public measures which appeared to be of the greatest urgency, especially the removal of the Roman catholic disabilities; and the adjustment (if practicable) of the differences between Great Britain and America. On these points they were perfectly agreed: the other topic, on which lord Wellesley had so strongly and mainly insisted when

he proposed the arrangement of an administration to lords Grey and Grenville, viz. the mode of conducting the peninsular war, does not appear to have been canvassed or even brought forward. Lord Moira next stated, that the prince regent did not mean to lay them under any restrictions or limitations whatever: such measures as they might conceive would be for the public advantage, they were to be at full liberty to pursue; and not only were there to be no restrictions or limitations with respect to the measures of government, but the arrangement of the whole administration was committed by the prince entirely to lord Moira and lords Grey and Grenville. The latter noblemen expressed their satisfaction with the fairness of this proposal, and their readiness to enter into such discussions as ought to precede the details of any new arrangement. Thus far every thing went on well, and promised a more successful termination to lord Moira's labours than had resulted from those of the marquis of Wellesley. But at this point of the conversation lords Grey and Grenville stated, that there was a preliminary question which they meant to put, and to which they hoped for an explicit answer: it was a question of considerable delicacy, and they might be supposed to put it from private motives: this, however, they could assure lord Moira was not the case: they were there solely as public men; and they felt, and were determined to act, only in that manner which, in their opinion, the interests of the country required. But the question they were about to put appeared to them to be of such great importance, that it ought to precede the discussions respecting the arrangements

of a new ministry : by bringing it forward immediately, they would prevent the inconvenience and embarrassment of the further delay that might be produced if the negotiation broke off at a more advanced state. They then asked, whether the full liberty which the prince had graciously given, "extended to the consideration of new appointments to those great offices of the household which had been usually included in the political arrangements made on a change of administration ;" intimating their opinion that it would be proper to act on the same principle on the present occasion. To this lord Moira replied, "that the prince had laid no restriction on him in that respect, and had never pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of those officers from removal ; that it would, however, be impossible for him (lord Moira) to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable, in the formation of the administration, because he should deem it, on public grounds, peculiarly objectionable." Lords Grey and Grenville assured lord Moira that they also were actuated solely by public motives ; they considered that every administration should possess the character of efficiency and stability, and those marks of the confidence and constitutional support of the crown, without which it could not act usefully for the public service : hence they were convinced that, in the first arrangement of an administration, the connection of the great offices of the court should be clearly established. On this point the conversation broke up, and the negotiation completely failed.

On the 8th of June, two days after this conversation, the earl of Liverpool stated in the house of

lords, that his royal highness the prince regent had been pleased that day to appoint him first commissioner of the treasury, and that the vacant offices would be filled up as soon as possible.

It is impossible to view the proceedings which took place for the formation of a ministry, without several reflections arising in the mind. In the first place, the known predilection of the prince regent for lord Liverpool and his colleagues, and his dislike to lords Grey and Grenville, naturally induce a suspicion that he was much more inclined to keep the former in power than to constitute the latter ministers ; and as lord Wellesley had expressly declared his conviction, that a part of the opposition must go to the formation of such a ministry as would possess the confidence and were best capable of promoting the interests of the nation, it is probable that, however highly or favourably the prince thought of the marquis, yet after this declaration he was not sorry that his attempts to persuade lords Grey and Grenville to come into power had failed. These suspicions are much strengthened by what actually took place : when lord Wellesley and lord Moira were first empowered by the prince to form a ministry, they did not receive these powers in a regular and official manner ; and even when these regular and formal powers were given, they were very limited in both cases, particularly in the case of the marquis of Wellesley : instead of leaving to him, or at least to him in conjunction with lords Grey and Grenville, the arrangements for the administration, the prince marked out the cabinet nearly to the whole extent in which it was to exist. But there is still another proof more decisive and striking,

striking. If it were really intended that lord Wellesley should form the head of an administration, and choose his own colleagues, why was he not appointed first commissioner of the treasury, as lord Liverpool was? It need hardly be remarked with how much more effect and influence a person will form an administration, who has already received from the sovereign that mark of his good-will and confidence which the appointment to the highest situation in it must bestow, than he who has not that appointment. Lord Wellesley held his commission for forming a ministry more than a week: but he never kissed hands—he never had his appointment regularly made out: “he was employed in the singular office of enlisting recruits, without being himself regularly entered in the service.” In the same manner, lord Moira held his commission for nearly a week: but during all this period he never went through the forms of accepting office: on the contrary, two days after lord Moira’s negotiation with lords Grey and Grenville had failed, the earl of Liverpool is actually in office before he had begun to make any attempts to obtain colleagues. When all these circumstances are considered, weighed, and compared together, it is scarcely possible not to believe that the prince regent was most sincere in his wish and attempt to form that administration of which lord Liverpool and his former colleagues were to be the principal members. In the second place, with respect to the mode in which the negotiations were conducted, and the causes which rendered them abortive: when lord Wellesley applied to the opposition, and submitted to them a plan for the formation of

an administration, they replied, that they could not accept of the proposal, because, in their opinion, an administration so formed contained in itself the seeds of disunion and counteraction:—but this objection lies against all attempts to form an extended administration; besides that, in the present case, it was not very apposite; for on the two leading points, catholic emancipation and the war in the peninsula, lord Wellesley and lords Grey and Grenville had come to a thorough understanding; and if on any of the minuter branches of these points there had been any difference of opinion, lords Grey and Grenville, having in the cabinet lords Moira and Erskine, besides those members whom they themselves were to nominate, must have had the majority: it is probable therefore that they objected to the proposals made to them by the marquis of Wellesley, because they were unwilling to serve *under* him; and to this motive the public certainly ascribed their refusal.

The conduct of lord Moira’s negotiation is very singular. He knew that lords Grey and Grenville would not come into power unless they were permitted to change the great officers of the household: he inquires of his royal highness, whether he had any objection to this change: his royal highness replies, that if it were for the good of the nation, and necessary for the formation of a powerful administration, he would most willingly consent to their removal. “Then,” said lord Moira, “you shall not part with one of them.” There is something so ridiculous and childish in this, that it requires all our esteem for lord Moira’s heart and feelings to prevent us from fixing a most severe imputation

tion on the soundness of his understanding, and even on the purity of his patriotism. Lords Grey and Grenville perhaps acted in a harsh and injudicious manner, when they stipulated for the removal of the household before they came into power, since they could so easily have effected it after they became ministers: but lord Moira exhibited a most strange and melancholy obliquity of understanding, when he prevented the prince from consenting to that which would have secured the services of those men, whose services, from lord Moira's applying to them, he must have considered highly useful, if not essential to the interests of the nation; and which would also have raised the prince personally in the opinion of the country. The warmth and zeal of his attachment to his prince none can doubt, since in this instance he exhibited it at the expense of his own character for patriotism and understanding.

While the negotiations for the formation of a new ministry were going on, a most singular state paper appeared in the *Moniteur*; it was dated from the palace of St. Cloud, on the 28th of April 1810, and purported to be a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees from the 1st of November, the day on which Bonaparte had said that they were to be repealed. It is not easy to conceive the motive, good or bad, which induced him to refrain from publishing their repeal till eighteen months after he declared it had taken place. By this decree the Berlin and Milan decrees were not generally and unconditionally repealed, but only so far as they related to America: on this account, as well as on account of the suspicion arising from their date, the British ministry did not conceive

themselves bound, as if they had been regularly and completely repealed; and accordingly the evidence brought forward by the petitioners against the orders in council was proceeded in. It was soon apparent that on this point, as well as on several others of minor interest and importance, lord Liverpool and his colleagues were by no means disposed to be so very strict and unbending as Mr. Perceval. Indeed, with respect to the repeal of the orders in council, such a mass of evidence was adduced by the petitioners against them, that no minister of common prudence, or with a common regard to the interests of a very large portion of the nation, could have withstood their repeal. We have already pointed out and explained, in a brief and cursory manner, what was at issue between the two parties,—between those who advocated and those who opposed the orders in council:—it will now be proper to give an abstract of the evidence that was adduced on this subject. It was proved beyond controversy, that in all the manufacturing districts of Great Britain great misery and poverty prevailed among the labouring classes; that their wages was little more than one-half of what it used to be; that not nearly so many were employed even at this low rate of wages as generally had been. It was attempted to be shown that their misery arose principally from the high price of all kinds of provisions, and of the other necessities of life: but in answer to this, it was most satisfactorily proved, that in the years 1800 and 1801, when the necessities of life were equally dear, the misery was not nearly so great or extensive, because work was then plentiful;
and

and that if work were plentiful and regular now, the labouring classes, notwithstanding the high price of the necessaries of life, would be in a tolerably comfortable condition. Several instances of most shocking wretchedness were pointed out in the evidence; and it was also proved, that were it not for the subscriptions that had been set on foot in the manufacturing districts, these instances would be much more numerous.

With respect to the master manufacturers, these might be divided into two classes: the first class comprehended those whose capitals were very large, and who consequently could bear the pressure of the times with comparatively little suffering, though even of this class there were very many who had nearly their whole capital locked up in goods which they could not dispose of; and in order to prevent their workmen from experiencing absolute starvation, they were continuing to manufacture, notwithstanding they had no prospect of a market. With respect to the second class, viz. those whose capitals were trifling, many of them had been compelled to dispose of their manufactories and of their stock in hand at a very inadequate price, in order to keep themselves and their families from the parish.

The circumstance of the misery of the manufacturing districts being thus established, the next inquiry was, to what cause was the decline of trade in these districts to be ascribed? On this point, also, the evidence was full and satisfactory. America was the market which took off by far the largest portion of their goods: while this market was open and free, trade was brisk, wages were high and steady, manufactures flourished, and the la-

bouring classes could maintain themselves and their families in a decent and comfortable manner; but whenever the American market was suspended or closed, the reverse took place. During the long protracted dispute between Great Britain and America, there had been periods during which the American market had been opened for our manufactures; and it was proved by the evidence laid before the house of commons, that as regularly as those periods arrived the manufacturing districts flourished; that the period of their flourishing corresponded exactly with the period during which America received our goods; and that the close of the American market and the wretchedness of those districts equally corresponded.

The next inquiry was, how were we to regain the American market? The petitioners against the orders in council contended that, if these orders were repealed, America would open her ports to our ships and merchandize: on this point, by far the most interesting and important in the whole discussion, there was great difference of opinion. The petitioners grounded their expectation that the American government would open their ports to British merchandize, if the orders in council were repealed, on several circumstances: in the first place, the American government had repeatedly declared that they had been obliged to have recourse to an embargo and a non-importation act, in consequence of the unjust measures adopted against them by France in her Berlin and Milan decrees, and by England in her orders in council; and that whenever either of those powers withdrew their obnoxious measures, America would be no longer hos-

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tile to her : consequently, if the orders in council were repealed, the American government were bound by their own voluntary declaration to open their ports to British ships and merchandize. But, in the second place, so confident were the American merchants that the repeal of the orders in council would satisfy their government, and do away all cause of hostility or dispute, that they authorized their correspondents in Great Britain to ship goods for America as soon as ever the repeal took place, and not to wait till they learnt what effect on the American government the knowledge of the repeal produced. Those who advocated the cause of the orders in council, on the contrary, maintained that the American government had other causes of dispute ; and that, even if it had not, such was its attachment to France, and its hostile spirit towards Britain, that it was absurd to expect that it would be satisfied with the repeal of the orders in council ; so that, by repealing them, we should deprive ourselves of an engine which had greatly annoyed France, without benefiting our own trade. Ministers, however, being no longer directed and animated by the unbending spirit of Mr. Perceval, consented to the repeal of the orders in council, without, however, abandoning the justice or the policy of the principle on which they were founded ; while the opposition declared, that if the American government were not satisfied with their repeal, they would range themselves on the side of ministers, and support them in the most decisive and hostile measures they might take against America.

The influence which Mr. Perceval had possessed over his col-

leagues, and the bias which he had given to their principles and measures, was clearly manifested in other instances besides the repeal of the orders in council. A short time before his assassination, he had introduced into the house of commons a plan for extending the barrack system : this plan was highly obnoxious, from the appearance which it wore of being part of a regular attempt and design to separate still more than they had long been the soldiers from the citizens. No motive could be assigned for this proposed measure which did not imply such a design : it was in vain to defend it on the plea, that the comfort of the soldier and the perfection of his discipline could be better secured if he were constantly lodged in barracks. But the plan was objectionable on another account : it could not be carried into execution but at a most enormous expense ; and this expense was to be incurred, certainly not to protect the liberties of Englishmen, and at a period when the most rigid economy was absolutely necessary in every branch of the public expenditure. Mr. Perceval, however, on this as on all points which he once took up, was obstinate : but he failed in his proofs and arguments so much, that he had only a majority of 22 ; and it is probable that, if sir Francis Burdett had not made a most injudicious and intemperate speech on the occasion, the minister would have been left in a minority.—This plan of building barracks at an enormous expense, was abandoned almost as soon as lord Liverpool became prime minister.

Mr. Perceval's strong attachment to the church of England, and his determined hostility to catholic emancipation, have been noticed :
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he would not even hold out the most distant or the slightest hope that the day would ever arrive when he would give up his opposition to this measure ; and from what occurred during the correspondence between lord Liverpool and the marquis of Wellesley, when the former wished to gain over the latter to the administration, it was supposed that lord Liverpool would not easily or speedily acknowledge that the period was arrived when catholic emancipation might be safely and justly granted. The friends of the catholics however, convinced that no ministry could be so hostile to them as one at which Mr. Perceval was at the head, brought it before both houses of parliament after his death ; and they at last succeeded so far as to obtain the pledge of the house of commons, that they would inquire into the claims of the catholics during the next session of parliament.

But this parliament was not to meet again : having run nearly its usual and legitimate course, it was dissolved ; and the friends of the new ministry, of lord Wellesley and Mr. Canning, of the old and regular opposition, and of sir Francis Burdett and the popular party, made use of every effort respectively to increase their numbers and influence. Yet, after all, little that is interesting or important occurred during the elections. In the city of London, Mr. Waithman and alderman Wood, who at all the meetings of the livery had carried in the most triumphant manner every measure which they proposed or supported, offered themselves as candidates ; but without success. In Liverpool the contest was not only extremely keen, but attended with circumstances of peculiar and

no common interest. The candidates were Mr. Brougham and Mr. Creevey on the one side, and Mr. Canning and general Gascoigne on the other side. Mr. Brougham, a young man of first-rate abilities, had distinguished himself by the active, zealous, and successful part which he took against the orders in council ; indeed, had it not been for his exertions, they would not have been repealed. As Liverpool had suffered in a very great degree by the suspension of commercial intercourse with America, Mr. Brougham was very popular there. Mr. Creevey was recommended to them from the circumstance of his being a native of the town, and of his having opposed the East India monopoly. As there were in Liverpool many wealthy and powerful people who considered the orders in council as beneficial to this country, and were consequently against their repeal, and who were decidedly at variance with Mr. Brougham on the great questions of peace, and a reform of parliament, they naturally looked out for some man of talents, and of principles similar to their own, to set up in opposition to him. They fixed on Mr. Canning ; and general Gascoigne, as one of their old members, was united with him. Almost every day during the election, the inhabitants of Liverpool enjoyed the high gratification of hearing most able and eloquent harangues from Mr. Canning and Mr. Brougham ; the former denouncing the tyranny of Bonaparte,—the necessity and the practicability of continuing the war against him,—and ridiculing, with that vein of irony for which he is distinguished, the advocates for parliamentary reform. On the other hand, Mr. Brougham painted with

with more impressive and chaste eloquence the wretchedness of the country, the blessings which peace would bring along with it, and the practicability of making it with safety and honour. The contest was very keen; but it was happily free from most of those scenes of riot and bloodshed which too often disgrace popular elections. Mr. Brougham's friends attempted too much, when they endeavoured to bring in both him and Mr. Creevey; by this injudicious attempt, they both lost their election.

The general result of the elections is supposed to have been, that the party of the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning was strengthened, and that their additional strength was

gained at the expense of the ministerial party.

In the month of April a proposal of peace came from Bonaparte: one of the conditions was, that "the present dynasty of Spain should be declared independent." Lord Castlereagh, in reply to this proposal, inquired what was meant by the present dynasty: if it meant, as the prince regent feared, the "brother of the head of the French government," the proposal could not be accepted: if it meant Ferdinand, his royal highness was disposed to treat for peace. To this required explanation no answer was given, and of course nothing further was done.

CHAPTER X.

Anxiety felt in this Country respecting the Intentions of the American Government—Ignorance of our Politicians with regard to the State of Parties in the United States—The Mission of Henry—Effects produced by its Discovery—Ministers refuse to give any Explanation on the Subject—Message of the President to the Senate and the House of Representatives on the Subject of the Differences with Great Britain—Hostile Character of this Message—Topics discussed in it—Impressing American Seamen—Searching American Ships—Blockades—Orders in Council—Remarks on these Topics as discussed in the Message—War declared by America—Expectations in Britain with respect to the Result of the War—Americans prepare to invade Canada—Character of the American General and Troops—Total Defeat of General Hull—The Americans still persevere in their Designs against Canada—are again defeated—Death of General Brock—Anxiety of the British Nation that the Americans and British should meet at Sea—Battle between the Guerriere and Constitution—Guerriere taken—Surprise and Consternation of the British at this Event—Causes of it—Battle between the Macedonian and United States—the former taken—Riots at Baltimore—President's Speech.

GREAT anxiety prevailed in Great Britain respecting the consequences which would be produced in America by the repeal of orders of council. The Ame-

rican government had so repeatedly declared that these orders were the principal cause of the alienation and differences which existed between the two countries, that there seemed

seemed reasonable ground for believing that their repeal would restore amity and commercial intercourse between them; but unfortunately there were not only, in fact, other causes of difference, but there also existed, both in the British and American government, a spirit by no means consistent with a calm and impartial discussion of the grievances and wrongs of which each complained. In Great Britain an idea prevailed, and seemed in a great degree to influence the ministry, that America had acted in a very unjustifiable manner towards this country, while she had manifested in the most open and unblushing manner a decided leaning towards the interests and views of France: this opinion, of course, appeared to justify those who were decidedly for war with the United States, in giving currency and weight to their hostile measures; but another circumstance also operated towards the same end. A war with America, it was argued, would be not merely just, but also of short continuance, and a scene of uninterrupted and splendid success on our part, and of defeat and disgrace on the part of the United States; and it is much to be feared that the success which will probably arise from a war, whether of a substantial or merely of a splendid nature, has too much influence in deciding its commencement. This disposition, so contrary to sound policy as well as justice, was unfortunately met with a similar disposition in the government and a large proportion of the population of America: they were galled and provoked by our attacks on their commerce;—by our interruption of their trade with France;—by the right of search, which we claimed and exercised not always on the best

grounds or in the most gentle manner;—and with the impressment and detention of their seamen. To these motives for war was added the hope of conquering Canada, and of enriching themselves by the capture of our merchant ships.

But while there was a strong party for war with Great Britain in the United States, there was also no weak or inconsiderable party for peace; and this party also was influenced, in some degree, by a regard to their own interest, as well as by a sense of what they conceived to be right and just. In such a country as America there must be for a long time a great deal of superfluous produce raised; and consequently those employed in raising or disposing of this produce must be anxious for a regular and adequate market for it: but Great Britain afforded it this market, and in return was the only country which could supply the United States with manufactured goods of the best quality, and at the lowest price. The persons therefore, in each country, interested in this commercial intercourse, who were reciprocally buyers and sellers, were naturally averse from war; and they urged their plea with considerable though unequal effect: for while in America, to the plea of the grower or seller of corn, that by a war with Great Britain his produce would become unsaleable, it was replied, that in such a case he should direct his labour and capital to the production of those goods which Great Britain gave in exchange for corn; no similar plea or answer could be urged, when the manufacturers of this country maintained that in consequence of a war with America they would be utterly deprived of a vent for the produce of their labour and capital. Those therefore

therefore who were of opinion that America would never declare war against Great Britain, because the American government were completely under the control and guidance of the populace, and the interest of the populace there must be for peace, argued erroneously in many respects; they took for granted, what was not the case, that the interest of the most powerful and most active and turbulent part of the American population was for peace; they also took for granted (what a very limited and short acquaintance with the populace of any nation must prove to be erroneous) that the populace are always influenced and directed by a regard to their real interests; and they forgot that, though in a democratic government, such as that of the United States, the voice and will of the populace, if it continue firm and determined one way for a length of time, must prevail; yet there are methods, well understood, and systematically acted upon, in such governments, of changing their sentiments and wishes.

In fact, on no subjects in the smallest degree connected with the policy or the interest of this country has the British government or people betrayed more ignorance and prejudice than on the probable intentions of the American government, and the wishes of the American people; and though our conjectures and information have been repeatedly proved to be erroneous, yet we were not rendered more wise and sagacious, or less prejudiced. This remark applies, with nearly equal force, to both parties in Great Britain: those who contended for the justice and necessity of a war with America predicted from that war, almost as soon as it should commence, the separation of the

United States, if not a civil war among them: on every approaching election of a president, they confidently foretold that the friends of Great Britain would prevail; and when the event proved that their prediction was unfounded, they were not abashed, but persisted in the representations which they had made of the disposition of the people of the United States. On the other hand, those in Great Britain who were averse from a war with the United States were nearly as ignorant both of the views of the government there, and of the temper and wishes of the people. Nor is it difficult to point out the principal source of these erroneous opinions: in no country does party spirit run so high as it does in America; no where are party statements so utterly unfounded, and so much calculated, if not intended, to mislead. Hence those who wish to believe that a war with Great Britain would be extremely unpopular in America,—that it would immediately produce the greatest degree of misery and discontent, and prepare the way for a separation among the states,—find no difficulty in illustrating and confirming their opinions by the party statements of the American writers; while, on the other hand, those in Great Britain who entertained opposite opinions found no difficulty in supporting them by the evidence and arguments which were supplied to them by the corresponding party in America.

The time was now fast approaching when all conjecture and speculation regarding the views and intentions of the government of the United States would be at an end: they certainly were still decidedly hostile to Great Britain; but it was hoped that the intelligence of the death

death of Mr. Perceval, and the consequent probability of an entire change of men and measures, would suspend the hostile measures of the American government. The arrival of every vessel was anxiously looked for; but the intelligence, instead of assuming a pacific complexion, became more threatening and warlike. In this critical conjuncture a circumstance happened which was but too well calculated to strengthen the suspicions of the American government, and to irritate the minds of the populace still more against Great Britain. As no doubt could be entertained that in the event of a war between the two countries Canada would be attacked, sir James Craig, the governor of that province, very judiciously took every measure which he thought could be effectual or conducive to its protection and defence. Had he confined himself to this line of conduct alone, no blame could have been imputable to him; but he thought himself justified in sending a person of the name of Henry into the United States on a very ambiguous errand. According to the statements of the American government, who seized Henry, and obtained possession of his instructions, as well as of the communications which he had made to sir James Craig, the object of this man was to ingratiate himself with the federal party; to ascertain its strength, and its views and wishes, in the different states; and more particularly to encourage, with the promise or hope of British assistance, any design or plan they might be disposed to form for a separation of the United States. This conduct on the part of Great Britain (for what was done or authorised by sir James Craig the American government considered as indicative

of the disposition, if not the result of the orders, of the British ministry) the president, in a message to the senate, represented as a most gross breach of good faith: at the very time when Great Britain and America were employed in discussing terms of amity, an agent had been employed, not for the purpose of collecting information (for that was a legitimate object), but for the purpose of procuring a separation of the United States: the president further contended, that the letters which had been found, when Henry was seized, proved that this plan for separating the states had been so completely digested, and was supposed to be so near its execution, that the British ministry actually proposed to send an accredited person to the federalist party. No circumstance could have occurred more likely to move the passions and confirm the prejudices of the American people against Great Britain; and even those who were inimical to Mr. Madison and his party, who thought that in the dispute between the countries America had been to blame, and who had always contended that Great Britain had acted towards her in the most honourable and forbearing manner, felt disposed on this occasion to unite with the democratic party, and to join in their invectives against the perfidy of the British ministry.

The subject of the mission of Henry was brought before parliament: but ministers refused to produce the correspondence and papers connected with it; nor did they give a very clear or satisfactory account of the transaction. They denied, indeed, that he was accredited by them, or that they were acquainted with sir James Craig's intention of employing him; but they

they at the same time justified sir James Craig in what he had done: this justification, however, was founded on the position, that Henry was sent into the United States, not to stir up disunion, but simply and merely to ascertain what preparations were making to attack Canada in the event of a war. The British ministry refused to lay the papers connected with his mission before parliament; but they did not deny that the papers published by the American government, as having been found on Henry, were genuine: and from these papers it undoubtedly appeared that his instructions were to ascertain the chance of the separation of the states, in case of war.—These instructions, to use the mildest language respecting them, were highly imprudent; and when intrusted to such a man as Henry, common experience and sagacity might have foretold, both that he would go beyond them, and that the American government would frustrate them, either through the perfidy or unskilfulness of the agent. So it turned out; and the British ministry had all the dishonour of having acted contrary to the law of nations, and at the same time the mortification to perceive that the American people were consolidated by this most unjustifiable and injudicious attempt to divide them.

Before the intelligence of the assassination of Mr. Perceval had reached America, that government had determined on war with Great Britain: on the 18th of June a message was sent to the senate and house of representatives containing a declaration to this effect. In this state paper the president evidently puts forth all his powers of argument: it is ably drawn up; and when we consider the temper in

which the greatest part of the discussion between the two countries had been conducted, there is more coolness and impartiality in it than might have been expected. It first complains of the violation which the American flag has repeatedly suffered from British cruisers "on the great highway of nations:"—connected with this subject, and a great aggression of the injustice, is the adjudgement of captured property without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal. American ships are captured under pretences not recognised by the law of nations; and these captures are attempted to be justified on a plea not only flimsy, but utterly at variance with every principle of justice and equity. France, it is said, has injured Great Britain by means of the injury that she has inflicted on American ships; and as the American government has not repelled by force these aggressions on the rights and property of its subjects, it is inferred that it consents to them, and thus is exposed to similar acts of oppression and injustice from the other belligerent.

The practice of impressing American seamen is next complained of: the American flag is no protection to American subjects; every petty British commander conceives himself not only authorised, but imperiously called upon, to tear from their country, and from every thing dear to them, American sailors; to drag them on board their ships of war, where they must risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and probably be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren. This practice Great Britain had defended also on very slight and insufficient grounds: but that even these grounds might no longer avail it, the

the United States had expressed their readiness to enter into arrangements such as could not be rejected, if, as was alleged, the recovery of British subjects were the real and sole object.

On the subject of the violation, by British cruisers, of the rights and peace of the American coasts, the president, in his message, does not dwell long or forcibly: he complains, however, in rather indignant and bitter language, that when our government was called upon, by the United States, to punish the greatest offences committed by her vessels, it bestowed on their commanders additional marks of honour and confidence.

The "pretended" blockades form a topic of greater importance, and call forth more severe invective: the president designates them in this manner, because he maintains that an adequate force was not employed, and that in several instances it was not practicable to apply one: to declare a place blockaded under these circumstances was to contravene the plainest and most fundamental principles of the law of nations; and these principles even the British government admitted and promulgated, since it had actually issued official communications, declaring, as the true definition of a legal blockade, "that particular ports must be actually invested, and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter."

All these causes of war were, however, but subordinate, both in the injustice which they displayed and in the injury which they inflicted. The orders in council were chiefly inveighed against: these orders were evidently framed so as best to suit the political views, or the commercial jealousies, of the British government: the consequences which would re-

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sult from them to neutral nations were never taken into the account; or, if contemplated and foreseen as highly prejudicial, this consideration weighed not with it. It was indeed attempted to justify them by an appeal to similar measures adopted and carried into execution by France; as if America could be satisfied with the unjust and injurious conduct of one belligerent, by that belligerent proving that she had been treated in an equally unjust and injurious manner by the other belligerent. But what was the fact? France, indeed, by her Berlin and Milan decrees, expressed her willingness and disposition to impede and injure neutral commerce, in order that she might thus cripple the commerce of Great Britain: but the Berlin and Milan decrees were almost entirely a dead letter. British superiority at sea absolutely prevented them from being acted upon in any effective or permanent manner: it was therefore absurd to attempt to justify the mischiefs which actually flowed on America from the orders in council, by appealing to decrees which, while Britain remained mistress of the sea, were utterly without effect. The British government were surprised and angry that America viewed the conduct of France more coolly than it did hers; not recollecting, that executed edicts against millions of American property could not be retaliation on edicts confessedly impossible to be executed. Besides, this plea of retaliation was untenable, when viewed in another light: to be just, retaliation should fall on the party setting the guilty example, not on the innocent party, which moreover could not even be charged with an acquiescence in it.

At one period, the British government

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ment declared that it would repeal its orders in council as soon as the Berlin and Milan decrees were rescinded: they had been rescinded: this fact had been regularly and officially notified to the cabinet of St. James; but the orders in council were still in full operation against American commerce. On what pretext were they continued?—on a pretext which but too well proved the insincerity of the British government: they avowed a determination to persist in them till the markets of France should be opened to British products; “thus asserting an obligation on a neutral power to require one belligerent to encourage by its interior regulations the trade of another belligerent.” Apparently apprehensive that even this pretext might be taken from them by the conciliatory and pacific disposition of the American government, Great Britain next insisted, “that the French repeal, besides including that portion of the decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that which operates on the high seas against the commerce of the United States, should not be a single special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations, unconnected with them, may be affected by those decrees.”

The subsequent paragraph, though the statement it contains is exaggerated, and the colouring rather too high, deserves notice, as exhibiting too just a picture of the species of commerce which the British government encourages, and which British merchants do not think themselves disgraced by carrying on:

“It has become, indeed, sufficiently certain, that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with the

belligerent rights of Great Britain—not as supplying the wants of her enemies, *which she herself supplies*—but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend, *that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy*;—a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed.”

After thus enumerating the various grievances of which the United States complained, the president proceeds to narrate the repeated attempts which had been made to bring Great Britain to a sense of justice, and to reconcile the differences between the two countries: these attempts, though made on the part of America with the utmost sincerity, and with the most anxious desire that they should succeed, had always proved abortive. In one instance a reconciliation seemed at hand: the minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty proposed an adjustment of the differences which more immediately endangered the harmony of the two countries: this proposal was most frankly met by the government of America: the prospect of reconciliation, however, soon vanished: the British government utterly disavowed the proceedings of its minister, refused to ratify or acknowledge them, and thus widened the breach. After thus referring to the mission of Mr. Erskine, the president adverts in terms of pointed and strong indignation to the machinations and intrigues of Henry; machinations and intrigues which were carrying on at the very moment when the public minister of Britain was holding the language of friendship, and inspired confidence

dence in the sincerity of the negotiation with which he was charged.

Hitherto, in the message of the president, the complaints of America against Great Britain are openly brought forward, and placed on conspicuous ground; but the last charge betrays a different spirit. The Indians, at this time, had manifested more than their usual activity in carrying on hostile measures against the United States; and the president, on no other ground than the mere coincidence in point of time between their hostility and the continued perseverance of the British government in what was deemed their unfriendly conduct, is evidently strongly disposed to believe that the Indians were instigated by the British; and this belief he upholds and justifies, by recalling to the recollection of the senate, and house of representatives, the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of the British government.

It was hardly to be expected that in a state paper, which was intended to justify a declaration of war against Great Britain, the conduct of France towards the United States would be discussed or noticed;—noticed, however, it is in a very short and reluctant manner. The president still contends that the Berlin and Milan decrees, at least so far as they regarded and affected America, were revoked; but he is compelled to acknowledge that, even since the revocation of those decrees, the French government had authorized illegal captures by its privateers and public ships, and that other outrages had been practised on the vessels and citizens of the United States. As, however, the discussions between France and America were not yet brought to a

termination, the president abstained from recommending to the consideration of congress definitive measures with respect to that nation.

Such is an outline of the president's message: as has been already observed, it is drawn up with considerable ability, and with more temper and impartiality than might have been anticipated. It also makes out, in several respects, a very plausible case; but certainly not such a case as justifies a nation in going to war. In the first place, with regard to the impressment of seamen from on board American ships; if these seamen are British-born subjects, no doubt can be entertained that the government of Britain has a right to their services. But the Americans complain that we impress American citizens: this point evidently turns on the just construction of the law of nations: if no person can *denationalize* himself, or be *denationalized*; but if, under all circumstances, and during his whole life, he is the subject of the state under whose dominion and protection he was born, America by no act of her legislature can render him an American citizen. So far, therefore, it would seem that Britain is justified in recovering her seamen wherever they are found, and notwithstanding they are sheltered under the supposed protection of American citizenship. But America further complains, that American seamen, *bond fide* American citizens, who were born in America, and who therefore, according to the principles of the British government, ought to be regarded and treated as such; are frequently impressed by British ships of war. The reply to this is equally satisfactory: America, by granting certificates of citizenship

to seamen who had no just claim to them, who were to all intents and purposes British subjects, renders it absolutely impossible to distinguish between American and British seamen. But the president, in his message, asserts that the United States were ready to enter into arrangements, such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of British subjects were the real and sole object: and certainly, if Britain meant only to recover her own seamen, and America only to protect hers, and not to conceal those of Britain, it would seem that such an arrangement might be formed and carried into execution as would effectually secure these objects.

With respect to blockades, the question in the president's message is evidently rendered involved and intricate, for the purpose of leading the mind astray from the point really and solely in dispute. Britain maintains that, according to the law and usage of nations, she is justified in prohibiting neutrals from carrying on, in time of war, the coasting trade of a belligerent, which the belligerent itself does not allow them to carry on in time of peace; and that all neutrals detected in that trade are liable to capture, whether bound for a port declared in a state of blockade, or not. If, therefore, an American vessel not employed in that trade sails for a port of France, Britain would not attempt to capture her, unless that port were actually blockaded; *i. e.* blockaded with such a force before it, as to render entrance dangerous. But on the other hand, if an American vessel is employed in carrying on that trade with a belligerent not allowed to neutrals in time of peace, she becomes, by that very circumstance, liable to cap-

ture, not merely while she is attempting to enter a port (though that port is not blockaded), but even on her passage.

With respect to the alleged repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, all that the British government contended for was, that the repeal of them should be as public, formal, and regular as their enactment: when such a repeal took place, they would perform their promise, and rescind their orders of council. The American government, when called upon to produce evidence of such a repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, could not give it. They rested their declaration that they were repealed, on very vague and unsatisfactory circumstances; and the president, in that very message in which he denounced war against Great Britain on account of the injuries she had inflicted on America, acknowledged that France had violated the neutral rights of the United States, and authorized illegal captures by its privateers and public ships. This certainly was a practical proof that the Berlin and Milan decrees were not repealed; and it is singular, that in the very paper in which the American government complains of Great Britain because she continued her orders in council, notwithstanding the declared repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, proof should be given that they were still in force, and still acted upon in such a manner as to violate the neutral rights of the American states.

Soon after this message was delivered to the senate and house of representatives, and war had been actually and officially declared against Great Britain, information was received in America of the repeal

peal of the orders in council : but this information did not seem in the slightest degree to restore a pacific disposition on the part of the American government. As they had expressly and repeatedly declared, that friendly and commercial intercourse should recommence with Great Britain as soon as the orders in council were repealed,—that these orders were the principal cause of the dispute which existed between the two countries,—and that the other points of difference were of subordinate interest and importance,—it was naturally to have been expected that the war, even if begun, would have been stopped as soon as the intelligence of the repeal of the orders in council officially reached the American government. That this was not the case, may be attributed principally to the following reasons: In the first place, the American government contended that the motives which had led Britain to repeal her orders in council ought to be examined. Had they been repealed because they were unjust in their principle, and highly detrimental in their effects to the rights and commerce of America? Had the British ministry declared that such were their reasons for abandoning them? No: on the contrary, the motives for repealing them were quite selfish: they had no reference to the rights of neutral nations. Great Britain had issued these orders in council for the purpose and in the expectation that they would reduce France to terms of peace by destroying what little remained of her trade. It was known that this destruction of the trade of France, if it were effected by the operation of the orders of council, must be accompanied with great injustice and in-

jury to neutral nations. This consideration, however, did not deter Great Britain from issuing them, nor from acting according to them with the utmost strictness and rigour.—What were their real consequences?—The trade of France doubtlessly suffered; and as certainly were neutral nations injured in their rights: but Great Britain was the greatest sufferer. America, to protect herself and to avenge her wrongs, prohibited all commercial intercourse with Great Britain: this power, thus deprived of her best customer, had no longer a sufficient and regular market for her manufactures and colonial produce: her merchants and manufacturers were nearly ruined: distress, discontent, and poverty spread over her territory; complaints and petitions poured in from all quarters; and the orders in council were repealed, not to render justice to America, but to rescue a large portion of the British population from absolute starvation.

In the second place, it was evident that these motives alone influenced the British government in the repeal of the orders in council, and not any conviction of the injustice of their principle, because, in the very state paper which declared them repealed, that principle was avowed and defended: the British ministry seemed afraid lest they should be suspected, and charged with having abandoned their unjustifiable and unfounded pretensions; and therefore, in a very ungracious manner, declared at the very time that they repealed the orders in council, not that they conceived they had acted wrong in their first promulgation, but that they were compelled by circumstances to suspend them; while

they still held, as part of the law of nations, the principle on which they were framed.

Besides these considerations, which weighed with the government of America in persevering in the war, it is obvious that those concessions which might have prevented hostilities will, from various causes, be found insufficient to stop them. It is probable, also, that America expected to reap from a war with Britain considerable advantages, and that these advantages she was not willing to forgo, after having decided on hostilities: yet, if we reflect on the relative state of the two countries, we shall be disposed to believe, not only that it would have been for their mutual interest to have been at peace; but that, in the event of a war, it would be extremely difficult for either party to inflict much injury on the other.

The first military attempt of America was against the province of Upper Canada: for this purpose the neighbouring militia were collected, and placed under the command of general Hull. On the 11th of July, he passed the river which divided the lines, and on the 13th the standard of the United States was erected in Canada. General Hull immediately issued a proclamation, in which he invited the Canadian militia to return to their homes, promising at the same time to the inhabitants, if they remained neutral, peaceable and friendly treatment. In this proclamation general Hull represented the force under his command as fully adequate to the accomplishment of the great enterprise on which he had been sent: according to his statement, he came prepared for every contingency; he had a force which would break

down all opposition. The American general seems, from another part of his proclamation, to have been very apprehensive of the Indians, and threatens death to every white man found fighting by the side of an Indian: he reprobates in severe language the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain in letting loose savages to murder the American citizens, and thus compelling him to wage a war of extermination. From this part of the proclamation, it would never be suspected that the American government had made any attempts to enlist the Indians in their service; and yet the contrary is the fact. They used every means in their power for that purpose; and not succeeding, they then denounce the employment of Indians by the British as a barbarous and savage policy. It is certainly to be lamented, that these people should be employed in any war between Britain and America, and if they could be kept neutral, there could be no justifiable plea for employing them; but if they are not united with the regular armies of America or Britain, they will carry on a predatory warfare by themselves for that party which they may have espoused; and undoubtedly they would commit much greater cruelty if fighting by themselves, than if they were united with, and under the control and command of, either a British or an American army.

The force of general Hull consisted of about 2300 men, supported by several field-pieces: his first attempt was directed against Fort Amherstburg, the garrison of which consisted of about 600 men. Sir George Prevost, governor in chief of his majesty's provinces in North America, had made prompt and

and effectual arrangements for the defence of Upper Canada, and for the repulse of the enemy. General Brock had the command of the force destined for this purpose; it consisted of thirty royal artillerymen, two hundred and fifty of the 41st regiment, four hundred Canadian militia, and six hundred Indians. It might have been thought that such a force was totally inadequate to meet the American army; but the composition of that army, and the talents and skill of its general officers, were well known, and were indeed soon displayed in such a manner as to portend their defeat and disgrace.

The American army was utterly without discipline; and soon manifested such disorder, that, even under the command of the most able and experienced general, its ruin must have been inevitable. But general Hull had no talents adequate to the enterprise he had undertaken: he advanced into an enemy's country without a proper knowledge of it: he was ignorant of the situation and movements of the British force which were coming to relieve the fort he was besieging: he was continually harassed and bewildered with various and contradictory reports concerning the different tribes of hostile Indians by whom he apprehended he was surrounded. His army became dissatisfied; provisions grew scarce; and he knew neither how to advance, to continue where he was, or to retreat. General Brock was aware of all these circumstances, and he formed his plan accordingly: at first he intended merely to have watched the enemy, and, by harassing him in his camp and cutting off his supplies, to have compelled him to meet him in the field: but having learnt that gene-

ral Hull had dispatched one of his best officers with a detachment of 500 men, general Brock decided on an immediate attack. On approaching Fort Detroit, near which the American camp was, it was ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution on the land side: general Brock therefore determined to assault it on this side, while the Indians penetrated the camp. General Hull, however, prevented this movement by proposing a cessation of hostilities, in order to prepare terms of capitulation: these terms were soon agreed upon. By the first, Fort Detroit, with all the troops, were surrendered; by the second article, the stores, arms, &c. were given up: the third article relates to the protection to be given to private persons and property: the fourth is of a singular nature, and evidently proves the great apprehensions entertained by general Hull of the Indians; for in this article he proposes, that the detachment which had been sent from the garrison should be included in the capitulation. In a supplementary article, the militias of the Michigan and Ohio territories are discharged from being prisoners of war.

Such was the issue of the first military enterprise of the Americans; not more disgraceful to them, than it was honourable to us: and it sufficiently laid open the nature of their armies, to convince us that from them, however numerous they might be, Canada had nothing to apprehend, since they contained within themselves the seeds of their own disgrace and defeat. It was hoped that, when the American government perceived how fruitless would be all their attempts to injure Britain in the only point in which she was

materially exposed to their hostility, it would have manifested a pacific disposition: but this hope was vain: the American government persevered; but not being able to change the character and composition of their armies, they only covered themselves with more disgrace, while they afforded fresh opportunities for the display and exercise of British valour.

It must be obvious that the detail of such operations can neither possess sufficient interest nor instruction, in a military point of view, to be properly admitted into the pages of history: having, therefore, exhibited one proof and example of the mode in which the Americans carried on the war against Canada, it will be sufficient to add, that in their second attempt their general displayed, if possible, a greater portion of incapacity, unskilfulness, and mismanagement; their troops, a greater share of insubordination and want of discipline; and that the result was natural and unavoidable—they became an easy conquest: nor would Britain have received the intelligence of the second defeat of their trans-atlantic enemy, had it not been accompanied with the news, that general Brock, who nobly led his troops a second time to victory, fell almost at the moment when it was secured.

As the Americans were thus foiled in their enterprises against Canada, it was hoped that in no other quarter would they have reason to applaud themselves for having rashly engaged in a war with Great Britain. Those in this country who knew Canada best were apprehensive that it would not be able to resist the attacks of an American army. The troops in that province were few in number;

most of them were militia; and of those who were regulars, not many had been accustomed to actual service. Long before their numbers could be increased, it was apprehended that the Americans could have dispatched such a force as would have rendered Upper Canada at least an easy and cheap conquest: but these anticipations, as we have seen, were ill founded. The nature of an American army was not known; nor were the skill of the generals employed in Canada, nor the bravery of the troops under their command, duly appreciated. On the other hand, nothing but glory, gained by the destruction of the American navy (if navy it could be called, which consisted only of a few frigates,) was expected from the maritime war. The government and people of the United States were to be humbled and brought to their senses by the blockade of their coasts, the bombardment of their towns, and the destruction of their commerce. Their naval commanders were judged of by Rodgers, who, in a ship of very superior force, had not thought himself demeaned by attacking the *Little Belt*. It was triumphantly and tauntingly said, that the American naval commanders would fly from ships of a force nearly equal to their own; and the day was anxiously but confidently looked forward to, when an American and English frigate should meet.

At length, in the month of August, the British and American seamen had an opportunity of displaying their skill and bravery against one another: the ships which fought were the *Guerriere*, captain Dacres, and the *Constitution*, captain Hull; the former was rated at 38 guns, but had 49 mounted;

mounted; her gun-deck battery consisted of 18-pounders, besides carronades on her quarter-deck, 32-pounders: her complement was 300 men. The Constitution rated 44 guns, and mounted 55; her gun-deck battery consisted of 24-pounders; on her quarter-deck she had carronades of the same weight of metal as the Guerriere: her complement of men was 450. This American frigate, as well as some others, had been originally intended for a line-of-battle ship: her dimensions were equal to those of a British 74-gun ship; so that, though built and rigged as a frigate, she could not justly be considered as belonging to that class of ships. The Guerriere was not in good fighting condition: her rigging was old, and stood much in need of repair; she had been long at sea; and when she fell in with the Constitution, she had not her full complement of men.

The action began about five o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th of August, in latitude $41^{\circ} 42' N$. longitude $55^{\circ} 33' W$. Almost immediately after the commencement of the engagement, the Guerriere felt the effects of the superior force of the enemy, and in order to avoid it as much as possible, captain Dacres ordered her to wear very frequently. Captain Hull, on the other hand, being equally aware of the advantages he possessed, manœuvred in order to close with the Guerriere, and to avoid being raked. Soon after six, captain Hull succeeded in bringing his opponent to close action, and in ten minutes after that the mizen-mast of the Guerriere fell overboard. About half past six she became completely unmanageable, and fell on board of the Constitution; the rigging of the two ships being closely

entangled. There was no hope of saving the Guerriere; and captain Dacres was reluctantly compelled to cease firing, and to haul down his colours. Soon after she was taken possession of, she was discovered to be in a sinking condition, having four feet water in the hold: the American captain immediately ordered the prisoners to be removed; and on the afternoon of the 21st, this having been completed, she was set on fire.

The loss of the Americans in this action was 7 killed and 7 wounded; among the former was a lieutenant of marines. The loss of the Guerriere was considerably greater; indeed it was not only absolutely great, but when the complement of men on board the two ships is considered and compared, it was so heavy, as to prove the superiority of the fire of the Constitution in a very striking manner: there were 15 killed and 64 wounded; among the former was lieutenant Read, the second of the ship; and among the latter, captain Dacres, lieutenant Kent, the first of the ship, Mr. Scott the master, and the master's mate.

It is impossible adequately to describe the triumph of the Americans on occasion of this their first naval victory—a victory achieved over the lords of the ocean—over those who till now had claimed that element as their own, and who had driven from it all who dared to dispute their maritime rights and dominion. The captain and crew of the Constitution, when they landed at Boston, were received by their grateful fellow citizens with every mark of honour: they were hailed and treated as heroes; and the victory gained by captain Hull was received with a double welcome, as it happened most

most opportunely to counterbalance the defeat which the American army under his namesake and relation had suffered in Canada.

In England, the capture of the *Guerriere* created astonishment not unmixed with dismay: by many captain Dacres was blamed for not having gone to the bottom with his ship, rather than have struck his colours: but even had this been the case; it would not have rendered the superiority of the Americans less certain: whether, in an engagement with a British frigate, they compelled her to yield, or sunk her, we must have acknowledged that we were beaten. Others, though they lamented the occurrence, did not regard it as any disgrace to British valour, when the relative force of the two ships was fairly taken into the account. The *Constitution* was undoubtedly superior to the *Guerriere* in many respects: she was a larger vessel; better found and prepared both for sailing and for action: she had a greater number of guns, of greater weight of metal; and her complement of men was larger. Still, with all these advantages, had she been a French frigate she probably would have been captured—assuredly she would not have captured the *Guerriere*. Of this all were sensible; so that the result of the action decidedly proved, not that the Americans were our masters on the ocean, but that they were more nearly on a level with us on our own element than any European enemy. The next point to be discussed and determined, was the cause of this mortifying and certainly unlooked-for circumstance: it was said that the *Guerriere* was captured not by American but by British seamen: this excuse, however, even if well founded, instead

of removing the cause for alarm, only increased it in a tenfold degree; for, if British seamen were disposed to desert in such numbers, and when in the service of the enemy to fight with such determined bravery, the end of our naval power was at hand. But the fact was, that the number of British seamen on board the *Constitution* was trifling; so that this supposition will not account for the capture of the *Guerriere*. The real state of the case seems to be, that the Americans have paid very great attention to the discipline and manœuvring of their seamen on board of their ships of war, so as to render them not inferior, either in managing or fighting a ship, to British seamen: this circumstance, added to the superior force of the *Constitution*, will sufficiently account for the result of this engagement.

But though no blame could reasonably attach to captain Dacres, the admiralty were certainly to blame: they knew, or ought to have known, that most of the American frigates were nearly a match for a line-of-battle ship; and they ought not to have exposed our frigates, especially those of the smallest class, to the risk of encountering them. When the war with America broke out, it was expected in England that in the course of a few months not a single American vessel would put to sea without the most extreme probability of being captured: but, on the contrary, their privateers swarmed, and were successful in capturing many valuable merchantmen; while their frigates put to sea unmolested, and encountered British ships of war, only of inferior force. At length a fleet under sir John Warren was sent to the

the coasts of America: but this admiral's instructions were not such as had been usually given to our naval commanders when sent against an enemy; he was ordered to negotiate, rather than to fight. The Americans, elated with their naval triumph, needed chastisement, in order to induce them to listen to terms of reconciliation: but the British government were reluctant in adopting vigorous measures. They forgot that war ought always to be entered upon, only when every method to avoid it has been tried in vain; but that, when begun, especially against such a people as the Americans, it should be carried on with the utmost activity, promptitude, and vigour. The complaints of the British nation respecting the mode in which this war was conducted, were augmented by the intelligence of the capture of another frigate. The circumstances attending this capture were very similar to those which took place on the capture of the *Guerriere*; and from the short period which elapsed after the commencement of the engagement before the English frigate was completely disabled, and her great comparative loss of men, the conviction was forced on the mind, that in naval skill the American seamen were, at least, not inferior to those of Britain.

The two frigates were the *Macedonian*, of the same class and nearly the same force as the *Guerriere*, she was commanded by captain Carden; and the *United States*: the latter was built with the scantling of a 74-gun ship, and mounted 30 long 24-pounders on her main deck, and 22 42-pounders, carronades, with 2 long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle: besides these, she had bowitzer guns in her tops, and a

travelling carronade on her upper deck: she had on board at the commencement of the engagement 478 picked men, and was commanded by commodore Decatur.

The action began about nine o'clock in the morning, on the 25th of October, in latitude 29° N. and longitude 29° 30' W.: at its commencement the American frigate appeared desirous to avoid coming to close quarters, and for that purpose she was kept two points off the wind. It is probable that commodore Decatur by this manœuvre wished to reap the full advantage of his heavier metal, which of course would tell at a greater distance than the smaller guns of the *Macedonian*. Captain Carden used every endeavour to bring his opponent to close quarters; and after the battle had continued about an hour, he was enabled to effect this, the American frigate having backed and come to the wind. But in this situation the superior force of the enemy was, if possible, more advantageous to him than it had been before, and captain Carden soon found the effects of it: his only chance was in some fortunate occurrence that might happen to disable his opponent,—some blunder in his manœuvres, of which he might take advantage,—or some opportunity of effecting his escape: but his hopes in all these respects were in vain. Still captain Carden persevered in sustaining this very unequal combat for two hours and ten minutes; when the mizen-mast being shot entirely away, the lower masts badly wounded, and the rigging almost entirely cut to pieces; besides all the guns on the quarter-deck and fore-castle disabled except two, several shot between wind and water, and a large proportion of the crew killed or wounded,—while the

the American frigate, was comparatively in good order, and was about to place himself in a raking position;—captain Carden was reduced to the painful extremity of surrendering his majesty's ship. Indeed, no alternative remained: to have continued the action longer would have been a mad and wanton sacrifice of the lives of his brave crew; and to speak accurately and strictly, from the state in which the *Macedonian* was, she could not have fought, but must have been merely an object for the enemy's frigate to fire at. Captain Carden knew well the disposition to blame the commander of the *Guerriere* which had existed for surrendering his vessel; and it may therefore be fairly inferred, as he was a man of undoubted courage, that, with the knowledge of this circumstance, he did not determine to surrender his frigate till every hope was utterly extinct.

Captain Carden was well seconded by his officers and men in this engagement: his first lieutenant, Hope, was severely wounded in the head towards the close of the battle, and obliged to be carried below; but there, no persuasion of the surgeon, no representation of the danger he ran from the nature and severity of his wound, could induce him to continue for a longer space of time than was barely sufficient to dress it: soon as this was performed, he was again on deck, displaying (to use the language of his captain) "that greatness of mind and exertion, which, though it may be equalled, can never be excelled." The loss of the *Macedonian* was very severe: 36 were killed, three of whom lingered a short time after the battle; and thirty-six were wounded in such a manner as to leave little

chance of their recovery; thirty-two were slightly wounded: in all one hundred and four were killed and wounded.

The masts, rigging, and hull of the American frigate had suffered considerably, but not at all in comparison with the *Macedonian*; nor was her loss in killed and wounded nearly so great: on this battle few reflections or observations are necessary, after those which have been offered on the battle between the *Guerriere* and the *Constitution*. The mere superiority of force on the part of the American frigate, it appears to us still more clearly from the circumstances of this last engagement, will not fully account for the capture of the *Macedonian*. The American frigate seems to have been manœuvred and fought with a wonderful degree of skill as well as bravery: in all engagements between English and French ships, where the latter were superior in force to the former, the success of the English depended fully as much on the display and exercise of more skilful and experienced seamanship, as on superior bravery; and this advantage in point of seamanship was soon manifest, and indeed generally decided the issue of the engagement in a very short time after it had commenced. But in the actions between the *Guerriere* and the *Constitution*, and between the *Macedonian* and the United States, the seamanship displayed by the Americans was at least equal to that displayed by the British; and when to this is added the greater force of the American frigates, the result of the battles may be satisfactorily accounted for. It would seem in vain, then, to expect that our frigates of the common class and force should be able to cope with the large frigates of the American navy;

navy; and we must admit that, though when our ships are engaged with those of France, Spain, or any other European power, the superiority of force on the part of the enemy, unless it be very great, will not stand in the way of victory, yet in engagements with American vessels there must be nearly an equality if we expect to be the conquerors.

Notwithstanding the war with America had continued several months, without any disposition on the part of the government of the United States to propose or listen to terms of accommodation, yet many people in Great Britain still cherished the hope that peace between the two countries would soon be restored: some anticipated this desirable event, because, according to their representations, the war was very unpopular in America, and the government could not persevere in any measure which did not meet the approbation and receive the support of the people. The truth seems to have been, that in the northern states, and particularly in the sea-ports in those states, the war was very unpopular; while in the southern states it was entered into with great eagerness, and warmly approved; and similar causes produced this difference of opinion and feeling respecting the war. In the northern states the population is much more dependent on trade and commerce than in the southern states; and consequently every war, but more especially a war with Great Britain, must be highly prejudicial to their interests, and therefore unpopular. In the southern states, on the other hand, where a very small proportion of the population depend on commerce, their interest not being concerned, their feelings, prejudices, and passions determined

their opinions respecting the war: these feelings, prejudices, and passions were all against Great Britain. Hence the president looked to the people of the southern states for the chief approbation and support of his hostile measures, while from those of the northern states he anticipated and was prepared for opposition. Nor were the latter long in displaying their dislike of the war; meetings were held in all the principal towns in the states, and resolutions entered into, some of which were distinguished by great force of argument and eloquence of language. The devotion of Mr. Madison to the views and interests of France; the ruinous and fatal consequences of that devotion; the absurd and degrading inconsistency of a government that called itself free,—that had been raised by the bravery and the blood of free men, who had fought against oppression and tyranny,—leaguering itself with the military despotism of France; and the misery which the war with Britain, entered into on no just grounds, but solely to oblige and gratify Bonaparte, must produce;—all these points were touched upon with great force and effect. When intelligence of the proceedings and resolutions of these meetings reached Britain, the hope of peace with America was revived; while many expected, if the war were persevered in by that government, that a separation of the states would certainly and speedily be effected: but it was soon ascertained that these hopes and expectations were not likely to be realized, and abundant proof was given that, if the war with Britain was obnoxious to some descriptions of the people in America, it was equally popular with others.

There are two leading parties in the

the United States,—the federalists, and the democrats: the former are generally represented as the friends of Great Britain, the latter as the friends of France; of course the former were averse from the war with this country, and the latter friendly to it. A journal in the interest of the former party, written with considerable talent and spirit, was published at Baltimore, called *The Federal Republican*: in this journal the measures of the government, particularly as they related to its disposition and conduct towards Great Britain and France, were warmly and ably exposed and attacked. In Baltimore, the more respectable and better informed part of the population were of the same sentiments as the journalist, but the mob were of an opposite opinion; and in America the mob, when they choose to take power into their own hands, exercise it not only in the most despotic but in the most savage and barbarous manner. They first resolved to attack the house of the editor of the journal: the attack began at midnight on the 27th of July, and was opposed from the inside with fire-arms: the defence was successful; but in the morning, in order to secure themselves, and if possible to appease the fury of the mob, the obnoxious people who had been in the house consented to quit it, and to go into the town jail under the protection and guarantee of a general Striker and the mayor. The mob probably would have been thus pacified, or at least would not have dared to attack men in prison, and under the protection of the first magistrate of the place; but a journal opposed in principle to *The Federal Republican*, called upon them not to give up their ~~rights~~, but to execute vengeance

upon them. Roused and inflamed by this exhortation, the mob re-assembled, attacked the jail, and fell upon the prisoners with clubs and knives: some of them rushed out and escaped; the others were wounded, and left for dead on the outside of the prison. General Lingen, a man of seventy years of age, was killed on the spot: general Lee, a character of considerable celebrity as a partisan in the American war, was very dangerously wounded. In this state of the town, the civil authority was called on to interpose: but it either could not, or would not, exert itself; and the mob were allowed to proceed in their work of violence and carnage. This scene (which we will venture to assert, if viewed in all its circumstances, could not have happened in any country where the people were civilized, or the government adequate to the defence and protection of its subjects,) displays the character of the American mob, and the culpable partiality or feebleness of those who should restrain their outrages. What can we think of the laws, or the public feeling, or the safety and liberty of the individual, in a country liable to such outrages!

The people of Great Britain were amused and gratified with the expectation, that when the time arrived for the election of a president of the United States, Mr. Madison would be thrown out, and a man chosen of the federalist party, who of course would put an end to the war, restore commercial intercourse with this country, and probably commence hostilities against France. This idea was entertained for several months before the time arrived for the election of a president; and lists, copied from the American papers, were given, which exhibited such

such a state of the votes as seemed to justify the expectation, that the power and influence of Mr. Madison and his party were nearly at an end. It was supposed, too, that the disgraceful and disastrous issue of the campaign in Canada, which in some degree was imputable to the ignorance or negligence of the government, would shake the stability of the war party: this expectation, indeed, was very plausible; but, like all our other conjectures and expectations with regard to America, it was entertained without adequate local knowledge, and without a clear and full insight into the character of the people of the United States. The disasters in Canada, instead of rendering the war more generally and decidedly unpopular, changed the dislike which had been entertained for it in the northern states into a determination to prosecute it with vigour: they conceived their honour interested in not giving it up in the moment of defeat; and those very men who condemned its commencement,—who passed resolutions foretelling the disasters it would occasion,—now that those disasters, or others equally serious and disgraceful, had occurred, were eager for the prosecution of hostilities. From this wayward disposition on the part of some, from the triumph which America had obtained at sea, and from other causes not so easily ascertainable, Mr. Madison's interest was strengthened, and his re-election secured.

The senate and the house of representatives met on the 4th of November, when the president's message was laid before them; of which the following is a brief outline: It begins with congratulating the nation on being in good health; then adverts to the unfortunate ter-

mination of general Hull's expedition; expresses great disapprobation of the conduct of the English in accepting aid from the Indians; assures the congress, that an ample force of militia, with a *few* regulars, is placed under general Harrison; touches lightly on Van Rensselaer's defeat; promises to secure a naval ascendancy on the lakes next season; complains of the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, for refusing to furnish the required detachments of militia; boasts of the naval exploits, particularly of the capture of the *Guerriere*; states that proposals for an armistice had been made on both sides, but that the British offer had been rejected; speaks vaguely of the relations with France, and more favourably of those with Russia, Sweden, &c.; proposes many measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war; cursorily mentions the trading under British licenses, and the importations made in consequence of the repeal of the orders in council; and more particularly dilates on the state of the finances: the whole concluding with an appeal to congress, to support, by united councils, a war, which is characterized as founded neither in ambition nor in vain glory, but undertaken in defence of the national rights.

From this speech, and in the present state of the war between Great Britain and America, there is little reason to hope that the two countries will speedily be reconciled: a feeling of alienation, suspicion, and animosity exists in both, very much in the way of sincere and well meant overtures for peace: and yet it would scarcely be possible to name two nations, the mutual interests of which would be more effectually or extensively secured.

secured by peace. America is a rising nation, with great superabundance of produce, the raising of which is so very beneficial, that it can never be equally advantageous for her to divert her labour from it to manufactures: Great Britain, on the other hand, from her superior capital and skill, and from the improvements she has made in machinery, can afford to sell manufactured articles of the best quality at the lowest price: but, from the great pressure of taxation, she is unable to raise corn at nearly so

cheap a rate as most other countries: if Great Britain and America, therefore, were at peace, their mutual superfluities might be exchanged, and thus their mutual interests promoted. This, however, is a very inferior consideration: there are higher and more noble interests, which would be promoted by peace between the two countries; so that, though we can scarcely hope for such an event speedily, it ought to be the wish and prayer of every inhabitant of Britain and America,

CHAPTER XI.

War in the Peninsula—Valencia taken by Suchet—French repulsed at Tariffa—Lord Wellington commences the Campaign very early—invests Ciudad Rodrigo—Particulars of the Siege—Marmont seems disposed to relieve the Place—taken by Storm—Lord Wellington proceeds against Badajos—wonderful Rapidity of the Operations against that Place—taken by Storm—Soult advances in the Hope of relieving it—retreats again—pursued by Lord Wellington—partial Engagement and Defeat—Marmont threatens Ciudad Rodrigo—Lord Wellington marches to the North of Spain—Destruction of the Bridge of Almaraz—Lord Wellington advances to Salamanca—Capture of the Forts there—Marmont retreats across the Douro—is reinforced, and threatens Lord Wellington's Communication with Ciudad Rodrigo—Lord Wellington retreats—Manœuvres of both Armies—Battle of Salamanca.

THE campaign in the peninsula commenced very early this year. Lord Wellington formed a plan of operations of such a comprehensive nature, that, if his means and opportunities had been at all commensurate, the French must have been driven beyond the Pyrenees before the close of the year 1812. At first complete success seemed highly probable: Marmont had dispatched a considerable part of his force into the south of Spain to succour and support Suchet, who had begun his career as a general there with great eclat by the cap-

ture of Valencia. To counterbalance the loss of this important place, the French had suffered a severe and inglorious defeat in an attempt which they had made on Tariffa.

The first enterprize of lord Wellington was the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo: it was necessary to gain possession of this place and of Badajos before he could regularly commence the plan of operations which he had laid down. About the same time that his lordship invested Ciudad Rodrigo, he dispatched general Hill against general Dombrowski, who

who was stationed at Merida: from the information which had been received, there was reason to hope that the enemy's troops would have been surprised in this place; but general Dombrowski, being advised by his advanced guard of the approach of the British, left Merida in the night-time. Disappointed in this attempt, general Hill next turned his attention and directed his march against general Drouet, who commanded the 5th corps at Alman-draljo: the enemy, however, did not wait his approach, but retired upon Zafra, leaving behind them a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition. The French general retreated upon Llerena; and general Hill, finding that it would be impossible to follow him with any prospect of success, returned to Merida.

The investment of Ciudad Rodrigo was begun on the 8th of January. During the time that the French had possession of this place they had greatly strengthened it: on the hill of St. Francisco they had constructed a redoubt, and had fortified three convents in the suburbs, which were connected with this redoubt: lord Wellington therefore directed his attention and efforts, in the first place, to obtain possession of the work on the hill of St. Francisco, since, before this was reduced, no progress could be made in the attack on the town. As it was of the utmost consequence to impress on the minds of the besieged a high idea of British valour, and besides of equal moment that the siege should be pushed on with the greatest alacrity, both that time might be afforded for the completion of the plan of the campaign, and that Marmont might not be reinforced before the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo, it was resolved

to carry this outwork by storm: accordingly the 52d regiment was employed for this purpose, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Colbourne: the attack was made shortly after it was dark; and in a very short time the redoubt was in our possession. Two captains and 47 men were made prisoners; the remainder were put to the sword. The loss of the British was not, as might have been expected from the nature of the attack, severe; there being only 6 men killed, and 14 men and 3 officers wounded. In consequence of the success of this enterprise, lord Wellington was enabled to break ground within 600 yards of the place.

The besieging army was employed between the 15th and the 19th in completing the second parallel: as soon as this was done, the batteries opened on the place with such effect as to make practicable breaches in one of the walls: it was now determined to storm the place, notwithstanding the approaches had not been advanced so near as it was generally deemed requisite they should before such a mode of attack was resorted to. In order to conduct the attack with the best prospect of success, five different columns were employed. Notwithstanding breaches were made before the attempt to storm, there were yet such impediments and difficulties as required the full display and exercise of British valour to surmount and overcome: the approaches, as has been already noticed, had not been carried to the outward extremity of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire; but in half an hour all obstacles were overcome. Lord Wellington had intended that the column under general Pack should make a false attack; but such were

the impetuosity and zeal of the troops employed on this service, and such the enterprise and skill of their leaders, that the intended false attack was converted into a real one; and the advanced guard, under the command of major Lynch, actually followed the French from the advanced works into the *fausse braze*, and took prisoners all who opposed them.

The principal breach in the body of the place was stormed, in a most gallant and undaunted manner, by major Ridge, of the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, in conjunction with the 94th regiment under the command of lieut.-col. Campbell: by this means they not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of the brigade under major-general McKinnon, but actually changed the arrangement of the operation, and preceded them in the attack.

The enemy resisted for a long time with great obstinacy and gallantry; nor, indeed, did they submit till the British troops were in possession of, and actually drawn up on, the ramparts of the place. The loss on both sides was very great. Just as major-gen. McKinnon had led his troops up to the breach, he was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's magazines; and major-general Craufurd, as he was leading on his light division to the storm, received a severe wound, from the effects of which he was a long time in recovering. It was generally supposed that the people of Castile were very lukewarm in the cause of their country; but from them lord Wellington, in his official dispatches, in which he gives an account of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, says that he received considerable assistance, and bears wit-

ness that they invariably showed their detestation of French tyranny, and their desire to contribute every means in their power to remove it. To the conduct of the German troops also, which have often been so unfairly represented in this country, he bears his willing and flattering testimony: the first line battalion of the German legion carried the convent of Santa Cruz, and thus materially assisted the attack on Ciudad Rodrigo.

As soon as Marmont understood that lord Wellington had regularly invested this place, he began to gather in the troops around him, and to make such preparations and movements as indicated a resolution to march to its relief: this circumstance was well known to lord Wellington, and induced him to storm it, rather than to carry it by a regular siege. Marmont, aware of the bravery and strength of the garrison, and of the numerous obstacles which the outworks, as well as the town itself, must present, does not seem to have entertained the slightest or most distant apprehension that it could be reduced in such a very short space of time, and in so summary a manner. Before, however, he had advanced sufficiently near to encourage the garrison, or draw off the attention and force of lord Wellington from his enterprise, Ciudad Rodrigo was in the possession of the English; and in the official account of its capture, which Marmont transmitted to France, he expressed such a degree and kind of surprise and astonishment at its speedy reduction, as rather complimented the skill and bravery of the British than censured the commander of the place.

As soon as lord Wellington had taken care that the fortifications of
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Ciudad Rodrigo were put in a good state of repair, and had reason to believe that Marmont meant no serious attack upon it, he ordered part of his army to proceed to Badajos, the siege of which he next resolved to undertake. Badajos had for some time been blockaded by general Hill with between 12,000 and 15,000 men: along with him was the Portuguese army under marshal Beresford; which, by the unremitting and judicious attentions of that officer, had been brought to a very creditable and useful degree of discipline and steadiness.

As lord Wellington had reduced Ciudad Rodrigo in a much shorter space of time than the enemy apprehended, it was to be supposed that they would take early measures to prevent, if possible, Badajos from falling into our hands. But, in order to attempt this with any prospect of success, it was necessary for the French to concentrate their forces, as lord Wellington had under his command nearly 60,000 British troops, besides Spaniards and Portuguese. Lord Wellington, in planning and conducting this enterprise, was equally aware, as when he invested Ciudad Rodrigo, of the necessity and advantage of vigorous and decisive measures. He was sensible, if he carried Badajos by storm, his loss would be very considerable: but he would thus gain time; and the probability was, that his loss would in the end be greater if he prosecuted the siege in a regular manner, and during the prosecution of it was obliged to fight the enemy.

About the middle of March, lord Wellington had regularly and completely invested Badajos; forming his first parallel within 200 yards of the outwork called La Picurina: his lordship conducted the opera-

tions of the siege in person, with the 3d, 4th, and light divisions on the left of the river: in the mean time sir Thomas Graham crossed the Guadiana with three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, and marched on Santa Martha and Valverdi; while sir Rowland Hill, with two divisions and a brigade of cavalry, moved upon Merida. In consequence of these movements, general Drouet retired to Homaschos, in order to preserve his communication with the division of the French army which was stationed at Llerena. The attack on Badajos was carried on on the north-west side only; and every thing was done with the greatest rapidity, under the immediate superintendence and direction of lord Wellington. Nor were the enemy idle: Philippon, a general of distinguished reputation in the French service, especially as an engineer, commanded the place; and he left no means untried by which he could strengthen the fortifications, or impede the progress of the siege. On the 19th of March the garrison made a sortie with 2000 men: the right flank of the British works was their object in this sortie; but they were driven in with considerable loss by major-gen. Bowes. The centre of the besiegers being completed, the place was first fired into on the 25th of March, at the distance of about 200 yards; and on the night of that day the fort of Picurina was carried by storm: an instance of activity, promptitude and dispatch rarely equalled in the siege of any place. This fort was defended by 250 men, and attacked by about double that number: the greater part of the enemy were either killed or wounded: the loss of the British was proportionably great. In consequence of the cap-

ture of fort Picurina, lord Wellington was enabled to open his second parallel within 300 yards of the body of the place. The rapidity and success with which he had thus far proceeded would have been still greater, had it not been for incessant and heavy falls of rain.

By the 6th of April three breaches, which were regarded as practicable, had been effected; and lord Wellington determined to commence the assault that night: the plan for the attack was conceived with great skill, and executed with equal bravery and success. Lieut.-general Picton was ordered to attack the castle of Badajos by escalade; he had under his command the 3d division; the ravelin of St. Roque, which was on the left, was to be attacked by a detachment from the 4th division under major Wilson: the remainder of this and of the light division, under the command of major-general Colville, were ordered to attack the breaches which had been effected in the bastions of La Trinidad and of Santa Maria, and in the curtain by which these bastions were connected. A false attack, as in the case of Ciudad Rodrigo, was also resolved upon: the management of this was committed by lord Wellington to lieutenant-general Leith, who was instructed to convert it into a real one if circumstances should prove favourable.

About ten o'clock at night, lieutenant-general Picton proceeded to his destination, and the other divisions soon followed him: notwithstanding major-gen. Kempt, who led this attack, was wounded in crossing the river, the troops carried the castle by escalade, and established themselves in it, in the short space of an hour and a half. The enemy offered an obstinate resistance, which however only stimulated the

zeal and bravery of the assailants. About the same time the ravelin of St. Roque was carried by a detachment of 200 men under major Wilson, who, being assisted by major Squire of the engineers, established themselves within that work. The 4th and light divisions met with much more serious obstacles and difficulties: they advanced as far as the covered way before they were perceived by the enemy; and two of the bodies, which belonged to these divisions, descended without difficulty into the ditch: as soon as this was accomplished, the assault of the breaches was attempted; but here they were stopped: the enemy had prepared such obstacles at the top and behind the breaches, and offered so determined a resistance, that the assailants found all their efforts in vain to establish themselves within the place. Repeated attempts were made, which were met by the same obstacles and the same determined resistance: at last, at 12 o'clock at night, despairing of success in this quarter, and it being known that general Picton had gained possession of the castle, they were drawn off, after having sustained very great loss both in officers and men.

The intended false attack under general Leith was more fortunate: the troops engaged in it, having turned an outwork, gained the ditch; and, climbing the adjoining bastion, established themselves in the town itself; thus imitating their brethren at the assault of Ciudad Rodrigo, and converting a false attack into a real one.

The castle, which commands the town, and the town itself, being in our possession, the governor, general Philippon, retired to fort St. Christoval with his staff and the remainder of his garrison: all further resistance,

ance, however, being in vain, he surrendered on the morning of the 7th. At the commencement of the siege the garrison consisted of 5000 men, 1200 of whom were killed or wounded during the operations, besides those lost in the assault of the place. The British loss was very severe: it amounted to 51 officers and nearly 600 privates killed, and 213 officers and upwards of 2000 privates wounded.

Badajos thus fell into our possession; and notwithstanding the severity of our loss, it was a very valuable and important acquisition; and it was captured at a very critical conjuncture of affairs: for Soult was fast approaching to its relief with all the forces he could collect in Andalusia and the neighbouring provinces; while Marmont, in the north, was threatening Ciudad Rodrigo. No blame can therefore be fairly imputed to lord Wellington for storming the place; indeed the attack could no longer be delayed. The success which attended our operations against Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos sufficiently proves how much superior we are to the French in taking towns as well as in the field. The trenches before Badajos were open only 12 days: on the 25th of March the place was first fired on: on the same evening fort Picurina was taken; and on the 6th of April the place was carried by assault. Soult, on the other hand, spent forty days with open trenches before Badajos; and at the end of that period only Imaz had been reduced: it ought however to be noticed, that his force on this occasion was much smaller than that which lord Wellington had before it; as it amounted only to 12,000 men. But even when this circumstance is taken into the account, the merit of the British must be

allowed to be much greater than that of the French: there was much greater skill displayed in planning the operations of the siege, and infinitely greater bravery in the assault. It may indeed be safely asserted, that on no occasion was British bravery manifested to greater advantage, or more necessary, than in the assault of Badajos: for the garrison, under the direction of Philippon, had almost exhausted the means of defence, which were not only very numerous and varied, but of such a formidable nature as would have appalled most troops, and rendered all their efforts unavailing.

As soon as Badajos came into our possession, lord Wellington advanced with two divisions in quest of Soult, who had pushed forward with such rapidity, and under such unfavourable circumstances, as to have lost a great number of his men. As soon as he heard of the fate of the place, which he had hoped to have relieved, he retrograded; still harassed by the Spanish guerillas, who hung on the rear and flanks of his army. Marmont continued inactive before Ciudad Rodrigo, being completely disappointed in the expectation, that he evidently formed, of drawing off lord Wellington from his operations before Badajos, to relieve that place. The fall of Badajos, indeed, seems to have alarmed the enemy very much, and to have disconcerted their plans: it even affected the operations of Suchet in Valencia, and induced him to make such preparations as would enable him to evacuate that province with the greatest ease and celerity, if circumstances should render it necessary.

Soult, notwithstanding the rapidity with which he retreated when

he learnt the fall of Badajos, was not able entirely to escape lord Wellington. His rear was closely followed by the British cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton, who came up with 2,500 of the enemy's horse on the evening of the 11th of April near Villa Garcia, on the confines of Estremadura. Sir S. Cotton dispatched two brigades to attack them, under the command of major-general Le Marchant and colonel Ponsonby: the French could not withstand the impetuosity of the attack, but were almost immediately overthrown, flying in great disorder and confusion towards Llerena. About 150 of them were made prisoners, and their loss in killed and wounded was very considerable. On the part of the British about 50 were killed and wounded.

On the 11th of April Soult's army left Llerena, and evacuated the province of Estremadura entirely. Lord Wellington, having thus driven Soult to such a distance, and having ascertained that his army was in such a condition that it could not act offensively for some time, turned his thoughts towards Castile. Marmont still lingered near Ciudad Rodrigo, though as yet he had made no serious or regular attempt against that place, and in approaching Almeida he had sustained some loss. It was not therefore from any apprehension respecting the designs or the power of Marmont that lord Wellington turned his thoughts towards Castile, but this step was necessary towards the accomplishment of the plan of the campaign that he had formed when he first commenced it. As soon as Marmont understood that his lordship was proceeding towards the north, he broke up from before Ciudad Rodrigo, and advanced as far as Castel Branco; but from

this place he again retreated. Indeed in most of the movements and operations of this general, at this period of the campaign, there seems to have been a great degree of uncertainty and indecision, arising probably from the ignorance in which he was of the force and movements of lord Wellington.

For some time after this no movements of any consequence took place, either by the British army or the enemy. Lord Wellington established his head quarters at Fuente de Guinaldo; Marmont at Salamanca; Drouet at Aguaza; and Soult at Seville: but though lord Wellington was stationary for a short time, and appeared inactive, his plans were silently but regularly carrying into execution. The first object of his lordship was to cut off the line of communication between the French army of Portugal and that before Cadiz: for this purpose it was necessary either to destroy or gain possession of the bridge of Almaraz, on the eastern frontier of the province of Estremadura. All the other bridges across the Tagus, below that of Arzobispo, had been destroyed; so that, if this enterprise were successful, the armies of the south and of Portugal would be unable to support the operations of each other. On this enterprise general Hill was dispatched: on reconnoitring the bridge, he found it extremely strong; works had been thrown up, by the French, on both sides of the river; on the southern side of which the castle and redoubts of Mirabete further protected it: by means of these defences, the only road by which the bridge could be approached was rendered very dangerous. On the left bank of the river there was a tête-du-pont; and above it a large and well-constructed fort,

fort, containing nine pieces of cannon and a garrison of nearly 500 men. On a height immediately above the bridge another fort had been erected, which flanked and added greatly to its defence.

As soon as general Hill had reconnoitred the bridge, and ascertained what mode and place of attack would present fewest obstacles and difficulties, he ordered the two flank columns of his army to be provided with ladders, with an intention that they should escalate the forts if circumstances proved favourable. This part of the plan was formed under the idea and expectation that these columns would reach the point of attack before day-light, and thus take the enemy by surprise; but, owing to the difficulties which they had to encounter in their march, they did not arrive in time, and this mode of attack was necessarily abandoned. It was now resolved to penetrate to the bridge by the mountain path, though by pursuing this route it would not be possible to make use of the artillery. On the evening of the 18th part of the army moved forward; but, though they had to march only six miles, the columns could not be formed for the attack before day-light. It was however impossible now to recede, or to change the plan of attack; and general Hill, trusting to the valour of his troops, ordered the immediate assault of the fort which protected the works on the left bank of the river. The enemy were fully aware of the design, and prepared and determined to resist it with all their force: they opened a heavy and well-directed fire from their artillery and musquetry; but to this the British paid no attention: their thoughts were solely fixed on carrying the fort by assault: nearly

at the same time it was escalated in three places. Still the enemy resisted, and continued a most destructive fire; and it was necessary, after having established themselves in the place, for the British to have recourse to the bayonet: a charge was accordingly made; the garrison could not stand it, but fled through the several entrenchments, and endeavoured to escape across the bridge: this, however, was impracticable; as those on the opposite side of the river, for their own protection, had cut it in several places: the consequence was, that many of them leaped into the river, and thus perished.

As soon as the enemy on the right bank perceived the fate of their comrades, and the success of the British, a panic seized them, and they abandoned fort Ragusa, flying in the greatest confusion towards Naval Moral.

The prisoners taken on this occasion amounted to 259, including the governor, one lieutenant-colonel, and 15 other officers: a considerable quantity of provisions was also found in the forts near the bridge. The loss of the British was two officers and 30 rank and file killed, and 19 officers and 130 rank and file wounded.

By the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and the bridge of Almaraz, the enemy received sufficient proof of the superiority of the British: they had been beaten, where they possessed every possible advantage of situation; fortresses had been carried without artillery: "we had had only English breasts with English hearts behind them, to oppose to French batteries with great guns behind them, and we had proved superior." What higher praise can be bestowed?

The French were aware of the
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importance of the bridge of Almaraz; and Marmont himself, in order to protect it from the attack of general Hill, moved from his position at Salamanca to the south-east, about 50 miles, as far as Fontevrois: but in this case, as well as in his attempt to save Ciudad Rodrigo, he miscalculated the rapidity of British enterprise; and having learnt the success of general Hill he returned to his former quarters, and employed himself in throwing up additional defences round the city. The importance attached by the French to the bridge of Almaraz was evinced by another circumstance: Soult ordered the officer who commanded there to be shot, for having suffered it to fall so soon and so easily into the hands of general Hill.

Lord Wellington did not remain long inactive at Fuente Guinaldo: on the 13th of June the allied army crossed the Agueda, and on the 16th they reached Salamanca: at first it seemed probable that Marmont would have defended that city, and some troops were drawn up before it; but on the advance of the British cavalry they retreated across the Tormes, and evacuated the whole of it, except some forts which they had constructed on the ruins of some colleges and convents, and which they had garrisoned with about 800 men. It was necessary for the safety of the city, and the further purposes of the army, that these forts should be reduced; and lord Wellington gave the command of this enterprise to major-general Clinton with the 6th division. It soon appeared that Marmont was resolved to attempt the recapture of Salamanca, in the expectation that the forts would hold out till his approach, and that thus finding the army of lord Wel-

lington partly engaged in the reduction of them he should be the better able to cope with it. Accordingly he collected his army on the Douro betwixt the 16th and the 19th of June, and moved forward on the 20th. Lord Wellington drew up his forces, with the exception of those who were employed against the forts, on some heights in the neighbourhood of the city. Marmont, on the appearance of lord Wellington's army in this advantageous position, hesitated in his purpose of giving it battle; and after remaining in front of it during the whole of the 21st and part of the 22d, he retired on being attacked by a division of the British army under the command of sir Thomas Graham. The French general, however, still retained such a position as enabled him to communicate with the garrisons in the besieged forts; and as lord Wellington could not expect their surrender so easily or soon while Marmont remained so near them, he changed the front of his army, and by his manœuvres compelled him to abandon them to their fate.

While these operations and movements were going on, the forts were regularly and vigorously besieged; but many difficulties presented themselves: the forts were not only strong, and garrisoned by determined and chosen troops, but they were constructed in such a manner as to defend each other; and though breaches were made in one of them they were not practicable till another of the forts was taken. This other fort it was resolved to storm; and major-general Bowes was employed on this hazardous enterprise: it unfortunately did not succeed, and this gallant officer was killed; he was so eager for the success of the enterprise, that he had gone forth

forth with the storming party, and was wounded: still he was determined to persevere; and as soon as his wound was dressed he returned again to the attack, and received a second wound which killed him.

On the 27th of June a practicable breach was effected in the principal fort; and about the same time the buildings in another of the forts, by the fire from which the approach to the first was defended, were discovered to be in flames. Preparations were immediately made to take advantage of these circumstances; but before the attack had commenced, the commander of the fort which was in flames offered to capitulate after the lapse of a certain number of hours. Lord Wellington refused to listen to this proposal, which was evidently made in order to gain time to extinguish the flames; and returned for answer, that the forts must be immediately surrendered. The commander replied, that he was entirely dependent upon the governor of fort St. Vincent. On this, therefore, lord Wellington gave instant orders to storm. The British army had now become accustomed to this kind of enterprise, and advanced to the execution of it with the utmost promptitude, coolness, and steadiness: the enemy appeared to have been rendered incapable of any determined or regular resistance, and fled before the storming party, leaving them masters of the fort at the expense of very few lives. As soon as this fort fell, the governor of the others offered to capitulate on lord Wellington's own terms: the garrison was to march out with the honours of war; to be considered and treated as prisoners of war: the officers to retain their personal military baggage, and the soldiers their knapsacks.

When lord Wellington surveyed these forts after their surrender, he was surprised they had been taken so speedily, and with such a trifling loss: the enemy had been employed for nearly three years in constructing the works by which they were defended, and for the last eight or nine months they had bestowed uncommon labour and expense upon them: they were garrisoned by nearly 800 men, and armed with 30 pieces of artillery; and so impregnable had the enemy deemed them, that they had formed and left in them large depôts of clothing and military stores of every description. Notwithstanding their great strength, however, lord Wellington would have reduced them in a much shorter time than he did, had he not been obliged to send to the rear for a fresh supply of ammunition, which occasioned a delay of six days.

As soon as these forts were reduced, lord Wellington pushed forward, Marmont not appearing disposed to stop his progress, or even to wait for his approach. In the beginning of July the enemy crossed the Douro with all his forces, retiring upon Tordesillas, and leaving his rear guard at Rueda: this sir Stapleton Cotton attacked with great impetuosity, and compelled them to fall back on their main body. Lord Wellington, however, was not able to oppose any obstacles to the enemy's passage of the Douro; and having effected this, they took up a strong position on that river.

As lord Wellington was convinced that it was impracticable to attack Marmont in this position, he changed his plan; and, instead of advancing in the direction of Valladolid, broke up and withdrew, apparently threatening Madrid. Marmont about the same time endeavoured to carry
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into execution a scheme he had formed for cutting off the communication between the British army and Ciudad Rodrigo; and for this purpose, having been reinforced by the division under Bonnet, he extended his right as far as Toro, employed himself in repairing the bridge over the Douro, and moved part of his army in such a direction as to threaten the left of the British. On the 17th of July Marmont had assembled his forces at La Nava del Rey in such a position, that lord Wellington judged it prudent to provide for the retreat and junction of his troops; and this measure became absolutely necessary on the 18th, when the enemy had turned the left flank of the British position at Castrejon. Marmont being thus foiled in his attempt to turn the left in such a manner as to throw the British army into confusion, or compel it to fight on disadvantageous terms, attempted to turn its right: of this lord Wellington was immediately aware, and took such measures as might enable him either to defeat, or, if the enemy should commit any blunder in his movements and manœuvres, to take advantage of them. Several days were thus spent; each general being afraid to hazard a battle, unless he could gain an advantageous position, or perceive an opportunity of fighting on very favourable terms; lord Wellington constantly watching the movements of the French, and making correspondent movements of his own army. Had the British army been more nearly on an equality with that of the enemy, lord Wellington would not thus have declined an engagement, and retired before it: but the inferiority was very considerable, and the British army was, moreover, ill supplied with stores, provisions, and

ammunition. On the morning of the 21st of July the whole British army was concentrated on the Tormes; and on that day also the enemy moved towards the same river, near Huerta: so far the enemy had completely failed in the grand object of all his movements, as lord Wellington still preserved a communication both with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the afternoon of the 21st the enemy crossed the Tormes, and moved towards Ciudad Rodrigo; and during the two succeeding days he executed a variety of evolutions and movements, apparently with a view to distract lord Wellington's attention, and to conceal his real object: the left of the British army seemed to be his object for a considerable time; and towards the protection and defence of that lord Wellington directed his movements and efforts, but not so exclusively as to weaken the right, against which he still suspected that Marmont had designs. At last Marmont, in his anxiety to outmanœuvre the British army, neglected the proper defence of his own: he extended his line to the left so far, as to weaken the main body considerably: this fault was no sooner committed than it was observed by lord Wellington, who, having been long anxious for an opportunity of attacking him, determined to profit by this blunder, notwithstanding the enemy's troops still occupied very strong ground, and their position was well defended by cannon. The plan of the battle, and the arrangement and movements of the different divisions of the British army, were soon fixed: the enemy's left was attacked by major-general Packenham with the 9d division, who, having formed it across their flanks, overthrew every thing opposed to him: they were
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at the same time attacked in front by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, the 4th and 5th divisions, and the cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton: this attack also completely succeeded; the enemy being driven from the heights which they occupied in great disorder, and with considerable loss. In consequence of the failure of an attack made by brigadier-general Pack, the enemy were enabled to throw some troops on the left of the 4th division; but the front of the 5th division being changed, they were enabled to fire on the flanks of the enemy, and thus compelled them to retreat. About this time general Beresford and general Leith were wounded. The centre and the left of the enemy were now most completely beaten; but the right, reinforced by the troops that had fled from the left, still continued to resist, till lord Wellington directed them to be attacked in front, and on one of their flanks, when they fled with the greatest precipitation. It was now completely dark; and this circumstance favoured the enemy in their flight, and proved most unfortunate to sir Stapleton Cotton, who was wounded by one of the British soldiers. The next morning the pursuit was renewed: the enemy's rear guard were overtaken at La Serna, attacked and thrown into disorder; the cavalry flying in all directions, leaving the infantry to their fate. Such was the defeat and dismay of the enemy, that they fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoning every thing that could impede their progress; and in less than two days after the battle the remains of Marmont's army had nearly reached Valladolid. When Marmont found that lord Wellington was retreating before him, he had sent for all the reinforcements

that could be spared: Joseph Bonaparte accordingly had marched from Madrid with the army of the north, but he was too late; he had the mortification to meet that army defeated, disgraced, and ruined, which he expected to have joined and assisted in the defeat of the British.

In the battle of Salamanca, 11 pieces of cannon, 2 eagles, and 6 colours, were taken: one general, 3 colonels, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 130 officers of inferior rank, and upwards of 7000 soldiers, were made prisoners. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was immense. Marmont himself was wounded early in the battle: four general officers were taken in the pursuit, besides the one that was made prisoner in the battle: and three, among whom was Bonnet, were wounded.

Our loss was severe, amounting to 694 killed, 4,270 wounded, and 236 missing. Major-general Le Marchant was killed; and lieutenant-generals Cotton, Leith, and Cole, and major-general Alten, were wounded.

Such was the battle of Salamanca; which, whether we consider it in reference to the uncommon sagacity displayed by lord Wellington in taking advantage of the injudicious movement of his adversary; the promptitude and skill with which the plan and arrangements were formed, at this critical moment; the intrepidity and success with which all these arrangements were executed; or the final issue of the whole; must be deemed the most decisive proof of the superiority of British military talent and bravery; and a battle to which the sons of Britain may always appeal with the proudest feelings, as challenging a comparison with any that history records.

CHAPTER XII.

Expectations formed in this Country in consequence of the Victory of Salamanca—the Circumstances preceding and accompanying that Victory considered in a military Point of View—Movements and Plan of Lord Wellington after the Battle—enters Madrid—Siege of Corlitz raised—State of Spain at this Time—The French again collect in the North—Lord Wellington leaves Madrid—besieges Burgos—Account of the Castle of Burgos—Particulars respecting the Siege—Soult advances towards the Capital—General Hill obliged to evacuate Madrid—A British Force arrives from Sicily at Alicante—blocked up there—Lord Wellington raises the Siege of Burgos, and marches to join General Hill—is followed by the French Army under Souham—Junction of the British under Lord Wellington and General Hill, and of the French under Soult and Souham—the former continue their Retreat—Ballasteros refuses to act under Lord Wellington—The British Army retire to the Confines of Portugal—Remarks on the Strength and Condition of the hostile Armies at the Close of the Campaign—On the State of Spain.

GREAT joy and expectation were created in England, when the intelligence of the victory of Salamanca arrived: the long protracted and long wished-for consequence of all our efforts in the peninsula was now fondly anticipated as near at hand: nor were this joy and expectation without reasonable grounds. When the victory which we had gained at Salamanca was compared with the other victories which British valour had won in the peninsula, there were many important circumstances which distinguished it, and seemed to promise that its results would be more decisive and lasting. In all our previous victories, we had done little more than repulse the enemy: they had attacked us, and we had kept our ground—bravely kept our ground, doubtlessly; but the consequence amounted to little more. In some cases we had pursued them for a short way; but they had invariably retired in such order, and so soon recovered their numerical superiority, or taken up such a strong position, that the fruits of

our victory were confined to the advantages we gained on the field of battle: glory and honour by these battles we had gained in abundance: we had even gained more—we had disciplined our troops; so that they had become equal in this respect to those of the enemy. We had given them a feeling of superiority: we had obtained opportunities of proving or increasing the skill and experience of our officers. But the nation still anxiously looked for the time when they would reap all the advantages of this improved discipline and skill; and when the proud feeling of superiority which our officers and soldiers felt would have full play, and be crowned with its due triumph and reward:—this time came, when the battle of Salamanca was fought. The French army—before the battle, confident in its superior numerical strength, led on by a general in whom it placed the greatest reliance for brave and prudent skill, and witnessing the English army, as if sensible that it was unable to cope with it, retiring before it—was beaten; and

and beaten in such a manner, and to such a degree, that it not only suffered a loss of nearly one-third of its numbers on the field of battle, but fled, thus weakened, in the utmost disorder and confusion. The battle of Salamanca, therefore, on the part of the English, promised not a barren victory; and even those who, while they gloried in the former battles which their countrymen had gained in the peninsula, lamented that they seemed not to forward the grand objects, either of rousing the Spaniards or of expelling the French, acknowledged that now their hopes were sanguine on these points, and that they confidently expected that lord Wellington would be the saviour of the peninsula. On the other hand, those who had continually talked of the zeal of the Spanish nation, but who, when they were called upon to prove that zeal by its effects, had excused the Spaniards by appealing to the state of their country, occupied and oppressed by the enemy, now acknowledged that, as lord Wellington had, as it were, annihilated one of the main armies of that enemy, if the Spaniards did not step forward and exert themselves effectually in their own cause, their opinion of them would undergo a change, and their hopes of the deliverance of the peninsula would become languid. To military men the battle of Salamanca was particularly interesting and instructive: the manœuvres of both the armies for several days before the battle discovered great skill, under the direction and guidance of great caution and mutual apprehension on the part of the generals: but the superior merit, both in the manœuvres previous to the battle, in the manœuvre with which the British commander commenced the

engagement, and in the evolutions during it, was undoubtedly on the side of lord Wellington. His object and interest were to retreat; his skill and attention, therefore, were directed to conduct his retreat in such a manner, as not only to prevent Marmont from attacking him to advantage, but also profit by any mistake which his adversary might commit. He had therefore to watch the army of the enemy, at the same time that he was directing the movements and operations and providing for the safe and effectual retreat of his own. The object and interest of Marmont were to press on lord Wellington, but not so closely as to bring on a battle where situation and circumstances were unfavourable: he was sensible of the skill and caution of lord Wellington, and of the bravery of the British troops: this skill and caution he hoped to confound and perplex by the variety of his manœuvres; and if he could succeed in this object, he trusted that his great numerical superiority would be a match for the superior bravery of the British army. The line of retreat offered Marmont frequent opportunities of manœuvring in such a manner as to conceal from lord Wellington what his real object was; whether he intended seriously to commence a general attack on the British army; and, if such were his serious intention, on what point the attack would take place. But Marmont was not equal to the execution of the plan he had laid down: this plan required not only to be successful, but that it should not prove detrimental to the party who had formed and were executing it; that while the attention of the British commander was diverted and distracted, the French army should

should not be put in a dangerous situation. Marmont seems to have thought that he could, by the variety and rapid change of his movements, so utterly and deeply fill the thoughts of lord Wellington for the protection and safety of his own army, that he would not be able to direct any active thought against the French army. In this Marmont underrated the powers of lord Wellington's mind; and it is from a reference to this circumstance that we are best able to estimate the great merit of lord Wellington in the victory which he gained at Salamanca. This circumstance distinguished it far above his former victories, not less than its consequences did; and this circumstance rendered it particularly interesting and instructive to military men. In his former victories, lord Wellington had not room for the full display of his military genius: they had been won as much by the discipline and valour of his troops, as by his own talents; since those talents, from the circumstances in which the battles were fought, could only exert themselves in the evolutions necessary during the battles; whereas at Salamanca there was ample room for the display and exercise of military genius of the highest order and rarest kind. It has always been considered as a decisive proof of Moreau's military talents, that in his celebrated retreat from Germany, he conducted it with such skill as to be able more than once to turn on his pursuers, and to check their progress by a partial defeat: but he was never able completely to defeat and disperse the pursuing army. In this respect, therefore, lord Wellington's merit and military character seem superior to Moreau's, since he actually engaged and destroyed that

very army before which he was retreating. In the official account which the French published of the battle of Salamanca, they in a manner acknowledged the superior skill of the British general;—an acknowledgement which, in all the former defeats they had suffered from him, they had been unwilling to make. The circumstance to which they principally attribute their disasters at Salamanca, is the mistake of one of the subordinate generals; but of this mistake it is evident, from their own account, that lord Wellington took not only the most prompt but the most effectual advantage. Here, then, both parties agree; and from the acknowledgement of our enemies we are justified in claiming for lord Wellington all that merit which a military man can derive from being superior to his opponent (and that opponent a man of no mean fame) in quickness and comprehension of mind; and in claiming for the British soldiers that merit which can be derived from the display and exercise of that degree of discipline and bravery which were necessary to answer the expectation, and to carry into full and glorious execution the plans of their commander.

As soon as Joseph Bonaparte, who had proceeded from Madrid with the army of the centre, in the hope of being able to effect a junction with Marmont before his engagement with lord Wellington, perceived that he was too late, and that, in consequence of the battle of Salamanca, it would be necessary to change his plans, he returned to Segovia, after his advanced guard had reached Venta de San Raphael. His object was, by this retrograde movement, to draw lord Wellington off from the further pursuit of Marmont's army, and

and thus afford them an opportunity of maintaining themselves upon the Douro. The British general, however, penetrated this design, and did not permit himself to be diverted from his main object. The rear guard of the defeated army remained in some strength on the left of the Douro during the 28th and 29th of July; but they were attacked, and compelled to join the main body near Villa Vanez, abandoning Valladolid. As soon as the army of Portugal had been thus driven completely from the Douro, lord Wellington's object was to prevent a junction between it and the army of the centre: while, therefore, part of the British forces continued the pursuit of the army of Portugal, lord Wellington himself, at the head of the remaining forces, directed his movements against Joseph Bonaparte: both the French armies retired as the British advanced, the army of Portugal in the direction of Burgos, and Joseph Bonaparte in such a direction as plainly proved he meant to abandon Madrid, and to retire upon Toledo and Aranjuez. In order, however, to delay the advance of the British, he left some forces in the pass of the Guadarama: these forces were attacked by the Portuguese, who succeeded without difficulty in gaining the pass: yet a very short time afterwards these same Portuguese troops, when ordered to attack a large division of French cavalry, were seized with an unaccountable panic, and in their retreat threw the troops in their rear into disorder. It is however but justice to the Portuguese officers to mention, that on this occasion they behaved with the greatest gallantry. On the 12th of August the left division of the British army took possession

of the city of Madrid: a garrison had been left in the Retiro, which it was necessary to take: on the evening of the 13th it was invested; and after some active approaches of the British in the course of the night, it surrendered on the 14th, the garrison consisting of 2506 officers and privates: there was likewise found in it a vast quantity of military stores. "It is impossible," observes lord Wellington in his official dispatch announcing his entry into Madrid,—“it is impossible to describe the joy manifested by the inhabitants of Madrid upon our arrival; and I hope that the prevalence of the same sentiments of detestation of the French yoke, and of a strong desire to secure the independence of their country, which first induced them to set the example of resistance to the usurper, will induce them to make exertions in the cause of their country which will be more efficacious than those formerly made.”

Certainly the British army and the British nation had a right to expect that the Spaniards would now exert themselves: their capital had been again put into their possession—won for them by the blood of their allies—while they had scarcely yet acted or suffered in their own cause with any degree of vigour, perseverance, or success. What had been thus gained for them, it was not assuredly too much to expect that they would use their utmost and combined endeavours to preserve. It had been said, that the Spanish nation were as one man in their detestation of the French, and in their love of their own individual and national independence; and yet, when had such detestation and such love been so utterly without visible signs or corresponding conduct? Britain was

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willing to make every allowance for the degradation that their national character had suffered during a long series of weak monarchs : yet in the course of nearly four years of revolutionary warfare, energy ought to have been infused into their character ; their talents and virtues, if they had any, ought to have emerged. Britain was willing to make due allowance for their want of military discipline and experience, and for the hostile armies by which they were overwhelmed : but in four years discipline and experience ought to have been acquired ; and British troops had proved that the common enemy was not invincible :—they had done more—by the battle of Salamanca, they had dispersed one of the principal armies of the enemy, and opened a field for the exertions of the Spaniards themselves.

A few days before lord Wellington entered Madrid, a large body of troops under general Maitland arrived at Alicant from Sicily : it was expected that their arrival would hasten the consummation of the plan now generally thought to be practicable, that by keeping Suchet and Soult in check in the south of Spain, these generals would not be able to advance against lord Wellington, and thus his lordship would have ample time and opportunity to complete his operations in the north. But before general Maitland's force could be effectual, it was necessary that it should be joined by the Spaniards ; and unfortunately, just about the time of its landing, the Spanish general O'Donnel was completely defeated by the French under Harispe : in consequence of this, the enemy were enabled to block general Maitland up in Alicant. This army during the whole of the campaign was ut-

terly useless, sometimes from the disasters of the Spanish, or the obstinacy of their generals, and sometimes from the inexperience and inactivity of its own commander ; so that it continued at Alicant, exciting the indignation of the British nation and the ridicule of the enemy.

The first fruit of the victory of Salamanca was the restoration of Madrid to the Spaniards : the second was the raising of the siege of Cadiz. Soult, who commanded the French armies in Andalusia, and upon whose position in the neighbourhood of Seville the safety of the force that besieged Cadiz depended, thought it prudent, as soon as he heard of the battle of Salamanca, and of the advance of lord Wellington to Madrid, to make preparations for evacuating that part of Spain. His situation was indeed critical ; and though he was undoubtedly a general of very considerable talents, and had under him a numerous army, yet he was sensible that only quickness of movement could extricate him from his difficulties. General Hill with a large British force was on the confines of Estremadura ; a Spanish army was on the Niebla ; and Ballasteros, constantly active, and constantly repairing his defeats by his zeal, perseverance, and activity, was on the Ronda. Besides these hostile troops with which Soult was in a manner surrounded, it was necessary for him either to keep open a direct and constant communication with the lines before Cadiz, or to withdraw the forces from the siege of that city altogether. He was not long in determining on his plan : before he moved, he addressed his army in language which for its sincerity was rather unusual from a French general. He acknowledged that " misfortunes had befallen

befallen the imperial eagle,"—alluding to the defeat of Marmont's army; but he cheered and animated his own troops with the belief, that they were destined to avenge these misfortunes. After this address, Soult moved in such a manner as indicated an intention to evacuate Andalusia; and, as a consequence of this movement, the French troops before Cadiz on the 24th of August raised the siege of that city.

It may be proper to state the condition of Spain at this moment: Galicia, Leon, and the Asturias were completely freed from the dominion and the presence of the French: the enemy had made such movements in Biscay for the purpose of joining the remains of Marmont's army, as indicated the plan of abandoning that province: Madrid, the greater part of New Castile, and La Mancha, by the victory of lord Wellington, had been freed from the yoke of oppression: Soult was evacuating Andalusia: the French still retained Murcia and Valencia, where Suchet, a general of very great enterprise, and hitherto of very great success, commanded a considerable body of troops: in Navarre, the partisan Mina was indefatigable in attacking the enemy; he harassed them continually; he cut off their straggling parties and their provisions; he had even in more than one instance penetrated into France, carrying into the country of the enemy desolation and terror: Arragon was partly freed from the French, and partly occupied by them: the Catalans were distinguishing themselves for that spirited and active warfare that had handed down the name of their ancestors with such honour; and though they had not been able to free their province from

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the French, yet they had rendered their abode in it most destructive.—Such was the picture of Spain at this time, and when viewed in this light it was certainly most flattering and promising. But it is necessary to place it in another point of view, and to consider the forces which the enemy still possessed in the peninsula, and the means which the British and Spaniards had to drive them out of it. The view we have just taken of Spain proves that the French had not yet been able to effect their purpose: it proves, that of a considerable part of the country they had no possession, and that the country which they actually possessed was held on a very precarious tenure. But this view says more for the spirit and activity of the guerillas than of the regular army of Spain; and we have repeatedly given it as our opinion, that though the guerillas may be able to prevent the French from conquering the peninsula, they will never be able to drive them out of it. The force of the enemy, even after the defeat which they suffered at Salamanca, may be estimated at 130,000: these troops were under Clausel (who with Caffarelli had taken the command of the wreck of Marmont's army), Suchet, Soult, and Joseph Bonaparte. Hitherto the French had injured their cause by their armies not acting together in the execution of one plan; this blunder they now seemed determined to avoid. Soult, in evacuating Andalusia, evidently intended to press forward on Madrid; while Marmont's army, now collected and reinforced by troops from Biscay, &c., advanced in the direction of Burgos: lord Wellington they thus hoped would be placed in a critical situation, and be compelled to retire from Madrid in order to

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attack

attack or watch the army of Marmont. But before the French could execute this plan, it was necessary they should make great sacrifices: one they had already made, in raising the siege of Cadiz. As soon as the British troops in this city were set free, they marched in the direction of Seville, for the purpose of harassing Soult's retreat. This general seems to have had some intention of defending and preserving Seville, and accordingly he left his rear guard, consisting of about 3 or 4000 men, in that city; but upon the approach of the British from Cadiz they evacuated it: and thus the capital of Andalusia was restored to the Spaniards.

In consequence of Marmont's army resuming offensive operations, lord Wellington judged it proper to leave Madrid on the 1st of September: it was hoped, however, that the army under general Hill would be sufficient to protect the capital from any force that Soult might bring against it. Lord Wellington had been blamed, and with some appearance of reason, for continuing inactive in Madrid for such a length of time. From his lordship's character we must suppose, that though he was not engaged in military operations, he was not therefore idle; that during his stay in the capital he was employed in organizing the civil affairs of Spain, and in endeavouring to enable the Spaniards to draw all the beneficial effects from the restoration of their capital which it was capable of affording. But it may be questioned, whether all attention to civil affairs on the part of lord Wellington ought not to have been postponed till the enemy were completely driven out of the peninsula; and at any rate, whether the

possibility of Madrid again falling into their hands ought not to have been carefully avoided.

On the 7th of September lord Wellington arrived at Valladolid, and on the 10th he moved on to Cigales; on the 12th he established his head-quarters at Torquemada. The French army retired slowly before him, being never more than two leagues in advance. As lord Wellington had been obliged to quit Madrid and return to the north of Spain, he seemed resolved now to complete that which it was supposed he had completed before—the destruction, or expulsion from the peninsula, of Marmont's army; he therefore pushed on in pursuit of them with as much celerity as possible. They took the line of Burgos: it was therefore thought necessary to reduce that place before the pursuit of the enemy was followed up. Soon after lord Wellington advanced into the north of Spain, he was joined by the Gallician army; and the number of troops that actually joined him, compared with the strength which that army was represented to be of, will abundantly serve to point out how little reliance can be placed on the statements of the Spaniards respecting the condition or the strength of their armies. The Gallician army was always represented to consist of 30,000 men; and these troops were said to be well disciplined, well provided with every thing, and commanded by able and experienced officers. In fact, only 10,000 infantry and 300 cavalry joined lord Wellington; and his lordship soon found that he had been deceived, not only respecting the numerical strength of this army, but also respecting the efficiency of the men and officers. The situation of Spain

Spain was now again critical: the French had succeeded in their plan so far, as to have obliged lord Wellington to quit Madrid. This city was indeed not left uncovered, as general Hill on the 14th of September had already advanced to Truxillo, and was hastening to its defence: but, on the other hand, Soult joined by Joseph Bonaparte was collecting such reinforcements as might render it doubtful whether Madrid would be safe, even under the protection of general Hill. Such was the state of the centre of Spain at this time; nor was the situation of the north in reality less critical: the remains of Marmont's army, though collected and reinforced, were not able, indeed, to stand before lord Wellington; and if his lordship could speedily reduce Burgos, he might advance against them, and compel them to retreat even to the Pyrennees before they could resume offensive operations. But every thing depended upon the fall of Burgos; and to this object, therefore, lord Wellington directed his attention and efforts.

On the 18th of September, Marmont's army, about 20,000 strong, took up a very favourable position in a valley through which lord Wellington must pass, in order to reach Burgos: on the following day they were driven from it to the heights close to the city, through which they retired in the course of the night. Nothing now prevented the British commander from commencing his operations against Burgos; the city was incapable of defence: but the French had rendered the castle very strong; and this castle effectually commanded the neighbouring river and roads. Besides fortifying the castle, the enemy had strengthened the ad-

joining hill of St. Michael's with out-works: these it was necessary to carry before the fortress could be reduced. As lord Wellington was anxious to lose as little time as possible before this place, he ordered the out-works on the hill of St. Michael's to be stormed: these orders were executed with great bravery and success: but as it was done in the night, there was some mistake and confusion in the manœuvres, in consequence of which the British loss in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of 300 men; and of 500 French who were stationed in the works, only 63 were taken. The capture of these works enabled lord Wellington more accurately to ascertain the strength of the castle of Burgos; and it was discovered to be in such a state of defence as threatened a long and formidable resistance.

Burgos, which long continued to enjoy splendour and preeminence as the capital of Old Castile, has for the last two centuries declined from its prosperity, and is now a gloomy irregular town, containing only about 8 or 9000 inhabitants. It is surrounded by walls, and built on a declivity, forming the right bank of the river Arlanzon, over which were thrown three stone bridges connecting the town with the pleasant suburb of La Beza. On the brow of the adjacent hill stands an ancient castle, which had been repaired and strengthened with works by the French; and beyond this is another small hill called St. Michael's, whereon a horn-work had been erected, which was carried by storm. The castle is a lofty square building of solid masonry, and commands the hill of St. Michael's, which in return overlooks the outer defences of the former. Adjoining to the castle is a church, which the

French converted into a fort ; and both these are included within three distinct lines of circumvallation, the whole forming a fortress of an oblong figure. All these three lines it was necessary successively to carry, before the castle could be taken. After getting possession of St. Michael's hill, our engineers directed their approaches on the right, and erected a battery, which commanded the outer line of the works connecting the fortress with the town. This line was escalated on the night of the 22d, at two points, by a British and Portuguese detachment ; the former of whom advanced so far, that on the failure of the Portuguese attack it was not without great difficulty withdrawn. The commander of the fortress had long acted under Caffarelli, and had received positive orders to hold out to the last ; the importance of the post being strongly felt by both parties. Until it was reduced, the French army might remain safely at Briviesca, a walled city only six leagues distant, and separated from the plain of Burgos by a lofty mountain ; at the next stage beyond which, on the road towards France, is the tremendous pass of Pancorbo, securing the approach to the Ebro.

The enterprise and determination of the governor of the castle of Burgos were soon manifested in a manner that proved very prejudicial to the operations of the besiegers ; two sorties were made on the head of the sap, between the interior and exterior lines ; and in each of these sorties the British works were materially injured. In the last sortie, which took place at three in the morning of the 8th of October, major Cooks, field officer of the trenches, was killed in the act of rallying the troops who had been driven in.

Lord Wellington considered his loss, as one of the greatest importance to the army, and to his majesty's service. Notwithstanding the success of these sorties, the besiegers established themselves within 100 yards of the enemy's interior line, and effected a breach in another part of the same line, where the troops established themselves : at the same time, mines were carrying on under ground with great dispatch. This promptitude and energy, joined to the recollection of what the British had done before Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, led the nation to the confident hope that they should soon hear of the fall of Burgos, and of the advance of lord Wellington in pursuit of Marmont's army.

On the 11th of Oct. the new mine which had been formed was exploded, the breaches were immediately stormed and the lines escalated by our troops : the guards and the infantry of the German legion succeeded so far as to enter the works ; but they were unable to sustain the heavy fire from the castle, and were compelled to retire with the loss of about 100 men. In the mean time Souham, who had taken the command of Marmont's army, was advancing in very considerable force, with an evident intention of raising the siege, or of compelling lord Wellington to fight at a disadvantage. On the 13th the enemy attacked the British out-posts, but were repulsed ; and on the 19th the whole French army came up close to Burgos. This movement of the army under Souham was made in consequence of the plan which Soult had formed for regaining possession of Madrid. On the 21st of October lord Wellington received information from general Hill, that the enemy under Soult and

and Suchet had approached the passes in such superior force, as to render it prudent to evacuate Madrid: in order to support gen. Hill, his lordship broke up from before Burgos, and retired towards the Douro followed close by the French army under Souham. On the 23d the British had approached Valladolid, when there was a very severe affair in the neighbourhood of Torquemada: the contest lasted a considerable time, and with various success, till the German legion coming in contact with the French repulsed them with very great loss.

At this period Soult's corps was estimated at 45,000 men; Joseph Bonaparte's at 12,000; and Suchet's at 15,000: but as it was necessary to keep a strong force in Valencia and Murcia, the army when advanced under Soult against Madrid probably did not exceed 50,000 men. Souham, who was following lord Wellington, had about 35,000 effective men, of whom about 3000 were cavalry. With respect to the British, about 18,000 men, consisting of the 1st, 5th, 6th, and 7th divisions, were with lord Wellington: besides these British troops, his lordship had with him two Portuguese brigades, and a few Spanish troops: the whole of the British cavalry were also with him, except one brigade of English dragoons, the German hussars, a heavy brigade, and a Portuguese brigade, amounting altogether to 2000 men, who were with sir Rowland Hill. This general had under him about 20,000 effective British, consisting of the 2d, 3d, and 4th divisions, besides a large corps of Portuguese, and about 5000 Spaniards who had accompanied colonel Skerret from Seville. The British ministry were aware that it would be impossible for lord

Wellington to carry on the siege of Burgos, and defend himself against the French army under Souham, at the same time; and therefore they had sent up reinforcements to him. But, in conformity to their usual plan, these reinforcements were sent out by piece-meal, and too late to be of any service; for a considerable part of them which had been landed at Corunna, and had begun their march towards Burgos, were compelled to return to the former place, in consequence of the raising of the siege of the latter city, and of the advance of the French.

Bitter and dreadful was the disappointment of the British nation, when they learnt that the capital of Spain was again in the hands of the enemy; that the siege of Burgos was raised, and that the hero of Salamanca was obliged to act on the defensive, and was actually pursued by that army which he had beaten. Blame was thrown on ministers by most people, and on lord Wellington by a few: it was said that the war in the peninsula had been starved; that a miserable economy had prevented us from reaping the fruits of the victory of Salamanca; that if 10,000 men had been sent out to reinforce lord Wellington's army immediately after that victory, when the whole mechanism of the French military government in Spain was unhinged, that mechanism could never have been repaired;—whereas the army of Marmont, driven to the very banks of the Ebro, had there doubled his numbers by reinforcements from France; and Soult, who in consequence of that victory had been compelled to evacuate Andalusia, was now in a state to pursue gen. Hill, after having retaken Madrid. With respect to the conduct of lord

Wellington; it was said that his delay at Madrid had given time and opportunity for the enemy to recruit their armies, and to digest their plans; and that he had not displayed his usual prudence and circumspection in conducting the siege of Burgos: he had formed a very erroneous estimate of its strength; and relying on this estimate, he had attempted to take it before his heavy artillery had come up:—when he was made sensible that it was much stronger than he had conjectured, he endeavoured to make up for his want of artillery, by the gallantry of his troops; thus sacrificing many valuable lives, and weakening his army, already inadequate to cope with the force that was marching against them. There is some truth in these remarks; but the principal cause of this adverse turn of affairs seems to have rested with ministers: if ever there was a period when the whole disposable force of the British empire might have been put forth, in the cause of Spain, with any prospect of permanent and decisive success, it was immediately after the battle of Salamanca, when not only was the principal army of France dispirited and dispersed, but the plans of the enemy must have been entirely broken through: if at this time lord Wellington had had the command of such a numerous army as would have enabled him at once to have pursued the beaten enemy to complete destruction, or till they had crossed the Pyrennees, and to have advanced and taken possession of Madrid, the French forces in the south of Spain must have been placed in a most perilous situation. The grand object of our ministers, while they think proper to continue the war in Spain, ought to be to rouse the Spanish people and go-

vernment; to convince them that Britain is superior to France, not only in the field of battle, but in conducting a whole campaign. But these objects cannot be secured, if our successes are but temporary, if the Spaniards cannot depend upon our keeping what we gain. As has been already remarked, this was of most material consequence as it respected the capital of Spain: if rescuing it from the French had a tendency to rouse and encourage the Spaniards, assuredly permitting it to fall again into the hands of the enemy must have depressed their hopes of success, and their confidence in Britain, much lower than it had been before lord Wellington entered Madrid. Lord Wellington, in his official dispatch, after announcing that he had raised the siege of Burgos, expresses his disappointment in very plain language. "I felt severely the sacrifice I was thereby obliged to make:" in another place he mentions his "limited means," intimating that, if his force had been larger, he should not have been compelled to raise the siege. During the retreat which his lordship thus reluctantly commenced, the British army displayed its wonted steadiness and bravery; the French pressing close upon it, and at one time with such superior force as to oblige one part of the British army to change its route. On the 27th of October the British were posted on the left of the Pisuerga, and on the same day the French crossed the Carrion and formed their army on the heights opposite to the British position. On the following day they endeavoured to gain possession of the bridges, with such superior force, that it was judged prudent to blow up one of them, and break up from the Pisuerga and cross the Douro; which

was effected with little loss. The enemy still pressed hard on the British. Lord Wellington had given orders for a German regiment to take post on the ruins of the bridge of Tordesillas, but this regiment was obliged to give way. No time was now to be lost, the enemy's whole army was in march towards Tordesillas. Lord Wellington, in this crisis, resolved to occupy some heights between Rueda and Tordesillas, and opposite the ruins of the bridge. While lord Wellington was retreating in this direction, he had sent orders to gen. Hill to break up from his position on the Jacama on the 29th of October, and to arrive on the Adaga by the 3d or 4th of November: these orders were punctually obeyed, and on the 5th the two British armies joined at Rueda. Nothing now prevented the junction of Soult and Souham; and accordingly having effected this, they directed their movements in such a manner as they hoped would enable them to turn the flanks of lord Wellington's army: for this purpose their main body advanced to Toro and Zamara, to turn the left flank, and Soult marched on Avila to turn the right. In consequence of these movements, lord Wellington put his whole force in motion, and retired on Salamanca: his lordship hoped that he should be able to maintain the strong heights of St. Christophal, in front of that city: but the united armies of Soult and Souham were so very superior, and pressed on him so hard, that he was obliged to evacuate it, and to continue his retreat.

At this time the French were posted at Alba, and lord Wellington, thinking they might be attacked with advantage, made preparations and movements with

that object: but on reconnoitring their position more closely and attentively, he found it very strong, both by nature and art, and he observed at the same time that their cavalry was moving in such a direction as threatened to cut off his communication with Ciudad Rodrigo: on this place, therefore, his lordship marched, crossing the Zunguen in three columns, and passing the enemy's left flank. During this movement gen. sir Edward Paget was taken prisoner: he commanded the centre column; and the roads having been much injured by the heavy and continual rains, there was an interval between the 5th and 7th divisions of infantry. Sir Edward rode to the rear alone to discover the cause of this interval, and, missing his road, fell into the hands of the enemy.

While the French were thus pressing upon the British army, and depriving them of part of the fruits of the victory of Salamanca, the Spaniards were of little service. The Spanish government indeed had appointed lord Wellington generalissimo of their forces, and in this capacity his lordship had suggested the propriety of Ballasteros marching his troops into La Mancha, and hanging upon the enemy's left flank. Had this been done, in all probability the fortune of the war would have been changed:—at any rate, had Ballasteros obeyed these directions, the British force, which had come from Sicily, and which was still inactive cooped up in Alicante, might have been set free, and acted in unison with lord Wellington. But Ballasteros positively refused to obey the orders which were sent to him, or to acknowledge lord Wellington as his commanding officer, or as generalissimo of the Spanish

forces : he complained in bitter and indignant terms,—that after having brought his army into a state of comparatively good discipline,—after having much increased its numbers,—and after having been indefatigable and often successful in his attacks on the enemy, he should now be deprived of his command, and placed under the orders of a foreigner. Of Ballasteros's patriotism there can be no doubt ; but, like too many of the Spanish generals and nobles, there was something in his feelings and mind superior to the love of his country : he permitted a mean jealousy to rankle in his bosom : he preferred seeing his country desolated, perhaps subdued by the French, to seeing it liberated, if that liberation were to be effected by a foreign power. The Spaniards either were not able, or knew not how, to effect their own deliverance ; for upwards of four years they had been struggling against the French, and would have been repeatedly overwhelmed, had it not been for British co-operation—if co-operation it may be called, where the British did every thing, and the Spaniards, if active, were as frequently active to no purpose, or even to the injury of their cause, as to its benefit. Yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding they witnessed what the Portuguese troops had been made under British officers, they refused to follow their example ; and the conduct of Ballasteros, though censured and punished by the government, was applauded by many leading men, and his fate pitied.

Lord Wellington continued to retire before the enemy till he arrived at the place from which he had commenced the campaign at the beginning of the year. In vain did Soult attempt to harass his retreat,

or to compel him to fight under disadvantageous circumstances : the British general discovered that his talents were equal to what necessity now required of him ; and though the weather was dreadful, and from this cause it was computed that more suffering was endured by the army than during the retreat of sir John Moore, yet there was no disorder or confusion ; nothing was lost, nor could the enemy boast of a single trophy.

At the close of this campaign, which began with such splendour, which held out such flattering expectations, and which terminated without any other substantial benefit but the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, it may not be improper to take a view of the forces of the contending parties since their numbers were increased on both sides subsequently to the last estimate which we gave of them, and they were likewise now differently disposed. Exclusively of the armies which were wholly occupied by the desultory warfare of the Spaniards, viz. those of Caffarelli, Decaen, &c. in Biscay, Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia, the French forces opposed to the English were about 104,000 men ; of these 72,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry were under the command of Soult, who directed the armies which were formerly under Joseph Bonaparte and Souham. Suchet, in the south of Spain, still retained with him 18,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry. Opposed to these were, at the utmost, 66,000 British, German, and Portuguese. Lord Wellington and general Hill had under them 31,000 British and Germans, viz. 27,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry : besides these, there were with those generals 21,000 Portuguese, making up their army

52,000: at the close of the campaign, reinforcements were coming to lord Wellington from Great Britain and Sicily, which would increase his army to nearly 60,000 men. The British army, which had been so long blocked up at Alicant, was placed under the command of general Clinton, and was calculated at about 6000 men. Of the French army, a large proportion were very young, being of the last class of conscripts; among the prisoners taken were boys of sixteen years of age. With respect to the equipment of the opposing armies, the French were much superior in point of artillery. Soult alone had 180 pieces of cannon with him. In point of cavalry, the French were undoubtedly numerically superior to the British; but the British cavalry were as certainly individually superior to the French. So far as regarded the provisions of the armies, it is to be remarked that, though in the country of an ally, the British found much more difficulty in obtaining full and regular supplies than the French did. This arose from two causes: in the first place, the commissariat of the French is on a better footing, there is more plan and arrangement in it, as well as more experience and activity, than in the British. It may be admitted, that by the exertions and suggestions of lord Wellington the British commissariat had been much improved: new regulations of essential necessity and service had been introduced. Indeed, on its old footing, it would have been absolutely impossible that the military operations of the peninsula should have been carried on even on a small scale, and for a short period of time; but then there were some radical faults in the commissariat, which all lord Wellington's

attention could not remove. So necessary is *influence* considered at the fountain-head of government, that all regard to the public service or benefit is frequently abandoned, for the sake of securing or extending it; and persons were appointed to the commissariat, under the operation of this disgraceful cause, by no means qualified to fulfil the duties of their situation, in respect either of talents, experience, or knowledge. In the second place, the English commissariat, were it formed on the most perfect plan, and constantly and completely filled by persons who were both willing and able to carry that plan into regular and full execution, could never be so efficient as a French commissariat: the English have too many scruples about them: they hesitate and doubt, and feel qualms of conscience when they should act; they beg the inhabitants to supply them with provisions, when they should seize them; and thus they are not only imposed upon, but they are unable to procure the necessary supplies in time. While war exists, it ought to be conducted in that manner which will ensure success; for this is obviously the only method by which it can be terminated, and the blessings of a safe and honourable peace restored: it is therefore a blind and paltry humanity, which would shrink at the commission of some violence, if by that violence much greater cruelty and misery could be avoided or shortened. Let us contrast the conduct of the French and British in the peninsula, with respect to the mode in which they obtained supplies from the country. The French at once, with the utmost promptitude, took what they wanted, and paid for it at their own price: the inhabitants, knowing this

this, did not attempt to deny or conceal what they had; they knew it would be of no avail; that, in fact, they would be thus injuring themselves, since they would, in this case, obtain no payment for what was taken from them. The English, fighting in the cause of Spain, naturally believed that the Spaniards would cheerfully contribute to the support of their army; they therefore contented themselves with asking for supplies, and paid liberally for them: but the Spaniards, though very willing that we should fight for them, and very anxious to get rid of the French, were not equally disposed to assist the cause of their own battles, or to contribute to their own deliverance, if sacrifices were required of them. The consequence was, that in every campaign that the British have hitherto fought in the peninsula, the French army has been, on the whole, well supplied, while the British has been generally short of supplies.

But we have been drawn away by this subject from the main purpose of our present sketch, which was to exhibit the comparative force and the situation of the contending armies in the peninsula at the close of the year 1812. We have already noticed the main armies; but there are others to which we must pay some attention, in order to render our statement correct.

The army of Galicia, which, to the number of about 10,000 men, we noticed as having joined lord Wellington, separated from him when active operations ceased, and marched into the province from which it takes its name, where it went into winter-quarters. A Spanish division, under the command of don Carlos d'Espagne, was

placed in Ciudad Rodrigo, and near it. This important fortress was also guarded by Murillo's brigade, and by a body of cavalry under Penne Villamur. The British ministry, in order to reinforce lord Wellington, had sent out the life guards,—a body of men, it would have been supposed, by no means fit for active service, especially in such a country as the peninsula, where great hardships were to be undergone, supported by very spare diet: this remark is at least as applicable to the horses as the men. However, they were sent, either because they were thought fit for the service, or because there were no other forces that could be spared. At the close of the year they had not joined lord Wellington, though they had arrived in Portugal; and having been sent at such an unfavourable season, both men and horses had suffered very much during the voyage.

Such was the relative state of the hostile forces in the peninsula at the close of the year 1812: and from this account it will be perceived that the French had still a very formidable force, and were in fact much superior to the allies: there were other circumstances, too, which either rendered their situation better, or lord Wellington's worse. In the first place, the whole plan of the war seemed to have been changed on the part of the French. In our former volumes, we have frequently remarked on the contrast exhibited by the plan which Bonaparte followed in Spain, and the plan on which he conducted his military operations in other parts of Europe. The distinguishing characteristic in all the military plans where he himself had been engaged in their execution, was simplicity, and the aiming with

with all his force at one object ; that object, indeed, of the greatest importance, the attainment of which brought with it all other minor objects. But in Spain his forces were divided and scattered : it was abundantly obvious, that till the English were decidedly beaten and driven out of the peninsula, he could not expect to obtain what he desired ; and yet, instead of bearing down with all his forces against the British army, he never met them with a much superior force, but directed part of his attention and means against them, and part against the Spaniards, who must have fallen if the British had been subdued. This plan was acted on, till Soult took the command in Spain : he immediately abandoned it, and bore down with all the disposable force against lord Wellington, fortunately without success as to his main object : but the excellence of this new plan was clearly shown, by his being enabled, when acting according to it, to strip lord Wellington of nearly all his conquests, and to compel him to retire to the borders of Portugal. In the second place, lord Wellington was exceedingly perplexed and harassed for want of money : at the close of the campaign, his army was above five months in arrear of pay ; and all he could raise in Madrid, even on the condition of repaying it in a month, was 20,000*l*. Money is justly regarded as the sinew of war ; and in the peninsula it must be so in an especial manner. The arrear of pay due to the army

was comparatively of little moment ; while they were so busily employed marching and fighting, they had not much occasion for money : but for the purchase of provisions, especially with an inadequate commissariat, a supply of money is indispensable.

Such was the state of the peninsula at the close of the year ; for upwards of four years it had been the scene of warfare, and that warfare did not appear to be approaching to a termination. The Spanish government learnt no wisdom by experience ; they displayed no energy in their councils ; their time was occupied in frivolous debates, or in drawing up addresses to the people and the army, the sentiments and tone of which formed a striking contrast to their suspicious or lukewarm conduct. The Spanish generals succeeded one another in the command of the trifling armies which Spain had on foot, without improving the discipline of those armies : in short, no talent arose equal to the situation, or the salvation of the country ; nor was any activity displayed, except by the guerillas. Had it not been for them and the British, the peninsula must long since have fallen under the French yoke. As it is, the revolution there affords the singular but melancholy sight of a nation fighting in defence of their independence, without any of those high qualities of mind or soul which will enable them either to obtain that independence, or fully to value and relish it if it were obtained.

CHAPTER XIII.

Remarks on the Nature of Bonaparte's Ambition—Origin of his Hatred to this Country—His Desire of Power has for its Object the Destruction of Britain—This led him to invade Spain—and was the Occasion of his War with Russia—His Complaints against Russia—that she had abandoned the Continental System—that she had injured the Commerce of France—that she had threatened the Duchy of Warsaw—and that she had protested against his Occupation of Oldenburgh—Curious Reasons by which he justified this last Measure—Correspondence between the French Minister and the Russian Ambassador on these Points—Russia expects War so early as 1811—Her Preparations for it at that Time—Preparations of France—The Situation and Means of the two Powers contrasted—Character of the Russian Soldier—Advantages and Disadvantages of the two Nations in the approaching Contest—Commencement of Hostilities.

AMBITION is not always an ultimate passion in the human breast: it sometimes happens that this passion is merely the mean to an object beyond the mere possession of power. This is well and fully illustrated in the character and career of Bonaparte. At first perhaps he was desirous to extend his power, without any clear or defined object in view: this desire was opposed with more pertinacity and success by Great Britain than by any other nation; she not only fed but stimulated the resistance of the continent; when the war would otherwise have languished for want of money, she supplied it: in short, it may be truly said, that, had Great Britain not existed, Bonaparte, long before this, would have reigned undisturbed over the whole of Europe. Such determined and successful opposition to his schemes and his wishes naturally roused the indignation of a man prone to anger, and who had not been accustomed to have those schemes and wishes thwarted: he meditated the ruin of this country; and that desire of universal empire, before was felt and indulged

without any object beyond it, was now quickened by the hope, that, if it could be fulfilled, the nation which had set herself against his plans, and which had thus roused his indignation, would be destroyed. Hence he had a double motive for his antipathy against Great Britain: she not only appeared unconquerable herself, but she wished to preserve the independence of Europe. If we consider the character of Bonaparte in this light; as incited, by the hope of destroying Great Britain, to almost all his acts of oppression on the continent; we shall understand it most fully, and it will appear throughout consistent with itself. As he was sensible that the ruin of this country could not be accomplished while her navy was in the height of its power, and that this navy depended principally on commerce, he set himself to the destruction of our commerce: for this also he had another motive: he hoped by the destruction of our trade to ruin our finances; and if the navy and finances of Great Britain suffered materially, he was convinced her destruction was at hand. Having these two objects in

in view, he endeavoured to accomplish them by excluding our manufactures and colonial produce from the continent, and by insisting on his vassal states, and those powers whom he subdued, uniting with him in maintaining the doctrine that free bottoms make free goods.

If this view of his character and plans be correct and well founded, it may reasonably be supposed that his attack on the national independence of Spain was made for the purpose of more completely and effectually carrying on his paramount and darling scheme: indeed he avowed this in some measure when he first invaded Spain; he declared that her resources, and particularly her navy, were not so useful to him, in his war with Britain, as they might be made: that, as Britain was the enemy of the continent, it was proper and natural that Spain should contribute, according to her means, in carrying on the war against this enemy; and that these means would never be fairly and entirely brought into action till the reigning monarch was deposed. But his object in getting possession of Spain went beyond this; or, rather, he hoped to injure Great Britain by enforcing the continental system there, as well as by employing the resources and navy of that country against us. It perhaps may be carrying this idea to too great a degree of refinement, if we suppose that Bonaparte was induced to carry on the war in the peninsula, in the protracted manner in which it was actually conducted, because he thus hoped to exhaust our means; and was certain that, while this part of Europe was impoverished and desolated by being the scene of hostilities, it would be unable to supply an extensive or lucrative vent for

our manufactures. That this notion of Bonaparte's character is correct; that he wishes for universal power, solely or principally in order that he may destroy Great Britain; will more clearly and satisfactorily appear from his conduct to Russia. The principal article of the treaty of Tilsit; that article on which Bonaparte laid such stress, and to gain Russia's acquiescence in which he was willing to forgo all the advantages of his victory over her; displayed his hatred of Great Britain: by the article to which we allude, Russia bound herself to accede to the continental system, and consequently to exclude from her ports all British manufactures and colonial produce. If in other respects the treaty of Tilsit was favourable to Russia, in this point it was most oppressive and galling; indeed, by this article she, in fact, bound herself to her own ruin; for Russia, though a country of comparatively little capital, and that has made small advances or improvements in manufactures, is more dependent on commerce than almost any other country in Europe. This arises from the state of her landed property: being as yet only emerging from ignorance and barbarism, she retains many of the usages that were common in the rest of Europe three or four centuries ago: except in the metropolis, and in the large towns, there is scarcely any of what in England are denominated the middle class; consequently the nobility are obliged to keep their landed property in their own hands, and to cultivate it by means of their vassals or slaves. Even after they have thus cultivated it, there are not merchants sufficiently numerous or rich to purchase the produce; so that the nobility must be not only farmers, but

but merchants. The produce, for the most part, consists of such articles as Great Britain purchases in the greatest abundance, and for which she gives the highest price. Hence it may easily be conjectured, how injurious to Russia an adherence to the continental system must prove, and how anxious her nobility must be to remain at peace with this country. The emperor Alexander, therefore, soon was convinced that it would be impossible for him strictly to adhere to that article of the treaty of Tilsit, by which he engaged to exclude British manufactures and colonial produce from his dominions; and he was as fully convinced that, if he did not scrupulously adhere to this article, he could not long remain at peace with Bonaparte.

The Russian emperor was thus placed in a most critical and embarrassing situation, out of which it was scarcely possible for him to extricate himself without serious inconvenience: if he attempted to fulfil the treaty of Tilsit, so far as it regarded the exclusion of British manufactures, he roused his nobility against him; and the nobility in Russia, as in all despotic and barbarous countries, are as frequently the masters, as the subjects, of the sovereign: but an adherence to the treaty of Tilsit would not only expose him to the hatred and machinations of his nobles; it would, by affecting their fortunes, ultimately create very deep and extensive misery throughout the empire: a regard, therefore, to his own tranquillity and safety, as well as to the well-being of his subjects, prompted him to deviate from the continental system; while, on the other hand, his apprehensions of the power of Bonaparte were so strong and well founded, that he

was convinced, if he did deviate from it, war between Russia and France would ensue. Under these circumstances, and with these feelings and prospects, Alexander, either from the natural timidity and irresolution of his character, or because he was anxious to act as faithfully in the fulfilment of the treaty of Tilsit as he well could, strictly prohibited British produce or manufactures from being introduced into his dominions, except under particular restrictions, and by special license, in neutral ships. This, however, would not satisfy Bonaparte: he well knew, that unless British manufactures and produce were entirely excluded, and unless this exclusion were persevered in for a considerable length of time, it could not answer the end he had in view: he wished to accustom the people of the continent to do without Great Britain, either by producing for themselves what they were wont to procure from her, or by abstaining from it altogether. The slightest tendency therefore to favour Great Britain, or even to commiserate the wretchedness of the continent produced by the annihilation of commerce, did not fail to rouse his indignation; and this indignation was whetted most sharply against Russia, because she had bound herself by treaty to adhere to the continental system, and, in consequence of this agreement, had experienced more favour from him, in the other articles of the peace of Tilsit, than she would otherwise have acquired.

But while Bonaparte was thus peremptory with Russia respecting the rigid fulfilment of the treaty of Tilsit, he did not scruple himself to break it: in contravention and defiance of this treaty, he seized on the dominions of the duke of Oldenburgh,

burgh, a relation and ally of the emperor of Russia; and with most impudent and barefaced sophistry he attempted to justify this measure, as being entirely in unison with the treaty of Tilsit, and not, as common sense and common justice would have described it to be, an infraction of this treaty. He argued that the spirit of the treaty of Tilsit was anticommercial; that all its articles and regulations were subservient to the schemes which both the emperors then entertained and avowed against Great Britain; and that therefore, whatever was necessary to carry these schemes into effect, was essentially and virtually, though not expressly, part of that treaty: but as Bonaparte, in order to extend and give effect to the continental system, had thought proper to annex the Hanseatic towns to France, it was also proper to take possession of Oldenburgh, which adjoined this new department of the French empire. In this mode of argument it is easy to trace the plea and principle on which Bonaparte might seize any part of Europe that attracted his ambition or suited his purpose: he first lays it down as a fundamental position, that the continent can never be at peace, or rise to its just level of wealth and independence, till Great Britain is stript of her commerce, and compelled to renounce her maritime rights and pretensions: but as, during this process, the nations of the continent must break their old habits, and endure many privations, and much misery, which the prospect of a distant, and, in their opinion, a very dubious good will not dispose or enable them to do, it is absolutely necessary that they should be under the dominion of a man who will put the continental system in force with the ut-

most rigour, and till it has effected the grand object—the humiliation, or the ruin, of Great Britain. Thus Bonaparte attempted to prove that what he wished, in order to gratify his own private and personal hatred against this country, was essential to the well-being of the continent. It is difficult to determine, whether the madness, the folly, or the wickedness, of the continental system preponderates: if it were carried into as full and permanent effect as the malicious hopes of Bonaparte, in their most sanguine moments, conceive, the continent would only thus be rendered more quietly subservient to his tyranny, without being equally able to gratify his rapacity; and during the attempt to carry it into execution, the misery would be extreme.

Neither of these considerations, however, had any weight with Bonaparte; and as he felt not for the misery of the French nation, stript of their commerce, he was not disposed to allow that the misery of their subjects was an adequate and satisfactory reason for any of his allies to depart from the continental system: when, therefore, the emperor Alexander relaxed, even in a trifling and cautious degree, from it, Bonaparte ordered his minister for foreign relations to remonstrate with the Russian ambassador on the subject.

In the first of these official papers the French minister complains that Russia had abandoned the principle to which she had pledged herself at Tilsit, to make common cause with France; which she had proclaimed in her declaration of war against England, and which had dictated the decrees of Berlin and Milan: he particularly points out a Russian ukase, by which the ports of that empire were opened to all

English

English ships laden with colonial produce, provided they were under a foreign flag. As soon as this ukase appeared, the treaty of Tilsit was at an end: Russia had broken her solemn engagements: she forgot what she owed to the clemency and magnanimity of the French emperor, in not only not stripping her of part of her dominions, but in even permitting her to enlarge them by the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia. Russia further discovered that she had abandoned the continental system by protesting against the occupation of the duchy of Oldenburgh: that occupation was indispensable to the full execution of that system; but France, willing to pacify Russia, offered the duke of Oldenburgh an indemnity for his loss of territory; and that indemnity, by the advice of Russia, was refused: she preferred the supposed interests and honour of the duke of Oldenburgh to the fulfilment of her engagements, to the honour and interests of Europe, and to her own honour and interest: she broke up the continental system, in order to preserve a paltry principality in Germany to its own duke! The manifesto which Russia put forth, on the occasion of this seizure, is particularly dwelt upon by the French minister: for the first time, he says, was seen a manifesto of an ally against an ally; and this manifesto was conceived in such a spirit, and couched in such language, as proved not only "that the bond which had united the two governments was broken, but that Russia had publicly thrown the gauntlet to France for a difficulty which was foreign to her, and which could not be solved but by the method proposed by Bonaparte." These events occurred in the course of the year 1810: in the

subsequent year the intentions of Russia were still more manifest: at the very time that she was dictating the terms of peace to the Turks, she was preparing for war against France: in the month of February 1811, the Russian armies pressed so closely, and in such numbers, on the Vistula, that the army of the duchy of Warsaw was compelled to repass that river, and fall back on the confederation. That Russia had some hostile object in view was evident, not merely from the immense armies which she had assembled, but from the circumstance that by increasing them to such a degree she had nearly exhausted her finances: she never would have done this, had not her object been hostile; and yet she had no ground for hostility: at the very moment when the Russian armies were so powerful, and were collected in such a menacing posture and situation, all the French troops were within the Rhine, except a corps of 40,000 men stationed at Hamburg for the defence of the coasts of the North Sea, and for the maintenance of tranquillity in the countries recently united: the reserved places in Prussia were occupied only by the allied troops: the garrison of Dantzic consisted of not more than 4000 men; and even the troops of the duchy of Warsaw were on the peace establishment. In these circumstances it was evident that the preparations of Russia were without object, unless they were intended against France: his majesty, nevertheless, was even yet unwilling to suspect Russia of breaking her most solemn engagements, or to imagine that, after the experience she had had of the result of a contest with France, she would again hazard it, unprovoked and without cause: he there-
fore

fore proposed an arrangement on the following terms: in the first place, the existence of the duchy of Warsaw; this indeed was a condition of the treaty of Tilsit, and therefore, in proposing this article, he only called upon Russia to abide by her engagements: secondly, the annexation of Oldenburgh; this the war with England had rendered necessary; and this also, though not contained in the treaty of Tilsit, was conformable to its spirit: thirdly, that Russia should pass clear and positive laws respecting trade in English merchandize and denationalized vessels; these laws to be regulated by the spirit and terms of the treaty of Tilsit: lastly, the recalling of the ukase of 1810, by which the mercantile relations of France and Russia were destroyed, and the ports of the latter opened to English produce. All these articles the French minister insisted might have been settled to the mutual satisfaction and interest of the two powers, had Russia not been determined to come to a rupture with France: had she acknowledged the duchy of Warsaw, Bonaparte would have pledged himself not to encourage any enterprise which might lead, either directly or indirectly, to the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. He was willing to accept the intervention of Russia, with respect to Oldenburgh, though she had no right to interfere, as the duke was a prince of the confederation of the Rhine, and therefore under Bonaparte, as the protector of that confederation. He was nevertheless willing to give the duke an indemnity. Even on the grand and paramount object, on that which was nearest the heart of the French emperor, the exclusion of British produce, he desired to come to, 1812.

some understanding, in order to reconcile the wants of Russia with the principles of the continental system, and the spirit of the treaty of Tilsit. The offer of articles so moderate in themselves, and which would have been discussed and modified on the part of France with perfect sincerity and an anxious desire to be at peace with Russia, and to secure her interests, the French minister asserted, was received, not with the same spirit which dictated them, but with evidences of a hostile disposition. All new offers made to Russia were answered by her with fresh armaments; she refused to enter into any explanation, to propose any terms, to state what were her grievances, or the object she had in view, till at length it became apparent that it was not her own commerce but the commerce of England she wished to protect and encourage; that she did not wish to secure the independency of Warsaw, but to seize it herself; and that it was not for the interests of the duke of Oldenburgh that she wished to interfere, but that it was an open quarrel with France that she wished to keep in reserve till the moment of the rupture for which she was preparing. Such is the substance of the first official communication of the French minister for foreign affairs to the Russian ambassador; and we have given it at considerable length, because it contains all that Bonaparte could urge against Russia as the reason or pretext of going to war with her; at the same time it displays more reluctance in having recourse to war than he was wont to manifest in his former official communications.

Very soon after the differences began between Bonaparte and the emperor Alexander, the former took

such measures as he thought would either awe the emperor into submission, or secure victory and success in case of hostilities: he assembled large bodies of troops in the north of Germany: instead of evacuating Prussia, which he was bound to do, he kept possession of a great part of that kingdom, especially of those places which were most conveniently situated for an attack on Russian Poland; and he forcibly occupied Swedish Pomerania. To all these circumstances the Russian ambassador alludes in his reply to the communication from the minister for foreign affairs: he begins by expressly declaring, that the preservation of Prussia and her independence from every political engagement hostile to Russia were indispensable to the interests of his imperial majesty: it was impossible that peace between France and Russia should be permanent, that it should not be frequently interrupted or endangered, if there did not exist between them a neutral country; neutral in reality, not merely in name, and capable of making its neutrality respected: it was therefore absolutely necessary that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Prussia: till they were withdrawn, Russia could not consider herself safe, nor could she regard France as that sincere and real ally which she always wished to consider her. The emperor Alexander was convinced that it was his real policy to be at peace with France; and he therefore was extremely solicitous to remove every cause of suspicion or quarrel: but this could not be done while, by the occupation of Prussia, the Russian frontiers were threatened by a French army. Under these impressions, therefore, the Russian ambassador declared, that the first basis of a

negotiation must be, a formal engagement, or a complete evacuation of the Prussian states, and of all the strong places in Prussia; a diminution of the garrison of Dantzic; the evacuation of Swedish Pomerania; and an arrangement with the king of Sweden calculated to give mutual satisfaction to the crowns of France and Sweden:—if these terms were previously complied with, the emperor Alexander engaged not to adopt any change of the prohibitory measures established in Russia against direct trade with England; to agree with the French emperor respecting a system of licenses to be introduced into Russia in the same manner as in France, provided such system do not augment the deterioration already experienced by the trade of Russia; to modify the custom-house duties of the Russian empire in such a manner as may be desired by France; and, finally, to conclude a treaty of exchange for the duchy of Oldenburgh, and to withdraw the protest he was about to issue on the subject of the seizure of that duchy, and on the claims of his family to it.

To this communication of the Russian ambassador no answer was given; in fact, Bonaparte and his minister for foreign affairs left Paris for the army; and when the ambassador wrote after them for his passports, they describe this natural and unavoidable demand as having “decided the rupture.” Passports were refused him; and at the very time when he could not see his master for want of them, nor his sovereign write to him on account of all communication being stopped at Memel, Bonaparte demanded that his ambassador Lauriston should be permitted to attend personally on the emperor Alexander at Wilna, with

with whom he could have a free communication through a proper officer appointed for that purpose.

Just before Bonaparte left Paris the minister for foreign affairs presented him with the usual report: in this report the approaching war with Russia forms the principal topic; and it confirms, what indeed was very apparent from the official correspondence already given, that France went to war with Russia solely and expressly because Russia would not run herself for the sake of the continental system. Other causes of complaint against Russia are, however, introduced in this report: in 1809, Austria made war on France: Russia was bound by treaty to assist France, in case of hostility with any power: the force agreed upon was 150,000 men; but Russia was so slow in her motions, and so inadequate in the force she brought forward, that only 15,000 men came into the field, and by the time they had crossed the Russian frontier the fate of the war was decided. It does not appear that any remonstrance was made to Russia at the time of this non-fulfilment of her engagements; and it was brought forward in the report merely to strengthen a weak cause. The report then adverts to the Russian ukase of 1810, already noticed; the admission of English merchandize; her armings, threatening the invasion or the independence of the duchy of Warsaw; and, finally, her protest respecting Oldenburgh. The desire of Bonaparte for peace, according to custom, is blazoned forth; but his determination is also expressed to maintain, by arms, the honour of treaties, and the existence and integrity of the states of his allies. At the same time there were laid before the senate treaties which had

been entered into by France with Austria and Prussia: by the treaty with Austria that power engaged to furnish 30,000 men to France in her war with Russia; the integrity of the Turkish territories in Europe was guaranteed; and the principles of the treaty of Utrecht recognised: the principles of this famous treaty, here alluded to, are those which relate to maritime commerce, and which, undoubtedly, sanction Bonaparte's favourite doctrine, that neutral bottoms make neutral goods; and that the flag covers and protects the merchandize, even though it be the property of a belligerent, provided it be not contraband of war: the recognition of this principle by Austria proved her devotion to France, and her hostility to England, much more than her engagement to furnish 30,000 men. The treaty between France and Prussia was merely nominal; all the resources and troops of the latter power had long been at the entire disposal of Bonaparte, and would consequently, in his war with Russia, be employed exactly in the same manner as if they were his own.

The preparations for war, both on the part of Russia and France, had been begun almost as soon as the differences between them originated. Even in the spring of the year 1811, the Russian government perceived that these differences would produce hostilities: experience convinced it, that Bonaparte was not to be trusted, that he never forgave any deviation from his commands, or his expectations, on the part of any of his allies; and that nothing would satisfy him, short of such a subjection or dismemberment of the Russian empire, as would render it no longer formidable, and as would put it completely in his

power to exclude from its ports British manufactures and produce: under the conviction therefore that the tremendous crisis was approaching, which would in all probability determine the fate of their country, and either reduce it under the authority of Bonaparte, or place it effectually and securely beyond his reach, the Russian cabinet occupied itself in military preparations on the most extensive scale. As they wished these preparations to be conducted and managed so as not to augment the jealous and prying suspicion of Bonaparte, or to afford him fresh pretexts for indignation or hostility, they were carried on with great secrecy and circumspection; or, where they were of such a nature as to attract notice, plausible reasons were assigned for them. Cannon were secretly sent from the arsenals towards the frontiers of the empire. Throughout the whole extent of European Russia, and part of the Asiatic division of the empire, there are numerous bodies of troops called "garrison battalions:" these were incorporated with the regular forces; so that, by the end of February in 1811, in the western provinces of Russia there were quartered no fewer than 200,000 men. In order that the strength and condition of the other corps in the more distant parts of the empire might be fully and accurately ascertained, many of the more intelligent generals, who commanded divisions of them, visited Petersburg, under pretence of attending to their private affairs, but in reality to lay before the war minister the state of their divisions, and to consult with him on the best means of increasing their numbers and improving their discipline.

Fresh activity was given to these preparations, as soon as the incorpo-

ration of the Hanse-towns with the French empire and the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburgh were known at St. Petersburg:—the last aggression made a deep impression on the mind of the emperor Alexander, and added strength to his conviction, that these seizures were only preparatory steps towards a war with Russia, and ought rather to incite him to the utmost circumspection, vigilance, and self-defence. In all probability he would immediately have declared war against France, and not have contented himself with a mere protest against the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburgh: but Russia was at this period entangled in hostilities with Turkey, which occupied a considerable portion of her troops; and besides, her finances were embarrassed, and required to be placed on a more regular and productive plan. However, though it would not have been prudent in Russia, in the spring of 1811, to have commenced hostilities with France, she did not lose sight of the high and increasing probability, that they must very soon take place:—the manufacture of arms was encouraged: 500,000 muskets and 2000 pieces of ordnance were finished in a space of time so short, that the skill, experience, and industry of Britain could not have produced them more quickly; fortifications were constructed on the banks of the Dwina; so that the military preparations of this vast and cumbrous empire were not only much more formidable, and on a much larger scale, than they had been previous to hostilities with France in the years 1805 and 1807, but they were conducted and managed with more method and order, and directed with more precision and accuracy to the points and objects most necessary. The organization of the forces,

forces, also, was altered: the cavalry formerly used to be attached to the different divisions of infantry, but they were now separated from them. The infantry of the line consisted of 28 divisions, of six regiments each, and every regiment contained three battalions of 600 effective men; forming a total of 302,400 infantry: the cavalry consisted of seven divisions, of 40 squadrons each, every squadron containing 142 effective men, so that the whole cavalry amounted to 39,760: besides these, there were 50,000 Cossacks. The whole military force of the Russian empire, therefore, in 1811, when she exerted herself in the expectation of an immediate rupture with France, amounted to 392,160 men: but of these, two divisions were employed against the Persians; five against the Turks; and two were stationed in Finland, as the system meant to be pursued by Sweden was not at that time known: it follows therefore, that the force which could have been brought to act against the French nearly reached 300,000 men: but in Russia, besides the regular troops, there is a numerous militia; and in case it might be deemed necessary to call them out for the defence of the empire, depôts were established in convenient places for the distribution of arms and stores, with which they were well provided. Such were the military preparations of Russia in 1811; and as subsequently to that period the probability of war increased, it is reasonable to infer that these preparations and means were augmented, and not diminished, when hostilities actually began.

Although France was determined on war with Russia, unless she complied implicitly with all her demands, it would seem that these demands

were pressed forward with more urgency than the military preparations of Bonaparte could have supported: this circumstance will account for the length of time which he spent in negotiating or attempting to negotiate with Russia before he actually commenced hostilities, and for his apparent reluctance and backwardness, so unusual with him, in having recourse to force. In the year 1811, when the military preparations of Russia were so forward and formidable, the armies of France were comparatively weak: she had, at this time, 60,000 men in Germany, including the garrisons of Stettin, Custrin, and Glogau: from the duchy of Warsaw she might have drawn about 50,000 men: the contingent of the confederation of the Rhine was 100,000: but it was not able in 1811 to supply more than half this number; so that, on the largest computation, the army which Bonaparte could then have brought against Russia would not have reached 200,000 men. In the course of the autumn and winter of 1811, and of the spring of 1812, the French armies were greatly increased: the contingent of the confederation of the Rhine was augmented, so as nearly to amount to its stipulated number: the king of Saxony was called upon to support Bonaparte in his war with Russia, on the ground that that power threatened the duchy of Warsaw. Even Murat, king of Naples, marched from the southern extremity of Europe, with his Italian troops, to assist in the great enterprise. It is not easy to ascertain the exact amount of the army, or, more properly speaking, the armies, that Bonaparte in the spring of 1812 had collected on the frontiers of Russian Poland: they probably exceeded 300,000 men: formidable

as this number was, however, it was rendered much more formidable by its equipment, and by the condition of the forces of which it was composed. Every thing that could conduce, in the slightest or most remote degree, to the efficiency of the army, either in its march or in the field, was supplied in the greatest abundance: the œconomy of it, if the expression may be allowed, was most perfect. Everything appeared to be foreseen and provided for: and it may safely be asserted, that even in the most perfect times of modern warfare no army had ever taken the field in a higher state of discipline or confidence, better supplied with all kinds of ammunition, stores and provisions; or led on by more consummate generals. Bonaparte indeed seemed, by the immensity and perfection of his preparations, to have been aware of the arduous contest in which he was about to be engaged, and to have flattered himself that, if he succeeded in it, all Europe would lie for ever prostrate at his feet.

The numerical strength of the armies of Russia and France was nearly equal; but in estimating the comparative advantages and disadvantages of two nations which are about to engage in war, many circumstances are to be taken into the account, besides the mere numerical strength of the armies. Some of these circumstances were in a high degree favourable to Russia;—others, on the contrary, favoured her opponent. The character of the Russian soldiery is striking and singular: they have no fear of death: if death be the command of their superiors, their first and proudest duty is to obey their officers; to obey them so implicitly as not to admit a thought of their own command, or safety, to interfere with

their obedience. They may be put into confusion, but it is almost impossible to drive them back: their discipline is perfect in its kind; but it is entirely a passive discipline: it manifests itself in repulsing, with the coolest steadiness, the attacks of the enemy; in even standing to be cut to pieces; but it does not extend to complex or quick evolutions. From this character of the Russian soldiers, it is evident that they may be slaughtered on the field of battle; but if their officers are true and steady, they will not easily be driven from it: and it is also evident, that they are better qualified for defensive than offensive war, and that if they are sufficiently numerous they must exhaust their enemy. With regard to their officers, they are very deficient in talents and skill: with notions and habits of obedience, not so strict and stubborn as those of the soldiers, they possess very little more civilization or knowledge. Hence it has been found necessary to place over the Russian soldiers a great number of German officers: some of the native general officers, however, have made up for want of skill and talent, by a sort of original genius for war, and by adapting that genius so adroitly to the character and feelings of the soldiers, as to conduct them to victory with more certainty of success, than if they had been brought up in the most perfect and regular school of war. With respect to organization, a Russian army is very incomplete, since this depends on that methodical state of society, and that minute and comprehensive knowledge to which Russia has not yet arrived: its commissariat, in particular, is in a miserable state, and must always impede and weaken its efficiency when in a foreign country. These defects

defects of the Russian army, as has been observed, arise in a great measure from the semi-barbarism in which that empire still is: they arise also partly from the circumstance, that her armies are necessarily composed of a great variety of nations differing from one another, not only in customs, feelings and *temperament*, but also in the degree of their civilization and knowledge of war; and therefore requiring different modes of management, and effectually preventing any comprehensive and regular plan. From this view of the character and constitution of a Russian army, we may perceive the striking contrast they form to an army of Frenchmen: the latter uncommonly quick in their manœuvres, not difficult to be repulsed when the assailants, or to be driven back and thrown into confusion when assailed, but recovering their order in a very short space of time, and with as much ease and precision as if it were a review day, and not a day of battle before a superior or victorious enemy. Their discipline and obedience, so far as they go, are perhaps nearly as perfect as those of the Russian soldiers; but they do not extend so far: they interpose their own notions of what they ought to do, if circumstances change; whereas, in the opinion of a Russian soldier, circumstances have nothing to do with his orders: he will continue to obey them, even though his obedience is prejudicial to the army in which he serves, and in fact contrary to the wishes and design of his officer. While a French soldier thinks he is marching to victory and glory, he will endure any privation; he will expose himself to any danger or fatigue, with unabated spirits and confidence: but if he is to fight for

safety, not for glory, his character changes. A Russian soldier, on the other hand, looks to nothing beyond the commands of his officer: whether those commands are issued for the purpose of offensive or defensive warfare; under circumstances that pronounce success and glory, or only escape from destruction, they are obeyed with the same implicitness: in short, a Russian is a good soldier, so far as a good soldier and a perfect machine are synonymous, and passive bravery is an essential quality in one; whereas a Frenchman is a good soldier, in so far as the character of a good soldier depends on the most perfect discipline, united with the love of glory, and the desire to render France the mistress of Europe.

This statement will explain some of the causes which prevented France, in her former wars with Russia, from making less impression on that power than on the other powers of Europe:—but there were other causes, which it will be proper to state, since they will enable us more fully to estimate and balance the advantages and disadvantages of the two nations in the war which we are about to narrate. Though it cannot be denied that the military successes of the French have been mainly owing to the superior number and character of their troops, yet we must search deeper, if we wish to ascertain the whole chain of causes which have contributed to those successes. France, as well in the days of her ancient monarchy, as under her new dynasty, has known the advantages of intrigue; and unfortunately, in the contests between revolutionary France and the powers of the continent, intrigue has been too successful. The generals of her opponents have been as often seduced by

means of it, as by superior discipline or force: this remark will particularly apply to that war between France and Austria, in which general Mack was engaged on the side of the latter. But besides their superiority in the arts of intrigue and bribery, the French had another advantage: they have more national spirit and feeling than most of the other nations of Europe: while the people of the other nations are looking almost exclusively to their own interest, or are at least lukewarm in their feelings and exertions for the public good, the glory of his country is the darling passion in the breast of almost every Frenchman. Hence the plans and orders of the rulers of France have generally found active and zealous supporters in all ranks and classes of this singular people; whereas in the other nations of Europe, with too few exceptions, what has been planned with the greatest wisdom and in the purest spirit of patriotism, is generally executed in a careless and inefficient manner. Such a difference in the character of the French, and in most of those with whom they have contended in their revolutionary wars, cannot have failed to produce wonderful effects: in France, all are united in one object; that object may be unprincipled and unjust: it has been almost always so, with France, in her wars: but it is an object which no Frenchman can regard with indifference, and which effectually preserves him at once from inactivity, the controlling and contravening influence of self-interest, and the intrigues of his enemy. Hence it is that so few Frenchmen desert; fewer, perhaps, than in any other nation: they are kept true to their country by their intense national feeling, and their conviction that France

is the greatest country in the world, or worthy and destined to become so; and that therefore they shall not only disgrace themselves, but cut themselves off from being sharers in her glory, if they desert her service. There is a great deal of this nationality among the British, but it is of a purer and higher character; it is founded on more just and worthy feelings, and directed to more laudable objects: but at the same time it yields to circumstances sooner than the nationality of the French does. The Russians also possess a very large portion of this nationality, of a different character both from that of the French and English: while the nationality of the latter nations is the result of some reflection, and grounded on principle, though that principle may be narrow and erroneous, the nationality of the Russian is merely instinctive and animal: but though thus low and degraded in its nature, it is from this very circumstance of the most obstinate and lasting kind. The representations of the liberty, the comforts, and the happiness which other nations possess, make little impression on the mind of a Russian: he much prefers his own country and government, such as they are, to any thing foreign. Some nations are much more attached to personal and individual, than to national liberty and independence, and are indifferent by whom they are ruled, provided they are ruled with gentleness, and enjoy their civil and political rights: other nations, on the contrary, having no conception of or relish for individual liberty and privileges, feel an interest only in the preservation of their national independence. Such appear to be the Spaniards and Russians: we may wonder that

that any people should find motives for fighting for a weak and oppressive government: but, however it may contradict our experience, or our theories, the fact is well established: and it is fortunate that it is so; since perhaps this blind and semi-barbarous preference of a weak and wicked government, merely because it is the government of one's own country, is a more effectual safeguard against the intrigues and power of France, than the more enlightened and rational attachment to individual liberty: the latter is too apt to be deceived by French promises, and to expect from them a reformation of public abuses: the former has implanted in the breast such an instinctive dread of every thing foreign, and such an indifference about personal liberty and rights, that French intrigue must be displayed, and French promises made, in vain. The French, therefore, a very national people, and who had derived great advantages, in their wars, from this nationality, were now about to commence hostilities against the Russians, who were at least equally national: from this cause of their former successes, therefore, the French in their contest with the Russians had little to hope.

Another cause of French success must be traced in the very decisive manner in which they conduct war: perhaps decision is not the term which most aptly and precisely designates what we mean: it is more than decision, it is the adoption of the most bold and apparently hazardous plan; a plan which, seeming to indicate a consciousness of superiority, in most cases has produced to the French all the advantages of superiority, by intimidating their opponents. Bonaparte well knows how difficult it is to distin-

guish between rational boldness and rashness: he acts on this principle, and has thus too frequently succeeded in conquering his enemy by his own rashness. But this plan was not likely to succeed so well in Russia, and among the Russian people, as it had done elsewhere: when he penetrated into the very heart of Germany, though he was thus placed at an immense distance from his own territories, he still was in the midst of a people at least not hostile to him, and of a country extremely fertile. The Austrian government issued no orders to impede his progress by laying waste the country; and if they had issued these orders, their subjects possessed too little attachment to them, and too small a portion of nationality, to have obeyed them:—but in Russia the case would be completely reversed; he would be much further removed from his own territories and resources; he would be in the midst of a comparatively barren and uncivilized country, where the means of subsistence were neither so abundant, nor so easily and regularly procured; and above all, he would be in the midst of a people, who were naturally disposed to resist the French by all possible means, and who, at the command of their sovereign, would undergo the greatest privations for this, or any other purpose of his pleasure. The only hope of success, therefore, which Bonaparte could indulge, if he was fully aware of the character of the Russians, must have been from his knowledge of the emperor Alexander: him he had once already intimidated or cajoled; and he must have expected, if he entered on the war, with such very formidable means, in a rapid and decisive manner; if he penetrated into the heart of Russia, so as to threaten either

either Moscow or Petersburg, and especially if he signally defeated the Russian army, that Alexander would sue for peace on his own terms.

The plan of the campaign, on the part of the Russians, was founded on a regard to all these circumstances; on the experience that Bonaparte always pushed forward in the hope of signalizing the commencement of hostilities by some splendid if not decisive action; on the belief that he might thus be drawn into the interior of Russia; and on the firm conviction, that if he were thus drawn into the interior, he would find every Russian hostile to him, and perfectly disposed to contribute to the destruction of his army, by the abandonment of their homes, and the devastation of their country. By this plan of continually retreating before him, the French commissariat, so perfect under other circumstances, would be of little service, while the Russians would feel little or no distress from their deficiency in this respect. The climate of Russia and the season of the year were also taken into the account, in forming the plan of the campaign, so that in every point of view it presaged to the Russians victory, and to the French defeat and disgrace. There were, however, two circumstances to be guarded against, either of which might render the plan destructive: in the first place, it would be necessary for the Russians to oppose the progress of the French in every situation where it could be done with advantage, but carefully to guard against committing themselves in a decisive battle: this with most troops would have been extremely difficult: in the moment of real or supposed victory, soldiers are apt to be hurried away

by an enthusiastic feeling, which their officers often participate in, instead of checking: but there was little danger that this would happen with the Russians: their cold and implicit obedience would rise superior even to their hatred of the French: and the assurance that it was the will of their emperor that they should continue to retreat, even after a victory, would reconcile them to the plan of the campaign. But the greatest danger and difficulty in the way of the regular and full execution of this plan, arose from the character of the emperor Alexander: he was known to be timid and irresolute; and it was apprehended, that though he had given his assent to the plan, and must be convinced that the advance of the French and the devastation of the country were parts of that plan, and therefore ought not to be regarded with dismay; yet when they actually occurred, he would be for concluding a peace with Bonaparte. It was therefore judged prudent, that, after reviewing and exhorting his troops at Wilna, he should return to Petersburg, where he would be not only at a distance from the intrigues of the French, and unacquainted personally with their advance and the devastation of the country; but also surrounded by nobles, whose interest it was to be at peace with England, and who therefore would not permit him to listen to any terms, which Bonaparte might propose.

On the 9th of May Bonaparte set out from St. Cloud; and on the 6th of June he crossed the Vistula; on the 22d of that month he formally declared war against Russia: on which occasion he issued an address to his soldiers, in which, after accusing Russia of having broken her

her alliance with France, in order to serve the interests and views of England, he denounces that she is dragged along by a fatality, and her destinies must be accomplished; and promises them that the second war of Poland shall be as glorious to the French armies as the first, and that the peace which alone he will conclude, shall be its own gua-

rantee, and put an end to the influence which Russia for fifty years had exercised in Europe. On the 24th of June Bonaparte crossed the Niemen, and entered the Russian territories, and on the following day hostilities commenced by the capture of Kowno, which fell without a struggle.

CHAPTER XIV.

Military Error of the Russians in advancing to the Niemen—Consequences of it—The Corps of Bagrathion separated from the main Army—which retires to the Dwina—The French at Wilna—Bonaparte re-establishes the Kingdom of Poland—Russians abandon their entrenched Camp at Drissa—and retire to Witepsk—Wittgenstein takes a northern Route towards Petersburg—followed by Oudinot—Battles between these Generals—between Bonaparte and the main Russian Army—and between Bagrathion and Davoust—The Russians persevere in their Plan of fighting hard, and then retreating—retire from Witepsk towards Smolensk—Position of the different French Divisions at this Time—Bonaparte proceeds to Smolensk—Importance of that Place—The Russian General abandons it—blamed for this—and Kutusoff appointed Commander-in-chief—Operations on the Dwina—Siege of Riga—Crown Prince of Sweden—Kutusoff retires to Borodino—general Battle there—Bonaparte reinforced marches to Moscow—Conflagration of that City—Remarks on it—The different Russian Armies surround Moscow—Peace with Turkey—Dreadful Situation of the French—Bonaparte attempts in vain to negotiate.

THE passage of the Niemen, and the capture of Kowno, though in themselves events of little moment, were attended with very important consequences. The Russians, in pursuance of the plan of the campaign which they had resolved to follow, had marked out their first line of defence on the banks of the Dwina; here they had erected a chain of strong and connected fortifications: and it was natural to suppose, that immediately before these fortifications they

would place their army. It is not easy to discover the military policy which induced them to bring forward their whole force, and range it on the banks of the Niemen, so much in advance of their first line of defence. On the banks of this river they had not prepared the means of opposing the passage, or resisting the attacks of the French: hence, as soon as the enemy appeared in force, they were compelled to retreat towards the Dwina. Besides, by ranging their whole army

army along the Niemen, their line became very extensive, and in many places so little connected, or disadvantageously posted, that it was exposed to be attacked with every prospect of success. Bonaparte immediately perceived the error they had committed, and on it he founded his plan of the campaign. He was convinced, that if he could effect the passage of the Niemen at Kowno, he might push forward on the road to Wilna and Minsk, with such rapidity as to cut off such of the divisions of the Russian army as were to the south of the line between those two places. If he could thus succeed in this part of his plan, his object next would be to attack the separate divisions, unsupported, and successively defeat them. In the former part of his plan he was completely successful; in the latter, the steady and persevering bravery of the Russians foiled him.

As soon as Bonaparte had crossed the Niemen, he pushed forward with great rapidity towards Wilna. On many accounts the occupation of this city was of the utmost consequence to him: the emperor Alexander was still in it; and though there was no chance of taking him, yet the circumstance of his flying before the French would give eclat to the commencement of the campaign; and probably Bonaparte was in hopes, that if he remained sufficiently long to witness the rapid advance and formidable numbers of the French army, he might be intimidated into a desire for peace. On the 28th of June Bonaparte entered the capital of Russian Poland; and from the measures which he immediately adopted, it was plain that the occupation of it was to him a desirable event, inasmuch as it gave him

an opportunity of exercising his usual talent of finesse. In the war in which he had just engaged with Russia, he expected considerable assistance from the Poles: he knew their enmity to Russia; and though he had already deceived them, in the expectations which he had led them to form of his erecting Poland again into a kingdom, yet he knew how to re-inspire them with confidence in him: as soon, therefore, as he had entered Poland, he set about re-establishing the kingdom of Poland: his first public act there was to proclaim it anew. A diet was immediately assembled, and a constitution framed, and the name and form of liberty were restored to the Poles.

While Bonaparte himself continued at Wilna, the different divisions of his army advanced, but in a different direction from that in which they had first moved: instead of proceeding directly from Wilna to the Dwina, on which the Russians had retired, they stretched to the south, towards the province of Mojlilhow. Their object in taking this route appears to have been partly the pursuit of prince Bagration, who with the second corps of the Russian army had been separated from the first, and was endeavouring to rejoin it, and partly the design or the hope of being able to turn the Russian posts on the Dwina, and thus avoid the necessity of attacking and forcing their entrenched camp on that river. Already the bulletins which Bonaparte issued put on a different character, and assumed a different tone, from those with which he had favoured and delighted the Parisians in his former wars: he boasted of no signal or decisive victory; of no rout or confusion of the enemy; of no cannon or colours taken; and during

during a pursuit which lasted nearly a fortnight, of very few prisoners. On the other hand, by his repeatedly and emphatically asserting that immense quantities of provisions were arriving for his army, and by his explaining in a very minute and particular manner the route by which they were to be brought, it was evident that the country through which he was marching was not able to supply his troops. The climate of Russia also began to act against him, even in the month of July, and when he had not advanced further north than Wilna. A dreadful tempest arose; torrents of rain fell; thousands of his horses perished; and many pieces of his artillery were buried in the mud. His disappointment and chagrin were likewise manifest: he broke out into invectives on the barbarity of the Russians for laying waste their country, and into ridicule on them, for their cowardly and disgraceful flight, as he termed it.

Bonaparte, by his passage of the Niemen, had succeeded in separating two of the Russian divisions from the main army. The corps of Doctorrow, when this event took place, was stationed between Sida and Grodno. As soon as he was informed of the advance of the enemy, and that the main Russian army was proceeding towards the Dwina, he put his corps in motion for that river. His movement was attended with great difficulties, as the French followed him closely, and in one part of his route had got so near him, that he was obliged to turn to the right, and undertake a circuitous route to the Dwina, where he at last arrived, with the loss of a great part of his baggage. The other Russian corps which had been separated from the main army, was commanded by prince Bagra-

thion. It was not so fortunate: the prince in vain attempted to join the main army at Wilna, Minsk, and Bobruysk. The French, by the rapidity of their movements, always anticipated him; and it was not till he had crossed the Dnieper and reached Smolensk that he succeeded in his object. It is even probable that this corps would have been entirely cut off, if prince Poniatowski, who commanded the Poles in the service of Bonaparte, had pursued him with sufficient alacrity and vigour.

On the 17th of July Bonaparte left Wilna, and put himself again at the head of his army, for the purpose of attacking the Russian entrenched camp at Drisna, on the banks of the Dwina. Previously to his arrival marshal Oudinot crossed that river at Dunaberg, a considerable way below the Russian camp: he was not strongly opposed, and immediately after he reached the north bank he moved on to Drouga. The main body of the Russian army at Drisna amounted to about 120,000: the fortifications of their camp were very strong; but as prince Bagrathion had not joined them, they resolved not to hazard a general battle. Before, however, they evacuated their camp, they suddenly threw a bridge over the river, and surprised the corps of Sebastiani, who had reached the left bank, and drove him back with considerable loss. After this partial but encouraging success, they moved from Drisna towards Witepsk; and Bonaparte, having demolished the entrenched camps, in which he boasted that he found immense stores of provisions and ammunition, followed them so closely, that his advanced posts had frequent skirmishes with the rear of the Russian army. On the
24th

24th of July the Russians arrived at Witepsk; one of their corps having been previously dispatched to the north, to cover Petersburg, which part of the French army seemed to threaten. On the 25th, 26th, and 27th, three several and successive actions took place, which were fought with great obstinacy, and with very partial and limited success on the side of the French: they took indeed some prisoners, but there was no rout or confusion, no detachments cut off, no breaking of lines nor intercepting of marches. In reality, in these battles, even by the French accounts of them, the Russians achieved all they intended and wished; and the result of them, so far from injuring their cause, promoted and benefited it; so far from destroying the plan of the campaign, forwarded it, and proved its policy and soundness. The Russians fought, as long as they could fight, without risking a decisive engagement, and, having inflicted as much destruction as they suffered, retired further into their own country, on their reinforcements, and to other places equally strong as those which they had left. The French, on the other hand, could reasonably boast of nothing but the mere occupation of the ground which the Russians had so hardly yielded them, in consequence of what they called and claimed as a victory. They could, indeed, advance further into Russia, but with what hopes? assuredly with none well founded: they could expect only repetitions of the same hard fought battles, while their own strength was diminishing, and their distance from their resources and reinforcements increasing. As the Russians retreated, they pursued their plan of laying waste the country; and the peasantry and

slaves, possessing the most profound detestation for the French, cheerfully assisted in destroying their own habitations, and fled with the army. Thus the enemy entered on a desolate country. Bonaparte in vain endeavoured to persuade the Russian peasantry to await his arrival; he in vain promised them freedom from their barbarous and oppressive masters; they either did not understand what he meant by freedom, did not wish for it, or doubted his promises: he found them as unassailable by his intrigues, as the Russian army was by his force.

While the main body of the French under Bonaparte followed the main body of the Russians, Davoust was employed in the pursuit of Bagrathion: it was necessary for the latter to cross the Dniéper; and Davoust, aware of this, moved on to Mohilow, near the source of that river: here he was surprised by the Russian general. The battle was extremely obstinate and bloody: it lasted upwards of nine hours; and at the conclusion of the battle, Bagrathion, so far from being worsted; was enabled to pursue his route unmolested to Smolensk. In the course of the Russian campaign there occur several instances besides this one of Davoust, in which the most experienced and active of the French generals were surprised; and this circumstance we cannot help thinking in a great measure attributable to the character of the Russian peasantry: in every other country in which the French had fought, the inhabitants, either intimidated or seduced by them, were in the regular and constant habit of bringing them accurate and early information respecting the movements and operations of the hostile army;

army; whereas in Russia, neither threats nor promises could induce a single peasant to be in any degree or respect instrumental in assisting the French army; and if the French sent out small parties to reconnoitre, they were almost certain either of being cut off by the armed peasantry, or of being misled and misinformed by them, if they were too weak to attack them. In this respect, therefore, as well as in several others already noticed, Bonaparte, early in the campaign, experienced the difference between fighting in Russia, and in the other countries which he had overrun and conquered; and hence there is in all his bulletins such a peevish tone of reproach against his generals, either for want of caution and information, or for not pursuing the enemy with sufficient activity and vigour.

We have already stated, that when the main Russian army retired on Witepsk, one of the corps took a northern route for the protection of Petersburg. This corps was under the command of Wittgenstein: against him Oudinot was sent by Bonaparte. The plan of the French general was to cross the Dwina, to come round upon Riga, and thus cut off the communication with Petersburg. For this purpose he actually crossed the river towards the end of July, and on the 30th and 31st a very severe action was fought, the result of which was, that Oudinot was compelled to recross the Dwina with the loss of 3000 prisoners and some cannon. But the incidental and ultimate consequences of this engagement were far more important. Petersburg was rendered secure: the communication between it and the main Russian army was established; and the operations of the

French against Riga were considerably retarded. Against this latter place Macdonald, who commanded the Prussians in the service of Bonaparte, had been sent; and the intention of Bonaparte seems to have been, if he could have got possession of Riga, that Macdonald should have marched forward and threatened Petersburg. This part of Bonaparte's plan was evidently founded on the idea that the main Russian army would retreat on Petersburg, and consequently that, by following it, he would be able before he reached that city to have formed a junction with Macdonald. This plan, however, was rendered abortive by the route which the main Russian army pursued in their retreat, and by the circumstance that Macdonald could make no impression on Riga.

The defence of this place was in some measure assisted by a British naval force. The British cabinet had certainly not urged or encouraged Russia to commence hostilities; but as soon as hostilities were determined on, Russia proposed terms of accommodation with Great Britain which were immediately acceded to, and every promise of assistance given. The Russian cabinet, however, declined any assistance, except such as might be procured by inciting the crown prince of Sweden to join in the war against France. For this purpose a negotiation was entered into with him. The prospect of regaining Swedish Pomerania was held out to him, and it was fixed that he should land an army there, or still further north, in order to act in the rear of Bonaparte; but after much delay, preparation, and change of plan, the crown prince suffered the campaign to close without crossing the Baltic.

The

The Russians did not make a stand at Witepsk, but as soon as the enemy approached they retired on Smolensk. In the beginning of August the following were the positions of the French army :

Head-quarters at Witepsk, with four bridges on the Dwina.

The 4th corps at Samai, occupying Veluj, Porietché, and Ousirath.

The king of Naples at Roudenu, with the three first corps of cavalry.

The first corps, commanded by marshal the prince of Eckmühl, at the mouth of the Beressina, on the Borysthenes, with two bridges over this last-mentioned river, and one bridge upon the Beressina, with double *têtes-de-pont*.

The third corps, commanded by marshal the duke of Elchingen, at Etozna.

The eighth corps, commanded by the duke of Abrantes, at Orcha, with two bridges and *têtes-de-pont* upon the Borysthenes.

The fifth corps, commanded by prince Poniatowski, at Mohilow, with two bridges and *têtes-de-pont* upon the Borysthenes.

The second corps, commanded by marshal the duke of Reggio, upon the Drissa, advanced before Polotsk, upon the road to Sebei.

The prince de Schwartzemberg with his corps at Slonim.

The seventh corps upon Rozana.

The fourth corps of cavalry, with a division of infantry, commanded by general count Maubourg, before Brobunsk and Mozier.

The tenth corps, commanded by the duke of Tarentum, before Dunaberg and Riga.

The ninth corps, commanded by the duke of Belluno, at Tilsit.

The eleventh corps, commanded by the duke of Castiglione, at Stettin.

It appears from this statement, how widely dispersed the different divisions of the French army were : in fact, the nature of the country and the mode of warfare followed by the Russians were such, that in this campaign Bonaparte could not pursue his usual plan. He could not advance in one solid mass and bear down all before him. He was even before he reached Witepsk considerably annoyed, harassed, and impeded by the Cossacks ; a species of soldiery calculated only for such a country and climate as that of Russia, and which can act with the greatest advantage and success, where more regular forces are comparatively useless, and when an enemy is least able to resist them : they were under the command of their hetman, the celebrated Platoff, who had signalized himself in the last war with France. The position of two of the corps of the French army, as given in the above statement, may excite surprise ; the ninth, under the command of the duke of Belluno, at Tilsit ; and the eleventh, under the command of the duke of Castiglione, at Stettin. It is evident, from these corps being stationed so far in the rear of the main army, and not in the line of their retreat, if they should be compelled to retreat, nor in such positions as would enable them to keep open the communication with the supplies that were constantly coming from Germany, that Bonaparte was apprehensive that Bernadotte, at the head of a Swedish army, would land in his rear. On no other supposition can we account for these corps being left in a great measure idle and useless, at a time when Bonaparte must have perceived that he would have occasion for all his troops on the more immediate scene of action.

During

During the whole of his advance to Witepsk, he had been unable to compel the Russians to hazard a general engagement: in all the partial rencontres where he himself was engaged, he had indeed succeeded so far as to drive them from their position, and thus to occupy the whole of Russian Poland and Lithuania; but the corps under the command of his generals were by no means successful. We have already mentioned the defeat of Oudinot by Wittgenstein; and though the latter, by pursuing his adversary too far, and in too unguarded a manner, in his turn suffered a check, yet it was evident both from the strength of Wittgenstein's army, and from the talents and activity of the general, that Oudinot had no chance of cutting off the communication with Petersburg, nor of opening such a communication with Riga as would be of any advantage to Macdonald. At Kobrin Bonaparte suffered a very severe loss: the Saxon troops, 3000 in number, were surrounded and entirely captured there by general Tormesow.

In the mean time the French main army had gone into quarters of refreshment at Witepsk. Bonaparte was now convinced that in all his engagements he had beaten the Russians, and began to suspect that they had only followed out their plan in retreating before him. He also learnt that Bagrathion, with the second division of the Russian army, whom he had so long kept separate from the main body, was very near his junction with it at Smolensk: at this place, therefore, he anticipated a general battle, and a sanguinary and obstinate resistance. But as his own troops had suffered severely, partly by the climate, which even to men accus-

tomed to the sun of Italy and the south of France was oppressive, and for its uncertainty very deleterious, partly by the fatigue to which they were exposed, on account of the badness of the roads; but principally by the harassing and incessant warfare which they were obliged to carry on against the Cossacks, who hung on their flanks, and cut off all stragglers, he remained at Witepsk some days before he advanced against Smolensk.

On many accounts it was deemed highly probable that the Russians would hazard a general battle at Smolensk: there their whole force would be assembled; the situation was extremely favourable for defence; and of course, if the French attacked them they would possess considerable advantages: but above all, the Russians attached a superstitious veneration to the city of Smolensk, and if it fell into the hands of the enemy, at least without a strong struggle to save it, the consequences on the Russian mind might be fatal. Besides all these considerations, by the capture of Smolensk the road to Moscow would be laid open, nearly the whole way, to the enemy. Part of the Russian army occupied this city; the remainder were posted on the other side of the river. On the 16th of August the French occupied the heights which commanded Smolensk; on the 17th, perceiving that the Russians had not *détached*, that they were fortifying themselves in the city, and that they refused battle, Bonaparte marched on the right, for the purpose of compelling them either to fight, or to evacuate the place: the rencontres were obstinate, but in almost all of them the French were defeated with great slaughter. In the night of the 17th Smolensk was

set on fire; and the Russians perceiving it no longer tenable, nor useful to them as part of their line of defence, evacuated it. In this battle the loss of the Russians amounted to about 5000 men killed, and nearly double that number wounded and prisoners; it is worthy of remark, that, even according to the French account, in this and almost all the engagements they fought in Russia, few were taken prisoners except such as were wounded; the loss of the French was considerably greater than that of the Russians: the latter, on evacuating the city, joined the other division of their army on the opposite bank of the river.

Barclay de Tolly, who had hitherto commanded the Russians, was much censured for having evacuated Smolensk: the reasons, however, that he assigned for this measure have considerable force: the devastation occasioned in the city by the fire rendered it no longer tenable against such a force as the French could bring against it: besides, had the French perceived that he could still have maintained himself in Smolensk, they might, by giving up all further attempts against him there, have got before him on the road to Moscow, and thus cut him off from that capital. To this latter reason it was replied, that Smolensk was the only fortified position by which Moscow could be covered; and that therefore, by relinquishing it, he exposed that capital to more danger than if he had continued in it; since it was hardly probable that the French would advance to Moscow, leaving behind them the main Russian army in such a situation. The clamours of the Russian officers against Barclay de Tolly became so loud and general on this occasion, that it was

deemed prudent to deprive him of the command, and to bestow it on Kutusoff: this general, though seventy-five years old, had still all the animation and vigour of ripe manhood, and had distinguished himself greatly in preceding wars.

As Smolensk had been evacuated, Kutusoff did not think it advisable to hazard an engagement with the enemy in a country which no longer afforded any advantageous position: he therefore determined on retreating towards Moscow. On the 19th of August, the French, having thrown a bridge over the Borysthene, crossed that river, and pursued the Russians: their rear guard, consisting of about 5 or 6000 men, were stationed on fine heights, waiting the attack, in order to cover and assist the retreat of the main body. They were attacked at the point of the bayonet by the duke of Elchingen, and were driven from the heights, not however till they had made an obstinate resistance, and caused much slaughter among the French. Bonaparte's object evidently was to cut off the retreat of the Russians from Moscow: and therefore, while the duke of Elchingen crossed the Borysthene at one part, Junot duke of Abrantes crossed it to the right of Smolensk, where he found himself close on the rear of the Russians: if he had marched in divisions, it is probable he might have rendered their retreat extremely difficult, after they had been driven from the heights; but in consequence of his marching with his whole force in one body, for which he was severely censured in the bulletin, the rear guard of the Russians escaped, and having joined the main army they took the road to Moscow.

While these operations were going on on the banks of the Borysthene,

thenes, Oudinot and Wittgenstein were still opposed to each other on the banks of the Dwina. In the vicinity of Polotsk a series of battles took place about the middle of August, in which the result was similar to all the battles the French fought in Russia: after experiencing a most formidable resistance, and suffering a very severe loss, the Russians retired, but only for the purpose of taking up another strong position, and there awaiting the attack of the enemy, to retire from it in the same unbroken manner, and after the same obstinate resistance. In the last battle between Oudinot and Wittgenstein, which happened on the 17th of August, the former general was so severely wounded, that he was obliged to be conveyed to Wilna.

The perseverance of the Russians in their plan of retreating and laying waste their own country had astonished most people; it was supposed that for a short time they would follow it up; but that their steadiness, passive courage and patriotism would give way, when they perceived the enemy advancing, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, the advanced state of the season, and the desolation of the country. But Russia was animated as it were by one soul: the dread and detestation of the French rose superior to every feeling: considerations of personal interest or comfort, even the sight of their families driven from their homes, and those homes abandoned to the enemy or the flames, had no room in the breast of the Russians: there dwelt only the determination to expel the French, and to obey every command of their sovereign issued for that purpose. If the perseverance of the Russian people excited surprise, that of the Russian emperor

gave rise to still more: but he was now at Petersburg; and whatever were his private feelings or wishes, the nobles by whom he was advised and surrounded permitted him to express no sentiments but those of hatred to the French; no wish but that of saving Russia from their grasp. The proclamations of Alexander therefore encouraged the enthusiasm and animated the patient and heroic sufferings of the people: they told them that the emperor was determined to make no peace with Bonaparte, while his legions polluted the soil of Russia: that he would sacrifice all, Petersburg, and Moscow itself, rather than that they should fall into the hands of the enemy; in his proclamations there was no irresolution, no despondence, no expression that could lead Bonaparte to indulge the hope that he would propose or listen to terms of peace; or his subjects to apprehend that he would not persevere in what he had begun. New levies were ordered to be raised; the Russian people were invoked by all those powerful feelings and prejudices which ignorance and superstition create; and when a Russian is told that what he has to do, or to suffer, is for the sake of his sovereign or his religion, he is made insensible to danger and misery.

Kutusoff continued his retreat till he arrived at Borodino, within a short distance of Moscow: the position here was extremely favourable for defence, though it did not cover the capital, as there were other roads leading to it: Bonaparte, therefore, by manœuvring, might have obliged Kutusoff to abandon this position, or he might have reached Moscow without driving him from it. But the great object of the French emperor seemed now within his reach; the Russians

no longer declined a general battle, and he hoped to render it so decisively favourable to him, as would compel Alexander to sue for peace, or at least put him in the undisturbed possession of Moscow.

The force on each side was nearly equal, amounting to about 120,000 men: the position of the Russians, though strong, was much contracted: their left had been weakened by the loss of a position which was carried by the king of Naples two days previously to the grand battle: but it was still backed by a large wood, supported by a fine height, and crowned by a redoubt planted with 25 pieces of cannon. Their line was protected by two other heights, crowned with redoubts at 100 paces from one another: the ridge of the heights was covered with artillery and infantry, for the purpose of supporting their centre. Their right extended behind the Kalouga, in the rear of the village of Borodino, and was supported by two heights crowned with redoubts and fortified with batteries. At two o'clock in the morning, on the 7th of September, Bonaparte was surrounded by his marshals; and soon afterwards issued the order of the day, in which he informed his soldiers, that the field of battle, which they had so long desired, was before them: victory now depended on their exertions: it was necessary for them: it would give them plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to their country. He then invoked them by their exploits at Austerlitz, Friedland, Witepsk, and Smolensk, to behave in a manner worthy of them, that the latest posterity might think of their conduct that day with pride, and say of each individual, "He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow!"

In the mean time Kutusoff was not idle: his soldiers burnt with impatience for the combat: he could with difficulty restrain them from abandoning their positions and going out to attack the French. On their courage and success that day depended the fate of Moscow; of the city of their forefathers; of the holy city of the Russian empire; perhaps of the empire itself. That enemy which had invaded their country unprovoked, which had carried desolation in his march, which had threatened destruction to all who opposed him, was now drawn up before them: the eyes of their sovereign and of their countrymen were upon them; the saints who protected Russia espoused their cause, and were pleading on high in their behalf. With numbers so nearly equal; with the French army, actuated by the desire of resting from their fatigues in Moscow, and there reaping an abundant harvest of plunder; with the Russian army drawn up to defend their capital, and animated by a strong desire of revenge; the combat could not but be long, obstinate and sanguinary.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 7th, Bonaparte attempted to carry the Russian line by main force; in this, however, he was foiled, though his troops were favoured in their attack on the left of the Russians by a thick fog: while the enemy was making this attempt, 30,000 Cossacks cut their way into the centre of the French camp, carrying confusion and dismay along with them. The French after this made another attempt on the Russian batteries on the heights, and after a most sanguinary contest they succeeded in gaining possession of part of them: the unshaken bravery of the Russians was manifest on this occasion; undismayed

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by the loss, they determined to attempt the recovery of their batteries; and for this purpose they advanced, exposed to the fire of their own cannon. In this part of the engagement the loss of the Russians must have been very great.

As it was of great consequence to the French that they should obtain possession of the village of Borodino, the viceroy of Italy directed his efforts against it, and carried it: the centre of the Russian army in the mean while was attacked by the duke of Elchingen with 60 pieces of cannon: the Russians received the attack with great coolness and bravery, and preserved their position. The Russian centre now in its turn became the assailants, and, attacking that division of the French army which had directed their efforts against its left, thus drove them back with considerable loss. The battle continued with varying success till night; and though the French were undoubtedly masters of one part of the field of battle, yet in other parts they were so much beaten, that Bonaparte judged it prudent to draw off his forces, and actually retreated upwards of 13 wersts: his retreat was covered by the Wurtemberg infantry, and a large corps of cavalry.

The loss in this most sanguinary battle was immense, greater perhaps than in any previous battle which Bonaparte had fought: it is supposed that at least 60,000 men fell on both sides. On the side of the Russians, prince Bagrathion, who had eminently distinguished himself in the engagement, received a wound, of which some time afterwards he died. The news of the battle of Borodino was received with great joy at Petersburg; by it, it was supposed that Moscow

was rendered perfectly secure, and that the enemy would be compelled to retreat out of Russia. Alexander, in acknowledgement of the distinguished services of Kutusoff, appointed him marshal general, and bestowed on him 100,000 roubles; he also gave five roubles to each soldier who had fought in this memorable battle.

The French, on their part, also claimed the victory; they represented their success as decisive, and the defeat of the Russians as general and complete. The truth seems to be, as we have stated it, that the Russians remained masters of the field of battle; and Bonaparte on the evening of the 7th retreated: but he retreated only for the purpose of meeting a strong reinforcement which was advancing under Victor, and of proceeding by the Kalouga road towards Moscow. His taking this road, however, was a clear and unwilling proof that he had been foiled in his attack on the Russians at Borodino: for, in his bulletin of that battle, he expressly says, "that it was easy to manœuvre and evacuate their position, *but that would have been renouncing our object*, and the position was not judged sufficiently strong to render it necessary to avoid fighting." It may also be remarked, that his advance towards Moscow, after the battle of Borodino, was extremely slow and cautious: they did not move from their head quarters at Mojaïsk till the 12th of September.

As soon as Kutusoff was informed that Bonaparte had been reinforced by Victor's corps, and that he was manœuvring to get to Moscow by turning the Russians, he resolved to abandon that capital to its fate: indeed, unless he had fought the enemy in its very streets, there was

no position between it and Borodino where he could have engaged the enemy with any prospect of success. Bonaparte, therefore, advanced to Moscow unmolested; but, on his entrance into that city on the 14th of September, he found its governor and inhabitants animated by the true Russian spirit: in some of the emperor Alexander's proclamations, the determination to destroy Moscow, if the enemy were likely to gain possession of it, had been announced: as a preparatory step, every thing was carried away that possibly could be removed, and persons were appointed to set fire to the city in different quarters; and, that the fire might not be extinguished, all the fire-engines had been removed or destroyed.

But before the governor of Moscow had recourse to this dreadful measure, he was resolved, as far as in him lay, to oppose the entrance of the French: a great part of the effective population was armed, and as soon as the advanced guard of the enemy appeared they attacked them in the streets and from the houses, impeding their progress and causing great destruction. When it was no longer practicable to prevent the entrance of the enemy, the city was set on fire: as it was built principally of wood, the fire spread rapidly in all directions; and before the French could stop the progress of the flames, only about a tenth part of it remained unconsumed.

It is impossible to describe, or even imagine, the disappointment, mortification and wrath of Bonaparte when he beheld Moscow in flames: he had promised his soldiers rest from their fatigues, refreshment, provisions in abundance, and comfortable winter quarters in it. These were now all vanished:

amidst the ruins of Moscow his army would in vain seek for shelter from the inclemencies of the approaching winter, or for a supply of provisions. His indignation soon broke out, as it generally does, in conduct at once tyrannical, cruel, and mean: he seized on the men who had set fire to the city, tried, condemned, and executed them. That these men were unjustly put to death there can be little doubt: they acted in conformity to the orders of the governor; of that man whom they were bound and authorized to obey, so long as he kept possession of the city; and the French do not pretend that it was set on fire after they obtained possession of it.

Perhaps there is not to be found in the annals of mankind any event so awfully grand and impressive as the conflagration of Moscow: it was a heroic deed, but of such a quality and nature as could only have been achieved by the heroism of a semi-barbarous race. Nations accustomed to the comforts, the ease and the refinements of civilized life would not have submitted to such a sacrifice; much less would they have been the willing instruments and objects of it. That it was an act perfectly justifiable cannot be doubted: if it is the first duty of a government to provide for the well-being of its subjects, that duty must lead it to protect them from foreign invasion and conquest: wretchedness undoubtedly followed the burning of Moscow; but that was trifling in degree, local in extent, and temporary in duration, compared with the dreadful consequences which must have resulted from the unchecked success of the French. To say that the inhabitants of Moscow were unwilling to second the intentions of the Russian govern-

government, is to libel them, and to betray at the same time the most profound ignorance of the national character: besides, it can hardly be supposed that the city could have been so completely destroyed, unless the inhabitants had at least consented, if not administered, to its destruction; for they must have known, from the previous measures adopted by the governor, that it was his intention to set it on fire, if the French advanced to it.

But though the right of the Russians to destroy Moscow appears to us indisputable, and founded on the most sacred principles of patriotism, yet the policy of the measure admits of some rational difference of opinion. Those who contend that, on the score of policy, Moscow ought not to have been set on fire, argued in this manner: if Bonaparte had found it entire, he might have been induced to prolong his stay in it, and thus his retreat would either have been absolutely impracticable, or, if practicable, being conducted in the very middle of winter, must have proved much more disastrous than it actually did. But it is hardly to be supposed that Bonaparte, even if he had found Moscow entire, would have attempted to winter in it: he probably never had such a mad purpose in view, though he announced it to his soldiers, to encourage them before the battle of Borodino: but he hoped, by gaining possession of Moscow, to intimidate the emperor Alexander, and thus to bring about a peace. The destruction of the city blasted these hopes; but at the same time it may be supposed that it induced him to stay in it longer than if it had not been destroyed: in the latter case, as in the former, he must have been

convinced, that, as there was no chance of moving the emperor Alexander, and no possibility of remaining with his army, surrounded by a Russian winter and Russian forces, it would be proper to prepare for his retreat; but if the city had not been destroyed, his army would have been refreshed, and provisions secured in a much shorter time than could possibly be the case in the midst of the ruins of Moscow. On the whole, therefore, the destruction of Moscow appears to us to have been a politic, as it was a perfectly justifiable, measure.

Of the situation of the French army in Moscow, where they expected to enjoy repose and plenty, some idea may be formed from the following considerations: for the mere purpose of shelter, probably enough of the city had escaped destruction; but the army must have been collected so closely together as not to have been capable of defence or resistance: but the difficulty of subsistence was insurmountable. Moscow itself is situated in a province not remarkable for its fertility; its supplies are drawn principally from the provinces of Tula and Kalouga: here Kutusoff had taken up his position. Bonaparte asserted, in one of his bulletins, that every house in Moscow was provided with necessaries of every description for eight months; but this assertion, like those he made respecting the climate of Russia, was totally unfounded, and calculated and intended to deceive the people of France. The inhabitants of Moscow were not accustomed to lay in their stock of provisions till about the middle of October, just before the snow begins to fall: then, but not before, their winter supplies are collected: at all other seasons of the year the

general stock of provisions was calculated only for a short period of consumption. Bonaparte, in the same bulletin, asserted, that large supplies of wine and brandy were found in the cellars: these could not be large, since these liquors are entirely confined to the highest classes in Russia.

The same causes which prevented him from finding any large stock of provisions in Moscow, threatened to render his retreat difficult and disastrous in the highest degree: about the end of October, immediately after the laying in of the supplies for the winter, there is a cessation of all intercourse between Moscow and the smaller towns, villages and estates; and this cessation continues during the whole winter. But Moscow was not only in a great measure destitute of provisions when Bonaparte entered it, but its local situation rendered it extremely unhealthy, especially to an army not accustomed to the climate, and already worn down by fatigue. There are three rivers which surround and flow through the city; and the fogs and exhalations from them, just before the fall of snow commences, are extremely injurious to the health even of the inhabitants who are seasoned to the climate.

As Bonaparte had been disappointed in his hopes of inducing the peasantry to join him, so was he also disappointed in the expectation which he had formed respecting the old Russian nobility who constantly resided at Moscow: they chiefly consisted of those whose ancestors had objected to the removal of the seat of government to Petersburg: their descendants nourished the same prejudice, and kept aloof, in a sullen and discontented mood, from the new noblesse of the em-

peror in the new capital, the rapid growth of which they regarded with a jealous eye: but though they disliked the proceedings of the court, they were yet truly Russian in heart and sentiment: indeed they had about them even more nationality than the other classes of the Russian nobility, and consequently hated the French, and utterly disregarded the promises of Bonaparte.

From all this, it is apparent that the situation of the French army in Moscow was most critical, even if they had not been surrounded by numerous armies. Winter was fast approaching; the troops were already exhausted with fatigue; in Moscow they could not remain till spring opened the communication with the southern provinces; and if they retreated, how were they to obtain provisions, or endure a march of 500 or 600 miles, amidst the severe winter, the deep snows, and the almost hidden and impassable roads of Russia? The Russian generals, in the mean time, were not idle: their object was, to force Bonaparte from Moscow, by cutting off his supplies there; and when they had compelled him to retreat, to harass him continually: for this purpose, a great number of Cossacks, besides those which had been already employed, were collected: now was the season and the opportunity of their utility and triumph. Kutusoff, as has been already mentioned, took up a position to the south of Moscow, defending the fertile provinces from the foraging parties of the enemy. On the other side of the city Winzingerode was posted with a large body of troops, in order to exclude the French from the Petersburg road and the northern provinces. Wittgenstein defended the line of the Dwina, where he carried on an unremitted and generally

generally a successful contest with Oudinot; but as soon as he learnt that the French were in Moscow, having been reinforced by 18,000 men from Finland, he began a movement upon that city, in the line which it would be necessary for Bonaparte to follow in his retreat. As it was of the utmost consequence to keep open this line, St. Cyr endeavoured to defend the important post of Polotsk against Wittgenstein; but he was completely routed, and driven beyond the Dwina: after this success, the Russian general continued his march on Witepsk, and thus cut off the communication between the main French army and the west of Europe.

Bonaparte had hitherto by his intrigues prevented peace from being concluded between Russia and Turkey; but now, as it was of the utmost consequence for the former power to bring up all her forces, she agreed to give Turkey such favourable terms, that peace was agreed upon. In consequence of this event, the army which had been employed on the Turkish frontiers immediately began its march through the south of Poland; and as it advanced it united with the corps which had been stationed in Volhynia, forming altogether nearly 80,000 men. Their first object, after they were rendered so powerful by this union, was to attack the Austrian auxiliary army, under the prince of Schwartzenberg: the Austrian government, though obliged by the treaty which it concluded with Bonaparte to furnish 30,000 men, had not employed them in very active warfare; their sole object was to keep up the communication between the main French army and this part of Poland: this they effected till they were attacked by the Volhynian army, when they

were compelled to cross the Niemen and separate themselves entirely from the main body. As soon as the Volhynian army had driven the Austrians across this river, it formed a junction with the force under Wittgenstein, on the high road leading to Moscow.

Bonaparte was now sensible of the dreadful error he had committed: unless he actually expected to dictate terms of peace at Moscow, it was the extreme of madness to have proceeded thither at the beginning of a Russian winter: and if he did expect either to dictate terms of peace, or to have his own offers accepted, he must have been ignorant of the determined hatred which all ranks in Russia bore towards him. The apology he offers, in his bulletins, for his military career in Russia, is a paltry one: according to him, the Russian winter this year commenced earlier than usual; as if the circumstance of the frost setting in a very few days sooner or later could have saved or destroyed his army! What must be the military prudence of that man, who calculates, for the safety of his army, and the success of his measures, on so uncertain a thing as climate! The fact is, Bonaparte in all his former campaigns had been indebted for his success to the boldness of his advances into the very heart of the enemy's country: that this boldness did not assume the character, deserve the name, and produce the consequences, of rashness, was less owing to his own foresight and circumspection than to the pusillanimity, treachery, and want of talents, of his opponents: without adverting to the different circumstances in which he was placed in Russia, from a difference of climate, and national character, he followed his usual

usual plan, thus proving that he was defective in one great feature of a man of abilities, the adaptation of general principles and plans to particular circumstances.

Perceiving that, though he was in the heart of the Russian empire, and amidst the ruins of its ancient capital, no terms of peace were proposed, and that the Russians were gathering round him on all sides, he sent Lauriston to Kutusoff, to propose an accommodation, or at least an armistice: Kutusoff received the French negotiator in the midst of his generals, and replied to him with the utmost frankness: he told him that he was not authorised to receive any proposals either for peace or an armistice; that he would not send to Alexander, nor even receive the letter which Bonaparte had sent by Lauriston; and that with respect to an armistice, in particular, the Russian army had no occasion for it, and they were in possession of too many advantages to throw them away by accepting it. Lauriston, perceiving that Kutusoff was absolutely determined to listen to no terms of accommodation, began to complain of the barbarous manner in which the war was conducted: to this Kutusoff replied in language which ought to be addressed to all invaders:—the French had introduced the barbarities of which they complained; they had commenced hostilities without reason; had invaded Russia, which by nature was placed beyond the power of injuring them, and it might have been thought beyond the reach of their ambition; they had inflicted as much misery on its inhabitants as they could; and now, when vengeance and re-

taliation were at hand, they wished for peace: peace could not be talked of till the French were beyond the Vistula: Bonaparte had nothing to do but get out of Moscow how he could, since he came thither without being invited: the Russians, he might depend upon it, would do their duty; and their duty to their sovereign, their country, their murdered or banished and wandering wives and children, demanded that they should make their invaders suffer as much misery as possible: Bonaparte had proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow, but with the Russians it was only commencing.

About the same time Murat complained to general Miloradovitch of the excesses committed by the Cossacks: it is evident, though the conference was begun on his part, that Murat, if he had found encouragement, would have changed the subject to peace; but he met with no encouragement: the Russian general told him that the Cossacks acted according to orders, when they fired on the French foraging parties; and when Murat complained that the flags of truce were also fired upon, the Russian replied, "We want not to hear of parleys; we want to fight, not to negotiate; take your measures accordingly."—Perceiving that there was no chance of peace, and that the Russians were fully sensible of the reduced strength and miserable state of the French army, and had formed their plans in such a manner as to take the utmost advantage of their own good fortune, Bonaparte, after having been upwards of a month in Moscow, prepared for his retreat.

CHAPTER XV.

Bonaparte prepares for his Retreat—Defeat of Murat—Cossacks hover round the French Army—Movements and Operations of Kutusoff—of Wittgenstein—Russian Winter sets in—its Effects on the French Army—their Insubordination—Battle of Krasnoi—Davoust defeated—Bonaparte flies from the Field of Battle—Ney defeated—French Army arrives at Wilna—Bonaparte sets off for Paris—Loss of the French in this Campaign—Remarks on the Conduct of the Retreat—Disturbances in Paris—Bonaparte's Reply to the Senate—Feeling of the French People towards him—Sweden—Denmark—Sicily—Spanish America.

ABOUT the 16th of October Bonaparte had made preparations for his retreat from Moscow. What reasons he assigned to his army for this measure, are not known: in his bulletins he endeavoured to persuade the people of France, that he was only about to make a lateral movement; and that by taking up a position at Smolensk, he should, in fact, be nearer Petersburg than he was when at Moscow: but still it was necessary to assign some pretext for leaving Moscow; in the bulletins which he first issued from that place, though he acknowledged that nearly the whole of it was consumed, and that almost the whole population had deserted it, previously to the entrance of the French army, yet he asserted that sufficient of the city remained for their winter quarters, and that the inhabitants, intimidated or seduced to leave it by the threats or the misrepresentations of the governor, were soon encouraged to return; while the neighbouring peasantry brought in large supplies of provisions. These assertions were made at a time when he entertained hopes of being able to persuade the emperor Alexander to make peace; but as soon as he was convinced that this hope was fruitless, the account he gave in his bulletins, of the situation of Moscow, and the

disposition of the Russian people, underwent a remarkable change. The conflagration of the city rendered it no longer a desirable or proper military station. It must therefore be abandoned, but not with an intention of flying from Russia: a stronger position, and an untouched and fertile country were to be sought, in which the army having recruited itself, the campaign was to re-open in the spring with renewed vigour and fresh triumphs.

But the difficulty of fixing on a retreat was extremely great; if possible, the route by which he had advanced to Moscow was to be avoided; over it had already passed two large armies; the Russians had laid it so completely waste, that the French, when advancing, had found it almost impassable, and the country on all sides totally stripped of provisions or accommodation for an army. Such was this route in the month of September, when the French were advancing; but now, in October, when the heavy rains which precede the frosts were about to set in, the roads, already cut up by the passage of two armies, must be dreadful; and the Russian peasantry had been employed to destroy them still more. Nothing, therefore, but dire necessity could compel Bonaparte to retreat by this route; if he

he chose one more to the east, it would not only lead him along roads little injured, but through a rich and fertile country; and though necessarily circuitous, yet if he could accomplish his retreat this way, he would in the end arrive much sooner in a friendly country than if he marched by Smolensk: accordingly he determined, if possible, to penetrate by the route of Tula and Kalouga. After fixing on his plan, it was necessary to prepare his army for their long and dreadful march: this was much more difficult and embarrassing; for upwards of two months, two months of the most frightful season in Russia, he must expect they would be on their retreat. Even if the country were not laid waste, and stripped of all that an army required, even if it were inhabited by a friendly people, it could scarcely expect, during this period, to receive, or collect provisions, as it retreated, since the roads would not permit them to be brought from any distance. To Moscow the army had brought little or no provision; to the capture of it, won by the battle of Borodino, Bonaparte had taught and encouraged them to look forward as the event that would supply them with provisions in abundance; but its conflagration had disappointed their hopes to such a degree, that some time before the French began their retreat, they were compelled to content themselves with very scanty fare. Even by the statement of the bulletin, they began their retreat with only 20 days provisions; and it is said that Bonaparte entered into contract with Polish Jews to supply his army on its march, and that these Jews, after receiving the stipulated money, did not fulfil their contract.

After Bonaparte had decided on the route that he would follow on his retreat, and made such preparations as his circumstances would admit, it was necessary, as a preliminary step, to beat and drive back the Russian grand army, which occupied and defended the Kalouga road. Kutusoff was aware of the intentions of the French; and as he knew that a strong reinforcement was marching from Smolensk, to help in extricating the main French army, he resolved to attack Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, before it arrived. This advanced guard consisted of 45,000 men: on the 18th of October it was attacked by Kutusoff, and completely beaten; 38 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the Russians; 2000 men were left dead or wounded on the field of battle, and 1500 were made prisoners. On the same and the subsequent days an obstinate battle was fought on the banks of the Dwina. General Steingel proceeded from Riga along the southern bank of that river, while general Wittgenstein marched along the opposite bank: their operations and plans were combined with so much judgement, that while the former attacked the corps of Macdonald, the latter attacked St. Cyr. Steingel drove the army of Macdonald within a very few miles of Polotsk; and Wittgenstein on the 18th of October, after a bloody engagement of 12 hours, compelled the force that was opposed to him to seek safety in its entrenchments. On the following day the entrenchments were carried by storm, and soon afterwards the town of Polotsk was retaken. St. Cyr was surrounded; 2000 prisoners were taken, and the number of killed and wounded was proportionally great. We have mentioned

mentioned those battles in this place, because it appears to have been St. Cyr's intention to have marched in such a direction, as to have met the main army in its retreat, and to have covered and assisted it: for the same reason, we shall notice here, that general Tchitchagow, the commander of the division of the Russian army which had arrived from the Danube, having driven back the Austrian general that was opposed to him, prosecuted the general plan of the campaign, and arrived at Minsk.

In consequence of the defeat of Murat, Bonaparte was compelled to abandon his intention of retreating by the route of Kalouga; but in order, if possible, to deceive Kutusoff, he began his march on that route, leaving Moscow on the 19th of October; and having thus diverted the attention of the Russian general, he turned off by forced marches with prodigious rapidity on the road to Smolensk. As soon as Kutusoff was informed of the route which the French army had taken, he began his march in a parallel line, leaving it to the other divisions of the army, and especially to the Cossacks, to hang on the rear and the flanks of the enemy: they did their duty. Bonaparte marched with the van of his army, surrounded by the imperial guards, whom he nourished with peculiar care. The viceroy of Italy brought up the rear, and consequently, following the main body with all his artillery and baggage, had to force his way through roads almost impassable, without supply, without resources, with all the elements to contend with.

Bonaparte, for what purpose it is not easy to devise, left a garrison in the Kremlin. On the 22d of October, general Winzingerode arriv-

ed at Moscow, drove out the French garrison, and re-occupied the city. Anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, he advanced too far; and though, as it is said in the Russian official accounts, he had a flag of truce displayed, he was surrounded and taken prisoner.

The most dreadful enemy Bonaparte experienced in his retreat were the Cossacks, of whom 24 additional regiments had joined Kutusoff by the 24th of October: on every side they hovered round; their attacks were unintermitted, and extremely sudden and impetuous. Scarcely had the French soldiers, worn out by a day's march along broken and deep roads, during which they were constantly obliged to be either on the alert, or actually fighting, lain down on the wet and cold ground to obtain a little rest and sleep, when the Cossacks rushed into their camps, and before the men could prepare themselves for resistance or defence, many were killed, all were thrown into confusion and dismay, and their artillery and stores carried off.

On the 24th of October the French were most vigorously attacked by Kutusoff. The small town near where the battle was fought, was taken and re-taken eight times: the French indeed fought with desperation; but their strength was at last worn out. The Russians compelled them to retreat, with the loss of 16 pieces of cannon. After this defeat, Bonaparte pushed forward before his army towards Smolensk; and in order to conceal his retreat, he directed several bodies of his troops to take different routes, as if he intended to march round the left wing of the Russians: the imperial guard alone accompanied him in his rapid and disgraceful flight. On the

the 1st of November, Platoff, with his Cossacks, overtook the enemy, rushed on them, threw them into confusion, and captured 24 pieces of cannon; two days afterwards they were again attacked and defeated at Viorna by the same general; the viceroy of Italy, Davoust and Ney were at the head of these divisions: 2000 prisoners were taken, and five pieces of cannon: the whole road was covered with ammunition waggons and dead horses. At this period the sufferings of the French army are most accurately described in an intercepted letter from the viceroy of Italy: "These three days of suffering have so broken down the spirits of the soldiers, that I look upon them, at the present moment, as scarcely capable of making any effort whatever. Many of them have died of hunger, or of cold; many others, in desperation, have gone and surrendered themselves to the enemy!" The sufferings of the French, however, were greatly to be increased, by hunger, cold, and the Russians. On the 9th of November, the viceroy of Italy was defeated with the loss of 62 pieces of cannon, 3000 prisoners, and a much larger number killed and wounded.

In the mean while, Wittgenstein was performing his part in the work of destruction and vengeance. On the 1st of November he attacked St. Cyr's corps, which had been strongly reinforced, and completely routed them: after accomplishing this, he marched upon Orsha; so that about the 8th of November there were three large Russian armies on the line of Bonaparte's retreat:—Kutusoff's at Krasnoy;—Wittgenstein's at Orsha; and Tchitchagow's at Minsk.

About this time the Russian winter set in with more than its accustomed rigour: hitherto roads had been only deep and heavy, now they became so excessively slippery, that the men could scarcely keep their feet: hitherto the horses, necessary both for the artillery and for the sustenance of the soldiers, for they were compelled and glad to feed on horse-flesh, had proceeded feebly and slowly on, or dropped dead only, a few hundreds every day; but the first day of the frost, nearly 30,000 perished. All possibility of carrying forward their artillery was now at an end: the spirits of the soldiers completely deserted them: they crawled on, exposed to the most dreadful cold, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, emaciated, and almost naked. The road was literally blocked up with the dead and the dying: they had no power to defend themselves against the Cossacks, who constantly hovered round them: they had no inclination to do it: death to them would have been a blessing: at the sight of the Cossacks they hoped their miseries would soon be terminated: but their enemies were not so merciful as to put them to death: piercing them with wounds, stripping off the little covering they had, they left them on the snow, there bleeding and naked, to the rigours of a Russian winter. Whenever the French entered any village, where there was the least chance of repose or food, they exerted their little remaining strength, and crawled on their hands and feet to seek it. Frequently, just as they had stretched out their hands to seize a little food, or reached the threshold of a wretched hut, under which they looked for shelter from the weather,

weather, perhaps for a few minutes sleep, the remnant of their strength failed them, and they expired.

With what feelings and sentiments did they now regard Bonaparte! No longer the adored general, who seemed to have chained victory to his car, to be more than mortal, and to be destined to render all Europe subservient to the interests and glory of France; they cursed him as the author of all the misery under which they were writhing: on his person they willingly would have inflicted vengeance: but sensible of their indignation, he had gathered round his person his principal officers, mounted on almost the only horses that remained. For some time he rode in a coach, till the dreadful voice of his soldiers commanded him to walk as they did, and to share their fatigues: he still, however, defended himself from the inclemency of the weather with a cloak: "off with your cloak," was another stern command, that he durst not disobey. Such was the situation,—such the feeling of the French army during their dreadful retreat, in which every thing that could accumulate or sharpen misery beset them. It scarcely needed the presence of an enemy to complete the work of destruction; the climate of Russia, aided by hunger, was amply sufficient.

In fact, the French soldiers could no longer be said to compose an army; they were straggling in all directions; anxious indeed to avoid the Cossacks, since from them they experienced only an aggravation of their misery, but not unwilling to fall in with the regular Russian troops, in the hope of being taken prisoners, or falling in battle. Their ignorance of the country, and the

state of the roads, were such that the different divisions of the French army could not support one another; and frequently when expecting to fall in with the main body, they encountered the enemy and were taken prisoners. On the 10th of November, before they reached Smolensk, general Augereau with 2000 men and 60 officers surrendered themselves: this was the first instance during the present war, of a whole corps laying down their arms. It is computed that in three days time, prior to that date, they lost 20,000 men, besides nearly 20,000 more that fell in the previous engagements: nearly 300 pieces of cannon had also either fallen into the hands of the Russians, or had been spiked and buried by the French. But these losses, enormous as they were, were only preludes to greater ones.

Kutusoff, being convinced it was the intention of the enemy to make a movement by Krasnoi, a town to the south-westward of Smolensk, pushed forward a strong body, in order to intercept them. The French, aware of their danger, drew together strong masses of troops under the command of Davoust: the Russians were therefore reinforced: the French were turned, and their rout was complete: though Davoust commanded this body, Bonaparte was present; but he fled from the scene of action: nearly the whole division, 24,000 strong, was either killed or taken, besides 10 pieces of cannon. This victory was of the utmost consequence, as Davoust's division formed the centre of the French, and consequently connected the advanced guard with the rear: the latter was under the command of Ney. On the 17th of November, Ney, under

under cover of a fog, pushed his troops to the very foot of the Russian batteries. The French were desperate, and fought without method or judgement: 40 pieces of cannon, and the whole musquetry of the line opened upon them at the distance of about 250 paces; their retreat was cut off, and they could not stand against such a tremendous fire. In this situation, a flag of truce was sent, and at midnight 12,000 men laid down their arms. Ney was wounded and fled from the field across the Nieper. On the Dwina, Wittgenstein was equally successful; upwards of 2000 of the French being killed or wounded in a battle on the 14th of November. A fine trait of military spirit is noticed in the Russian official account of this affair: a battalion of raw militia, when an order came for the retirement of the troops in front, refused to understand it, crying out, that their emperor had sent them there to fight, not to retire.

It is generally supposed that Bonaparte sacrificed Davoust's corps, in order to facilitate his own escape: after its defeat he was not heard of for some time. It was afterwards ascertained that he had pushed forward, with the fragment of his army, towards the Beressina, hoping to effect his retreat by the way of Minsk, which led most directly to the Vistula. The Russian general Tchitchagow, however, occupied Minsk, where he had siezed all the stores of the enemy, and had taken measures to defend the passage of the Beressina. As soon as Bonaparte was aware of this, he pushed his army nearer the source of that river, in order to get on a route leading directly to Wilna and Koenigsberg, by which, though more circuitously, he might arrive on

the Vistula: he also hoped, as the Beressina was narrower here, to effect his passage over it with less difficulty. This passage was effected; and as soon as he had crossed the river, the divisions of the French army, which had been watching Wittgenstein on the Dwina, formed a junction with him: his whole force, by this means, was raised to nearly 70,000 men, and the division that had joined still retained a great part of its artillery and cavalry. About the same time that the French army was reinforced, Wittgenstein and Tchitchagow formed a junction, and made an attack on the rear of the enemy. The action was long and obstinate, and the result on the whole was favourable to the French; or, to speak more properly, they did not suffer nearly so much in this, as they had done in most of the former actions. This was sufficiently evinced by the circumstance of their proceeding on their route for some time unmolested, so that, by forced marches, in a few days, they reached Wilna. Before, however, it had quite arrived at Wilna, Bonaparte assembled his generals, and, bestowing the command on Murat, set out for Paris: he travelled *incognito*, in a sledge, with Caulincourt: his journey was performed with almost unparalleled rapidity, and on the 18th of December he arrived at Paris. The army, after he left it, found itself compelled to quit Wilna, on the advance of the Russians, even before they had time or opportunity to rest or refresh themselves. Almost all the stores of ammunition and provisions, which had been collected in that town, and which were immense, fell into the hands of the Russians. The French were therefore

therefore still exposed to hunger, fatigue, and cold ; and after their retreat from Wilna, they perished, or were slain in battle, in great numbers : it is, however, difficult to trace their route after their departure from this place : indeed they were so reduced, and had divided themselves into so many small bodies, that no traces of an army remained.

It is, of course, extremely difficult to form an estimate of the loss of the French in this dreadful campaign : the Russian official accounts state that they took prisoners upwards of 150,000 men ; and it is probable that the number of killed, and of those who perished by hunger, fatigue, and cold, amounted nearly to 100,000 men ; so that, reckoning that the French army, when it crossed the Niemen and began the campaign, amounted to 300,000 men, scarcely more than 50,000 escaped out of Russia ; and of those, a large proportion must have suffered so dreadfully as not to be fit for future service.

It is needless to point out the nature of this campaign ; the narrative we have given sufficiently describes it. The first general of his age, at the head of one of the finest armies ever raised, which placed in him the most unbounded confidence, flying, beaten, disgraced, bereft of the greatest part of his troops, and the object of detestation to the remainder ; is an event which, taken under all its circumstances, cannot be paralleled in history. No war, ancient or modern, exhibits such destruction and misery : more have fallen in the field, in the course of a campaign ; but no army ever perished with such lingering and varied misery.

The grand cause of this disastrous campaign has also been pointed
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out in the preceding narrative : indeed it is sufficiently obvious ; for, when it is stated that Bonaparte, at the close of summer, led an immense army into the very heart of Russia,—into a country, in which winter reigns with most intense and unbroken severity for half the year ; that in front, and rear, and on both sides of this army, were immense bodies of troops inured to the climate, and cutting off all chance of procuring provisions ; and that this army, when compelled to retreat, had to march upwards of 500 miles without shelter, almost without food and clothing, on roads broken up, or rendered nearly impassable by the snow, exposed to the most intense cold, and harassed night and day by clouds of Cossacks, we may be astonished at the insane rashness of Bonaparte ; but we cannot be surprised that nearly the whole of his army was destroyed.

With respect to the conduct of the retreat, Bonaparte has been censured, in the first place, for not moving his army in a compact body, so that the whole might bring assistance and support in case any part was attacked ; and secondly, for posting the imperial guards, which constituted the select part of his army, in advance, and not in rear. In answer to the first charge, it may be observed, that it would have been impracticable for the French army to have retreated in one compact body, both on account of the state of the roads, and from the extreme difficulty of procuring provisions, unless they were spread over a large tract of country. But even after urging this excuse, it must be admitted that Bonaparte discovered little talent in the conduct of this retreat ; or perhaps we shall speak more accurately and justly, if we say, that
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such was the perplexity of his mind, that his talents were of no avail. He had, by his own rashness, placed himself in a situation in which he did not expect to be; and from which it would have required not only great presence of mind and great talents, but also a thorough knowledge of all the circumstances of the situation, to extricate himself. His presence of mind forsook him; his talents, therefore, were of little or no avail; and of many of the circumstances of his situation he was utterly ignorant. He knew very little respecting the state or movements of the different Russian armies that were employed to intercept his flight: hence he often took that route which led him into their power; he was imperfectly acquainted with the direction and condition of the roads at that season of the year; those also rendered his movements uncertain, circuitous, or such as exposed him to the surprise and attack of his enemies.

With respect to the second charge, that of keeping the imperial guards in front, where he himself was generally stationed, instead of placing them in the rear, there can be no doubt that this arrangement was made for the protection of his own person; and the question resolves itself into this, whether a commander, and a sovereign, is justified in exposing his army to ruin, for the purpose of saving himself. This ought to be argued on several principles, and without any reference to the character or situation of Bonaparte; and arguing it in this manner, it may be observed, that if there is no alternative; if either the army or the sovereign must perish, perhaps the good of the nation, over whom he reigns, requires that he should con-

sult his own safety at the expense of the destruction of his army.

On the effects of this campaign, in a general point of view, it is needless to speculate; they are already unfolding themselves; and though they probably will disappoint the hopes and expectations of many, yet there is no doubt they must be gratifying in so far as the power of Bonaparte is cut down,—his military reputation tarnished,—and the continental nations taught, that, if they are unanimous and firm, he may be resisted with success.

It is probable that the return of Bonaparte to Paris was occasioned, it was undoubtedly accelerated, by some disturbances in that city. The internal defence of France was left to the national guard, whose numbers amounted to about 100,000 men: these troops, associating with the citizens, felt for their grievances, without having their feelings repressed by the love of military glory, so strong in the hearts of the French soldiers. The discontents of the French nation had been considerably augmented by the high price of corn, which Bonaparte, always fond of legislating in matters of commerce, and consequently always increasing the evil he wished to remove, some months before he left Paris, had endeavoured in vain to reduce, by decrees respecting its price, and its transfer from one province to another. It seems (for our information, being derived from the French official account alone, is defective and suspicious) that the discontent of the people of Paris had induced some officers in the national guard to spread a report that Bonaparte was dead: this report was received with avidity and delight. Large bodies of the national guards rose against

against the constituted authorities, and for a short time disturbed the tranquillity of the metropolis; but the police, which in Paris is remarkably watchful and vigorous, soon discovered and quashed the conspirators. This conspiracy, however, though then easily put down, appears to have sunk deep into the mind of Bonaparte; for on the 20th of December, two days after his return to Paris, in his reply to the very adulatory address of count Lape  de, the president of the senate, he very impressively and feelingly insisted on the duties of the civil magistrates to support the royal authority, and even to die in defence of their sovereign. The other parts of his reply were equally remarkable, as pointing out the necessity and advantages of hereditary monarchy, and reproaching in strong language "those dark metaphysics, which, in pursuing with subtilty the search after first causes, seek to found upon their basis the legislation of nations:" to these metaphysics he attributes "all the misfortunes which our favoured France has experienced." Certainly the throne of Bonaparte never stood on such a weak and tottering foundation, as it did immediately after his return to Paris; and it is generally thought, that if peace had been offered to him at that time, he must have accepted it, even on terms highly advantageous to the repose and peace of Europe. But such is the evanescent feeling of the French mind, and so adroitly did Bonaparte take advantage of the extravagant hopes and schemes of the enemies of France, that in a short time his disgrace and defeat in Russia were forgotten in the preparations necessary, as he represented them,

and as the French believed, to protect their own country from the invasion of the barbarians of the north.

We have already touched upon the conduct of the crown prince of Sweden: if he really is actuated by that feeling of hostility towards Bonaparte, which by many is ascribed to him, he renders it subservient in a very prudent and masterly manner to his own interests, and to the interests of the Swedish nation. He did not permit the unjust occupation of Swedish Pomerania by the French; nor his alliance with Russia, and his treaty with England, to hurry him out of the line of cautious policy which he had adopted; and in the speeches delivered both by the king and him to the diet, they are assured that, if war be entered into, the sole object of it will be the protection and interest of Sweden.

In Denmark nothing remarkable occurred: the pressure of the war with England was felt in a very alarming degree by the interruption of the trade between Denmark proper and Norway: hence this latter country suffered dreadfully from a scarcity of provisions; which circumstance inclined the people to wish for peace with England, while the king still adhered closely to France.

Sicily was still a scene of confusion and intrigue: the queen, a woman of considerable abilities, was very active, and too successful in augmenting the number of her partisans; while the people, not deriving from the presence and power of the English those advantages which they fondly anticipated, began to resort to that national feeling which must always exist and operate among the great bulk of a

people, unless borne down by excessive oppression and misery. In order to counteract this, the British cabinet instructed their ambassador to settle a regular government, and to bestow on the Sicilians a constitution formed on the model of that of England. This has been done; but it may well be doubted, whether any of the benefits of such a constitution can be felt and enjoyed by a people so ignorant, and so long accustomed to oppression, as the Sicilians.

The Spanish possessions in South America, by the violent changes which they are still undergoing, afford a proof of the justice of the remarks which, in our last volume, we offered on the subject of their independence. The accounts from them are very imperfect; nor do they furnish materials for a narrative of any interest. Buenos Ayres and Monte Video are still at war; and the Portuguese, instead of attending to the better organization of Brazil, have very injudiciously, and at the same time very ineffectually, sent assistance to the people of Monte Video. In the province of the Caraccas, which under Miranda had made greater progress towards the establishment of its independence than any other part of Spanish America, a most

dreadful occurrence seems entirely to have ruined the cause of the patriots. The city of Caraccas was almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake; and the priests, taking advantage of this event, impressed on the superstitious minds of the populace, the conviction that heaven espoused the cause of Ferdinand VII, and that it had thought proper to punish them, by means of the earthquake, for having rebelled against his authority. In consequence of this, the royal party was strengthened and encouraged, and Miranda's party proportionally weakened and dispirited: several battles took place between them, in almost all of which the latter were defeated, till at length the city of Caraccas having surrendered to the royal party, Miranda was given up by his troops, and sent to Spain in the beginning of October. In the other parts of Spanish America there were similar scenes of disorder and bloodshed; but they are detailed in such a loose manner, and with so much exaggeration, that it is impossible to ascertain the truth of the particulars: the general inference that may be drawn is, that, with the doubtful exception of Mexico, the cause of the mother country is gaining strength.

**PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES**

In the Year 1812.

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JANUARY.

Jan. 1, 1812.

YESTERDAY being the last day of the year, and, on that account, devoted, by immemorial usage and the custom of the place, to innocent festivity, the streets of Edinburgh were disgraced by a series of riots, outrages, and robberies, hitherto, we may truly say, without any example. During almost the whole of the night, after 11 o'clock, a gang of ferocious banditti, armed with bludgeons and other weapons, infested some of the leading streets, and knocked down and robbed, and otherwise most wantonly abused, almost every person who had the misfortune to fall in their way. After they had fairly succeeded in knocking down those of whom they were in pursuit, they proceeded immediately to rifle them of their money and watches; and the least symptom, on their part, of anxiety to save their property, was a provocation to new outrages, which were persevered in until their lives were endangered. These outrages, it is said, were chiefly committed by a band of idle apprentice boys, regularly organized for the purpose, and lurking in stairs and closes, from whence they issued, on a signal given, in large bands, and surrounded and overwhelmed those who were passing by. By the

vigilance of the magistrates, who were in the streets, or otherwise actively engaged in the duties of their office, until about five o'clock the next morning, several of these rioters were apprehended on the spot, some of them with the stolen articles in their possession; and the most vigilant inquiries are going on, with a view to root out this nefarious combination against the peace of society, by bringing to justice the perpetrators of these outrages. A reward of 100 guineas has been offered for the discovery of the offenders.

At Perth, in the last week, so intense was the cold, that in a few hours the ice was nearly two inches in thickness. A number of fine free-stones from Kingoody quarry were split to pieces at the depôt, and the contractors sustained a very severe loss. The stones having imbibed sufficiently of rain water at their pores, are immediately encrusted with frost; the water is forced into the centre, and, instantly confined, breaks forth with a loud explosion. Two pints Scottish of water had been taken from their centre previous to their breaking.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Jan. 2.

Capt. Harris, commanding his majesty's ship Sir Francis Drake, arrived at Lord Liverpool's office
(A 2) with

with a dispatch, in which the following were inclosures, addressed to his lordship by governor Farquhar, dated Port Louis, Isle of France, Oct. 22, 1811.

Sir, *Batavia, Sept. 29.*

I had the honour to acquaint you in my dispatch of the 1st inst. that the conquest of Java was at that time substantially accomplished by the glorious and decisive victory of the 20th of August*.— I am happy to announce to your excellency the realization of those views, by the actual surrender of the island and its dependencies by a capitulation concluded between their excellencies lieut.-gen. sir S. Auchmuty and gen. Jansens, on the 18th September. I have the honour to inclose a report which the commander-in-chief has addressed to me of the proceedings of the army subsequent to the 26th August, with its inclosures. Your excellency will observe with satisfaction, from these documents, that the final pacification of the island has been hastened by fresh examples of the same spirit, decision, and judgement, which have marked the measures of his excellency the commander-in-chief, and of the same gallantry which has characterized the troops since the hour of their disembarkation on this coast. The commander-in-chief will sail in a few days for India; and I flatter myself that I shall be able to embark on board his majesty's ship *Modeste*, for Bengal, about the middle of October. MINTO.

To his excellency R. T. Farquhar, esq. &c. Isle of France.

Modeste, off Samarang, Sept. 21.

My lord,

I have the honour to submit to your lordship a continuation of the

report, which it is my duty to lay before you, of the proceedings of the army under my command.

Immediately on receiving the intelligence of general Jansens's retreat from Bugtenzorg by an eastern route, and the occupation of that post by our troops, I placed a force consisting of the 3d battalion of Bengal volunteers, and a detachment of artillery with two guns, under the order of colonel Wood, and directed his embarkation, in communication with rear-admiral Stopford, who ordered three frigates on this service, for the purpose of occupying the fort of Cheribon. Transports were at the same time put in a state of preparation for a force, consisting of the detachment of the royal, and a company of Bengal artillery, a troop of his majesty's 22d dragoons, his majesty's 14th and 78th regiments of foot, the 4th battalion of Bengal volunteer sepoy, the Madras pioneers, and a small ordnance equipment, with which it was my intention to embark, and accompany rear-admiral Stopford with the squadron, for the attack of Sourabaya and Fort Louis, towards which place it was supposed the enemy had retired.

A large part of his majesty's 14th regiment, the royal artillery, and six field-pieces, were, by the kindness of rear-admiral Stopford, received on board his majesty's ships of war, and they, with the transports, sailed as they could be got ready for sea, with orders to rendezvous off the point of Sidayo, near the western entrance of the harbour of Sourabaya. I embarked on the 4th of September; and early in the morning of the 5th sailed to join the troops in his ma-

* See preceding volume, p. (162.)

jesty's ship *Modeste*, which the admiral, in attention to my convenience, had allotted for my accommodation.

On the 6th of September, when on the point of Indermayo, I learned from an express-boat which had been boarded by commodore Broughton, that Cheribon was in possession of the frigates detached on that service, having separated from the transport on board of which all their troops but the commodore had embarked. Captain Beaver, the senior officer of the squadron, had landed the seamen and marines, and occupied the fort, which surrendered to his summons in time to make a prisoner of brigadier Jamelle, while passing on his route from Bugtenzorg, with many other officers and troops. Letters intercepted on this occasion from general Jansens announced his intention to collect his remaining force near Samarang, and to retire on Solo. This intelligence determined me to sail for Cheribon, where I arrived on the evening of the 7th of September; and finding that no troops had yet arrived, that a detachment of seamen and marines had marched inland on the Bugtenzorg road, and been successful in securing great numbers of the fugitives from thence, and gaining possession, on terms of capitulation, of the post of Carong Sambong on that route, I sent immediate orders for the march of reinforcements from the district of Batavia. The cavalry, half of the horse artillery, and the detachment of his majesty's 89th regiment from Bugtenzorg, were desired to join me at Samarang, by the route of Cheribon, and the light infantry volunteer battalion was ordered to embark at Batavia for the same place.

I obtained from captain Beaver,

of his majesty's ship *Nisus*, the dispatch of vessels in every direction, to meet the straggling transports on their route to Sourabaya, and direct them all to rendezvous at Samarang; addressing a letter to the honourable admiral Stopford, to commodore Broughton, and all the captains of his majesty's ships, requesting them to give similar orders. I sailed the same evening in the *Modeste*, and, after meeting the *Windham* transport, and ordering her with the 3d volunteer battalion to Cheribon, directed my course to Samarang. I arrived there on the 9th, and was shortly afterwards joined by rear-admiral Stopford, the commodore, and a few transports, having on board a part of his majesty's 14th regiment, half the 78th, the artillery detachments, six field-pieces, and the detachment of pioneers.

To ascertain the fact of general Jansens's presence, and feel how far the capture of general Jamelle and the troops from Bugtenzorg might have changed his plan, I repeated to him on the 10th, in concert with the admiral, an invitation to surrender the island on terms of capitulation; and captain Elliott and colonel Agnew were charged with the communication. They saw the general,—received his reply,—ascertained that he had still with him at least a numerous staff,—and that he professed a determination to persevere in the contest. The small force with me did not admit of my attempting to assault the place, while it was supposed to be thus occupied; but an attack was made that night by the boats of the squadron on several gun-vessels of the enemy moored across the entrance of the rivers leading to the town end: the precipitation with which they were

abandoned gave a character of probability to accounts which reached us from fishermen and others, that the general was occupied in withdrawing his troops to the interior, and had fortified a position at a short distance on the road towards Solo or Soercarta, the residence of the emperor of Java.

On the 12th of September, as no other troops had arrived, it was determined to attack the town: a summons was first sent to the commandant, and it appeared that the enemy had (as at Batavia) evacuated the place, leaving it to be surrendered by the commander of the burghers. It was that night occupied by a detachment under colonel Gibbs; and all the troops I could collect were landed on the following day.

It was ascertained that the enemy had retired to a strong position, about six miles distance on the Solo road, carrying with him all the chief civil as well as military officers of the district, and that he was busied in completing batteries and intrenchments in a pass of the hills, where he had collected the residue of his regular troops, some cannon, and a force, including the auxiliary troops of the native princes, exceeding eight hundred men, cavalry, infantry, and artillery, commanded by many European officers of rank.

As any check of the attempts of our troops at this important period might have been productive of the worst effects, I thought it prudent to wait the hourly expected arrival of a larger force; but after two days passed at Samarang without their appearance, I resolved to risk an attack with the slender means at my disposal, rather than to give the enemy confidence by a longer delay, or afford them time to com-

plete their works, which were said to be still imperfect.

For these reasons, on the evening of the 14th, I had directed preparations to be made for an attack on the following day, when intelligence arrived that the Windham had sailed for Cheribon with some troops, and several vessels were seen in the offing: I therefore countermanded the orders, in the expectation of succours: but the admiral, anxious, on account of the approaching unfavourable season, to secure a safe anchorage for the ships, sailed in the morning, with two ships of the line and three frigates, to attack Fort Louis, and, if successful, to occupy the harbour of Sourabaya.

The Windham alone arrived in the course of the night; and even the very slender reinforcement which she brought was, situated as we were, of great importance, and it enabled me to withdraw all the European garrison from the fort of Samarang, and to add a company of sepoys to the field force, which thus strengthened did not exceed one thousand one hundred infantry, and the necessary artillery to man four six-pounders, with some pioneers.

I did not think it proper to assume the direct command of so small a detachment; I confined it to colonel Gibbs, of his majesty's 59th regiment, proceeding, however, with the troops, that I might be at hand to profit by any fortunate result of the attack.

Experience had warranted my reposing the fullest confidence in the valour and discipline of the troops I had the good fortune to command, and taught me to appreciate those which the enemy could oppose to them. Many of the fugitives from Cornelius were
in

in their ranks, and the rest of their forces were strongly impressed, by their exaggerated accounts, with the dangers to be dreaded from the impetuosity of our troops. I did not, therefore, feel apprehension of any unfortunate result from attacking the enemy with numbers so very disproportionate; but from our total want of cavalry, I did not expect to derive from it any very decisive advantage, beyond that of driving them from the position they had chosen.

The small party of cavalry, of which I had been disappointed by the absence of the transports which conveyed them, would have been invaluable; much of the enemy's force was mounted, and they had some horse artillery, while not even the horses of my staff were arrived, and our artillery and ammunition were to be moved by hand by the lascars and pioneers, who for this purpose were attached to the field-pieces.

Colonel Gibbs marched at two o'clock on the morning of the 16th from Samarang; and after ascending some steep hills, at the distance of near six miles, the fires of the enemy appeared a little before the dawn of day, extending along the summit of a hill, which crossed our front at Jattee Allee, and over part of which the road was cut: the doubtful light, and great height of the hill they occupied, made the position appear at first most formidable. It was resolved to attack it immediately; and as the leading division or advance of the detachments moved forward to turn the enemy's left, a fire was opened on them from many guns placed on the summit of the hill, and various positions on its face, which completely commanded the road: these were answered by our field-

pieces as they came up, with the effect, though fired from a considerable distance, and with great elevation, of confusing the enemy's artillery in directing their fire, from which a very trifling loss was sustained. Their flank was turned with little difficulty but what arose from the extreme steepness of the ascent; and after a short but ineffectual attempt to stop, by the fire of some guns advantageously posted across a deep ravine, the advance of the body of our detachment, the enemy abandoned the greatest part of their artillery, and were seen in great numbers, and in great confusion, in full retreat.

Our want of cavalry to follow the fugitives with speed, the steepness of the road, and the necessity for removing chevaux de frise with which the passage was obstructed, gave time for the escape of the enemy, while our troops, exhausted by their exertions, were recovering their breath.

It was evident that their army was completely disunited; several officers, some of them of rank, were taken; their native allies, panic-struck, had abandoned their officers, and only a few pieces of horse artillery remained of their field ordnance. With these they attempted to cover their retreat, pursued by colonel Gibbs, who, with the detachment, passed several incomplete and abandoned batteries; and at noon, and after twelve miles' march over a rugged country, approached the village of Oonarang, in which, and in the small fort beyond it, the enemy appeared to have halted, and collected in irregular masses. Small cannon from the fort and village opened on the line as it advanced. Our field-pieces were brought up to a commanding station, and by their fire covered

the formation of the troops, who, led by colonel Gibbs, were advancing to assault the fort, when it was evacuated by the enemy: alarmed by our fire, they were seen to abandon it and its vicinity in the utmost confusion, leaving some light guns with much ammunition and provisions in the village, where they had broken the bridge to impede pursuit: the road beyond it was covered with the caps, clothing, and military equipments of their troops, who seemed to have been completely routed and dispersed.

A number of officers made prisoners confirmed this belief; our troops had however marched so far, that they were unequal to a longer pursuit, and were quartered in the fort and the barracks which the enemy had quitted.

Early in the night, brigadier Winkleman, with some other officers, came into my quarters with a flag of truce from general Jansens, who was stated to be fifteen miles in advance of my position, Solatiga, on the road to Solo: the brigadier was charged to request an armistice, that the governor-general might communicate with your lordship on terms of capitulation. He was informed by my direction, that he must treat with me, and that without delay. I however consented, in consideration of the distance of his position, to grant, for the express purpose of capitulation, an armistice of twenty-four hours, to commence from six o'clock on the following morning, and limited in its effects to the forces present. With this answer brigadier Winkleman returned, accepting the armistice proposed.

I was perfectly aware of the general sentiments of rear-admiral Stopford regarding the object on

which our joint services were employed, from the unreserved communication I had held with him. He had sailed for Sourabaya with the declared intention of attacking Fort Louis, and of returning to his station when the service was accomplished; and he was most anxious for its speedy termination, as he had informed me, he did not think ships would be safe on the northern coasts of Java after the 4th of October, unless Sourabaya was in our possession.

All these considerations were strong in my mind against the delay of a reference to him; and, confident that the important object of attaining for Great Britain an immediate surrender of the island ought not to be impeded or delayed by any point merely of form, I did not hesitate to act individually, and on my sole responsibility, for the interests of the state. I had also cause to fear, if the favourable moment was allowed to pass, that the allies of the enemy might recover from their panic, that general Jansens might learn the small amount of our force, that he might again collect his troops and retire on Solo, where, profiting by the period of the approaching rains, he might prolong the contest; and, though I could not doubt its ultimate success, a war in the interior would have embarrassed our arrangements, and have involved the affairs of the colony in inextricable confusion.

On the forenoon of the 17th of September, the commandeur De Kock, brigadier and chief of the staff of the French army in Java, arrived at Oonarang, with powers from general Jansens to treat of a capitulation, which I authorised colonel Agnew, the adjutant-general of the forces, to discuss with him

him on my part: the result was, the signature by them of the articles I have the honour to inclose, with which general De Kock returned in the afternoon to obtain general Jansens's approval.

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the 18th, brigadier Winkleman arrived at my quarters from general Jansens, who declined to sign the articles which had been agreed upon, adverting particularly to those which concerned the debts of the government to individuals. He requested that I would meet the general half way, or stated that he would, if preferred, come to my quarters at Oonarang, for the purpose of discussion or explanation of those articles.

As the situation in which it is evident he stood deprived him of all claim to those terms of capitulation which, had he profited by the former invitations, made while he still possessed the means of defence, he might perhaps have obtained; and as my situation, with a force unequal to prosecute operations further in the interior, would not admit of delay, I assumed a firm tone; and, desiring general Winkleman to be informed that personal respect for the character of general Jansens had alone induced me to grant any terms to his army, announced to him that the armistice would cease at the appointed hour, and the troops march forward at the same time.

Colonel Agnew gave orders for this purpose in his presence; and informed him, that if general Jansens allowed the opportunity of capitulating now offered to escape, by not accepting the terms already prepared, no other could be offered. Brigadier Winkleman returned with all speed to general Jansens, and

colonel Gibbs marched with his detachment at six o'clock on the road to Soligata, where, after advancing about five miles, he was met by brigadier Winkleman, bearing the capitulation, confirmed by the signature of general Jansens, and accompanied by a letter, which strongly marked the acuteness of his feelings at being compelled, by the desertion of his allies, and the destruction of his army, to adopt this measure.

The detachment counter-marched immediately, and, after sending a company (at the request of brigadier Winkleman) to secure the guns on the post of Soligata, moved back to Oonarang, whence on the evening I returned to Samarang, just before general Jansens had announced his intention of joining me at the former place. The general, with great part of his officers, also reached Samarang that night. I visited him on the following day, and arranged for the equipment of a transport to convey him to Batavia, with his suite, on which they embarked this morning.

I have dispatched colonel Gibbs to assume the command of the division of Sourabaya, to which I have allotted his majesty's 78th regiment, the 4th volunteer battalion, the light infantry battalion, and the royal artillery. I have sent a small detachment under major Yule, of the 20th Bengal regiment, an officer on whose conduct I have much reliance, to accompany the prince of Samanap and his force to the island of Madura, where I have directed the major to assume command, subject to the general control of colonel Gibbs: he has been instructed to occupy the small forts of Joanna and Rambang on his route; and I have directed

rected that of Japara to be occupied from Samarang. Idiamayo and Pacalonga have been garrisoned by troops from Cheribon. In mentioning the prince of Samanap, it would be unjust to him not to report, that, prior to my march from Samarang to attack the enemy, he sent to ask my orders, being, with 2000 of his people, within a short distance at Damak. He visited me on my return to Samarang, and expressed an earnest wish for the protection and friendship of the British nation.

As colonel Wood requested permission to relinquish the command of Samarang, and return to Bengal, I appointed lieutenant-colonel Watson, of his majesty's 14th regiment, to relieve him in the command. The 14th regiment, a small detachment of artillery, and part of the 3d volunteer battalion, have been stationed at Samarang, and will shortly, I trust, be reinforced by the arrival of the detachments of the horse artillery, cavalry, and 89th regiment.

I have detached captain Robinson, your lordship's aid-de-camp, with a small escort, to the courts of Solo and D'Jogocarta, to deliver a letter from me to the emperor and sultan, and announce the change that has taken place. I have also called upon the residents at their courts, Van Braam and Englehard, to continue, agreeably to the capitulation, the exercise of their functions in behalf of the British government, and to secure carefully the public property of the late government, placed in the territories of the respective princes at whose court they reside.

I have also required the other public functionaries of the late government to continue in the tempo-

rary exercise of their functions, which hitherto I have found no instance of their declining to perform.

It will be necessary soon to arrange for the guard of honour attached to the emperor and sultan of the troops of the European government of Java, and for the occupation of the forts at their capital, and on the lines of communication to and between these; but this will be easily arranged when the troops ordered to Samarang shall have arrived, and the report of captain Robinson shall have warranted a judgement of the strength of these detachments.

I embarked this morning in his majesty's ship *Modeste* for Batavia, and shall have the honour of receiving your lordship's personal commands, and discussing with you the several military arrangements which it may be necessary to make for the security of the island of Java and its dependencies, previous to my return to Madras, which it is my wish to do without delay.

S. AUCHMUTY, lieut.-gen.
To the right hon. lord Minto,
governor-general, &c.

[Here follow the articles of capitulation. They are highly favourable to this country; and at the same time reflect great honour on the British character. The European troops, under general Janssens, surrendered at discretion. The native princes, and their troops, who fought under them, are treated with great humanity and respect. There were only 2 killed at Jattee Allee, and 10 wounded. The ordnance found in the batteries between Samarang and Oonarang, and in the latter fort, amounts to 56 pieces of cannon.]

ITALY.

A fresh eruption from Mount Etna took place on the 27th October. Several mouths had opened on the eastern side of the mountain, which emitted torrents of burning matter, discharged with the greatest force from the interior of the volcano, illuminating the horizon to a great distance. Clouds of ashes also descended in the form of rain upon the city of Catana and its environs, and upon the fields situate at a very great distance. On the 18th of November the eruption still continued, and exhibited appearances of the most terrible disasters.

The magnificent church of Montreale, near Palermo, was burnt to the ground on the 11th December. It was an antique structure, and contained many curious monuments of ancient kings. The entrails of St. Louis, who died before Tunis, and whose body was conveyed to France, were deposited in it.

DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

We have advices from Stockholm to the 15th, and from Gottenburgh to the 17th inst. inclusive. They bring no confirmation of the rumoured treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey; but state, that a battle had been fought between the Turkish detachment of 20,000 men on the island of Slobodse and the Russians, which had terminated in favour of the latter. The date of this action is not assigned; but, from the fact of the Turks having surrendered at discretion, we incline to think this is the engagement alluded to in a preceding mail, and which was supposed to have led to the reported pacification.

On the 7th instant, the king of Sweden resumed the reins of government, on which occasion the prince royal addressed a long speech to his majesty, congratulating him on his recovery, and pointing out the situation, domestic and foreign, of the kingdom. His royal highness stated, that his majesty, by adopting the continental system, and declaring war against England, had ruined the produce of the customs. That more than 2,000,000 of rix dollars had been employed in recruiting the army, repairing the fortresses, and fleet. That Swedish commerce had been reduced to a mere coasting trade. That the Danish cruisers had given great cause for complaint. That the cruisers under the French flag had committed great injuries, which his majesty the emperor of the French had guaranteed to redress. That fifty American ships, driven by stress of weather upon the Swedish coasts, had been released. That Sweden was on the most amicable footing with Prussia, Russia, Austria, and Turkey. That Swedish intercourse has entirely ceased with South America, owing to the civil war which rages there. His highness, after stating the exterior relations of Sweden, proceeds by saying, that he has adopted measures to encourage the manufacture of linen, growth of hemp, &c. &c. That he has carried into execution the solemn declaration of the states, sanctioned by his majesty, in regard to a national armament, and had ordered the embodying of 15 out of the 50,000 men placed at the disposal of his majesty. That the disturbances in Scania had been quelled. That the regular army and army of reserve had been new clothed and armed, and the pensions

sions granted to officers and soldiers wounded in the late war augmented. "Your majesty will perceive by this statement, that, notwithstanding the calumniators of Sweden may say, it would require sixty years to organize an army of 60,000 men, she could accomplish it before next April. The object of this augmentation is purely defensive. Sweden has no other wish than that of being able to preserve her liberty and laws."

RUSSIA.

Letters from St. Petersburg to the 21st ult. state, that peace between the Russians and Turks was signed on the 26th of November. In consequence of this intelligence, the exchange at St. Petersburg rose to 20½. We learn that the peace was accelerated by a destructive battle, in which the Turks were completely overthrown, having been first surrounded by the Russians. The Turks are said to have been so completely dismayed, that they surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the number, according to the official report from the Russian general Kutusow, published at St. Petersburg, of 35,000 men. The Russians, being completely in possession of the field of battle, found all the magazines and baggage, and took 56 pieces of cannon. The news of this important victory was announced at St. Petersburg on the 8th of December (O. S.) On this defeat of the Turks, they offered to accept those terms which they had previously spurned at: and the signing of preliminaries immediately followed; which, we learn, have been ratified at St. Petersburg.

Advices from Sweden of a late date state as follows: "Peace be-

tween Russia and Turkey was proclaimed, with the usual formalities, at St. Petersburg, on the 26th December."

ASIA.

Lord Minto has, by a formal proclamation, annexed the island of Java to the possession of the East India company. As the conquest was made by a king's officer, and chiefly by his majesty's troops, it has been suggested that, like Ceylon, it should be put upon the footing of a royal acquisition, and the appointment of a governor left with the prince regent.

The East India company's ships for China will henceforward, in consequence of the reduction of the island of Java, proceed on their voyage through the Straits of Sunda, instead of passing through those of Malacca; and which will bring them more directly into the course of the trade winds and a smoother sea, and shorten their voyage at least six or seven weeks.

SELLING GUINEAS.

14. William Fisher and William Granger were indicted for unlawfully paying to John Williams, late a baker in St. James's Market, 3*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* in exchange for three guineas, being at the rate of 1*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* for each guinea.

John Williams stated, that on the 1st of November last, he went to the tap of the Angel inn, in St. Clement's, which was kept by Fisher, whom he then saw for the first time—he called again the next day, and Fisher and another man were conversing on the subject of the scarcity of gold, when Fisher said gold was not so scarce as it was represented to be, and that a few days ago he had seen 100 guineas upon
that

that table, pointing to a table in the tap-room, and said he knew a man who dealt in guineas, and would give 1*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* each for them. Williams continued going there till the 8th of November, and upon that day he mentioned what he had heard Fisher say. Dickons upon this marked three guineas, and gave them to Williams, who went the next day, the 9th of November, to the Angel, accompanied by Dickons and another person, who stopped at the door whilst he went in, but in such a position that they could see what passed. On speaking to Fisher, he told Williams, the man who would buy his guineas was then in the house, and pointed out Granger as the man. Williams accordingly delivered the three marked guineas to Granger, and received in return three one-pound notes, a bank dollar, three half-crown pieces, and four shillings and sixpence, making together 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and Williams returned him three-pence in half-pence. Upon seeing this transaction, Dickons the officer entered the room, and took Williams and Granger into custody. Dickons, the officer, proved that he found the three marked guineas in Granger's pocket, together with twenty-six other guineas, several half-guineas and seven-shilling-pieces. Mr. Powell, from the Mint, proved that the dollar was of the current coin; he also thought the four shillings and sixpence were so likewise, though very much worn: whether the bank-notes were genuine or not he could not say.

Mr. Gurney and Mr. Alley, for the prisoners, submitted to the court that this was a contract, and it was necessary the means by which it was carried into effect should be proved: this in the present case

had not been done, inasmuch as there was no evidence to prove that the notes were Bank of England notes—and therefore, in the absence of such evidence, the prisoners must be acquitted. In the record also the dollar was called a bank token—this was a misdescription, it was a bank dollar, the word ‘token’ applying only to the 3*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* pieces, which had the word ‘token’ on them.

Mr. Watson, the chairman, overruled the objections, and directed the jury to find their verdict on the evidence.

The jury consulted for nearly twenty minutes, during which time Mr. Mainwaring entered the court; and one of the jury desiring to know if they could acquit the prisoners, on the ground of the notes not being proved to be good Bank of England notes?

Mr. Mainwaring replied, that they must be satisfied the evidence was good before they convicted the prisoners.

The jury immediately acquitted both the prisoners.

STATE OF HIS MAJESTY'S HEALTH.

The report of the lords' committee appointed to examine the physicians who have attended his majesty, touching the state of his majesty's health, was yesterday delivered to the house. Although it is in substance the same as that of the house of commons, the following leading points contain something of novelty:—

Die Lunæ, 13 Januarii, 1812.

Dr. *William H berden* called in and examined.

In what degree do you consider his majesty's recovery as improbable?—It is perhaps impossible to describe with accuracy the degree in which I may feel the improbability

lity of his majesty's recovery. The improbability is certainly considerable, but not in an extreme degree.

Are you of opinion that his majesty's recovery is hopeless?—No.

Do you expect that his majesty will recover?—I do not.

Dr. *Thomas Monro* called in and examined.

What is the present state of his majesty's health?—The present state of his majesty's mental health is certainly, in my opinion, insane.

Are you of opinion that his majesty's recovery is hopeless?—I do not entirely despair.

Do you expect that the king will recover?—No; I do not.

Dr. *Samuel Foart Simmons* called in and examined.

In what degree do you consider his majesty's recovery as improbable?—It is difficult to say, because in some cases recoveries so unexpectedly take place, that it sets all calculation at defiance. The proportion of recoveries in persons of his majesty's advanced period of life is much less than in other periods; but recoveries do sometimes take place in persons of a still greater age than his majesty.

Does Dr. Simmons know what was the cause of the regulation in consequence of which patients above the age of seventy were excluded from St. Luke's?—About the same time that the regulation took place for the exclusion of persons above the age of seventy, a rule was made also for the exclusion of children under the age of twelve. It was found, that of the old persons a much smaller proportion recovered than of the other patients. Many of them soon fell into a state of infirm bodily health. They died in a larger proportion from palsies and other diseases incident to old age; and therefore it

was thought better to confine the admissions to the middle ages of life.

Was the improbability of cure the cause of the regulation?—I think not, because we have had persons of a more advanced age (one of eighty-three) discharged from the hospital as cured. The age of the patient merely was certainly not the reason of the regulation; at least I never understood it to be so.

Does Dr. Simmons recollect whether any of the persons above the age of seventy, discharged as cured, were blind?—I can speak with certainty that there were not, because the number of blind patients that I have had an opportunity of seeing has been very small, not more, as far as I recollect, than six in the hospital and two in private practice.

How many of those blind patients recovered?—I recollect no instance of perfect recovery.

Do you expect that the king will recover?—I can hardly say that I expect it.

Is the age of his majesty the only ground upon which Dr. Simmons considers his majesty's recovery improbable?—Not merely his age—the general turn of his disorder.

Is there any indication of fatuity in his majesty's disorder?—There is no indication; and that I think another strong reason for not considering his majesty's case as hopeless.

Die Martis, 14^o Januarii, 1812.

Dr. *John Willis* called in and examined.

Has Dr. Willis any expectation of the king's recovery from his mental disorder?—I can hardly say that I have no expectation of the king's recovery.

Is the committee to understand, that, considering all the circumstances of the case, Dr. Willis does not, upon the whole, expect the king to recover?—Considering all the circumstances of the case, I certainly do not expect the king to recover.

Has Dr. Willis known any persons to recover, when afflicted by the particular species of derangement under which the king labours?—Yes, I have known a great many recover from the particular species of derangement under which the king labours.

After they had arrived at the age of the king?—No, I cannot say that.

Dr. *Matthew Baillie* called in and examined.

Is the state of his majesty's health such as to render him incapable of coming in person to his parliament, and of attending to any kind of public business?—The state of his majesty's health is such as to render him incapable of coming to parliament, or of attending to public business.

What is the present state of his majesty's bodily health?—Except for a little exacerbation which has taken place within the last two or three days, his majesty's bodily health has been little disordered.

What is the present state of his majesty's mental health?—The errors of his majesty's mind are at present as strongly impressed upon it as during any period of his illness; for a few weeks lately, his majesty has been able occasionally to relate anecdotes more distinctly than for two or three months previous to that period; within the last two or three days his majesty's mind has been entirely lost in error.

Does Dr. Baillie expect the king to recover?—Certainly not.

Sir *H. Halford*, bart. called in and examined.

Has Sir *H. Halford* any expectation of his majesty's recovery?—I do not think his majesty will recover.

Dr. *Robert Darling Willis* called in and examined.

What is the present state of his majesty's mental health?—The present state of his majesty's mental health is as bad, or perhaps worse than at any period of the complaint.

In what degree do you consider his majesty's recovery as improbable?—I think it all but impossible.

Are you of opinion that his majesty's recovery is hopeless?—I scarcely know how to apply the word 'hopeless' in a medical sense. The words 'hopeless' and 'despair' apply only to certain states, which are somewhere between extreme improbability and impossibility; but those states are so difficult to be ascertained, that I scarcely know when to apply the words.

Does Dr. Willis expect the king to recover?—I do not.

In your answer to the question respecting the state of the king's bodily health, did you mean to state that it had been in any degree worse during the last three or four days?—Certainly, in some degree worse.

Was it so much worse as to make you apprehend any degree of danger?—Were it to continue, I should consider that there was some danger.

Do you speak of what it is now, or what it was some days ago?—I left Windsor yesterday morning; I speak of the state in which it was then. I think it right to add, I have

have frequently seen such states before, from which his majesty has recovered.

OLD BAILEY.

16. Thomas Dixon was indicted under lord Ellenborough's act for maliciously shooting at Anne Earl, on the 10th of December last, with an intent to murder her, or do her some grievous bodily harm. The prosecutrix stated that the prisoner and herself both lived in Spa Fields, and on the evening of the day stated in the indictment, about half past nine, she was washing at her window, with a candle before her, when she heard the report of a pistol or gun; the ball whizzed close to her head, having passed through the pane of glass near her. Upon looking out, it was discovered that the shot came from the prisoner's apartments. He was immediately taken into custody, by an officer breaking open the door, who found him undressing, and going to bed. There existed no quarrel between them, and the prisoner expressed his happiness that no mischief had happened, as, if it had, he said his life must have paid for it. The defence was, that the prisoner shot at some cats on the tiles, which used to annoy him by scratching up his little garden, and that the window which the shot entered was just below the tiles. The jury found him Not guilty.

John Clayton and William Jenkins were indicted for breaking into the house of Jane Fearn, No. 11, Bury-street, St. James's, with intent to steal therein.

Mrs. Fearn, the prosecutrix, lived in Bury-street, St. James's, and kept only one servant. The prisoner Clayton, one day in December, rapped at the door, and

inquired if her mistress was at home? and finding she was out, pretended he had a letter for her. He afterwards commenced an acquaintance with her, and would treat her to drink.—On the 1st of January, when Mrs. Fearn was gone to the play, he came to the house, and said he saw the mistress was gone out, and he was come to keep her company. He accordingly went down into the kitchen, but shortly afterwards went out, under pretence of getting something to drink; when he returned, accompanied by the other prisoner, who having rushed into the house, they proceeded to drag the girl up stairs, to seek for some hidden gold which they said they knew her mistress had. It also appeared that this report of some gold possessed by the prosecutrix was the cause of this attempt; for private information had been communicated to the office at Bow-street, that the robbery would be attempted, and the officers had been upon the watch for several days previous, and were actually on the look-out when the two prisoners entered the house. They followed, and looking through the key-hole, saw one of the prisoners attempting to drag the servant up stairs, who was crying out for assistance. They broke the door open, and both prisoners were immediately apprehended.—The jury found them both Guilty.

On Thursday evening about half-past seven o'clock, a stout man knocked at the door of Mr. Sydney's house, in Percy-street, Tottenham-court-road. The servant and Mr. Sydney being from home, the door was opened by a lady who resided there, and who was alone in the house; when a ruffian rushed in, and instantly shutting the door, dragged

dragged the lady into the back parlour, and presented a pistol or large knife to her head; but her terror was so great she could not tell which, and he, with the most horrid imprecations and threats, demanded to know where the money or valuable articles were in the house. The lady, in great agitation, entreated him to spare her life, and take what property he chose. On the assurance that he was not to be interrupted in his carrying off the property, he proceeded to pack up what he thought was the most valuable. On his going to the other side of the room to where the lady was, and stooping down to get at a trunk which was under a table, the lady took advantage of his position, ran to the street door, threw it open, screamed, and gave an alarm of thieves; which brought several persons to her. The robber of course knowing there was no chance of his escaping by the street, ran up stairs to the front garret, and, forcing down an iron bar from the window, got on the roof of the house. A person was sent to Marlborough-street office, and Cragg and Marsden, two of the officers, immediately came to the spot, and, with lighted flambeaux, searched the roofs of several houses from the top to the bottom of the street, but were not able to find the robber.

OLD BAILEY.

Fraud upon sir Thomas Plomer, knt.

18. Benjamin Walsh, esq. M. P. was indicted for feloniously stealing, on the 5th of December 1811, in the parish of St. Dunstan's in the West, twenty-two bank of England notes, for the payment of 1000*l.* each, and another note of the same bank for the payment of 200*l.* the property of sir Thomas Plomer, 1812.

knt. There were six counts in the indictment, alleging the offence in different ways, but without any material alteration; in some places calling the bank notes, warrants, and bills of exchange.

Few trials have excited so much public interest as the one which is the subject of the subsequent detail. So early as eight o'clock the avenues, and vicinity of the sessions house, were thronged with people of the most respectable appearance, eager to gain admission to the court. The judicious arrangements, however, of the sheriff tended very much to remedy the inconvenience which an indiscriminate admission of every one who claimed that right to an open court would produce, and materially to preserve the good order and decorum of the trial. At a little after ten o'clock the judges, lord chief baron Macdonald, sir Simon Le Blanc, and sir Alan Chambre, took their seats on the bench, and immediately after the prisoner was called to the bar; and the indictment being read to him by Mr. Sheldon, he joined issue by pleading Not guilty, and putting himself upon the country.

The prisoner walked into the dock with a steady pace, arm in arm with a friend, apparently, however, considerably dejected, and labouring under the painful impression of his unfortunate situation. He was dressed in deep mourning, his hair dishevelled and unpowdered, and his appearance altogether betraying a carelessness and negligence of every thing but the unhappy circumstances under which his conduct became the subject of so grave an investigation. As soon as the jury were charged, the prisoner requested the indulgence of a chair, with which the court immediately complied, and of this convenience

venience he availed himself during the whole trial.

Mr. Gurney opened the pleadings, and

Mr. Garrow stated the case to the jury, and began by observing, that if, upon a subject like this, it could have been possible for feelings of a private nature—of commiseration for the situation of persons who, though perfectly innocent, must be involved in the same ruin with the prisoner if he should be found guilty—there was no one with whom such considerations could operate so powerfully as with the very honourable person whose painful duty it was to be this day the prosecutor. But he could not have given way to such motives without a very culpable neglect of his public duty. He (Mr. Garrow) would not be discharging the duty cast upon him, with satisfaction to himself, if he were to enter into a statement of any thing that was not indispensably necessary to the elucidation of the case. He was quite sure, however, that if the jury had read any thing upon this subject, in the variety of articles with which the public papers had been filled, they would dismiss from their minds every thing of such a nature, and attend coolly and dispassionately to such evidence only as should be now laid before them on the subject of the prisoner's guilt or innocence. The learned gentleman then entered into a detail of the case; but as the evidence given by the witnesses may be deemed of more importance, we shall abstain from following him in this detail. Upon the law of the case he begged to state his opinion to the jury, subject, however, to the better opinion of the learned judges. He took it from the oldest authorities in the law, that the crime of larceny, as it

was imputed to the prisoner, (without any of the considerations, of whether it was larceny in stealing privately from the person, or stealing in the dwelling-house, or larceny on the highway, but simply larceny as it was defined in the oldest law books,) was the feloniously taking of the personal chattel of another man, against the will and without the consent of the proprietor. Had he in this case a chattel of which the owner could be robbed, in the legal acceptation of the word? No one could doubt the fact. He should, however, cite one case, which was one of the first precisely like the present; and indeed if there was any thing of difference between them, it was what pressed harder on the prisoner. He meant the case of the king v. Hervey Eccles, a money-lender, who proposed to raise money for a person named Edwards, who applied to him to discount a bill. He took Mr. Edwards's bill from him, stating that he was going into the next street, and would immediately bring him back either the bill or the money; but neither of these engagements did he comply with. On that occasion the present recorder and Mr. Fielding were counsel for the prisoner; and they contended that the offence imputed to him was no felony, but merely a breach of trust. The real question, however, to be taken into consideration was, with what intention did the prisoner receive the bill into his possession? It was manifest that he had at the time, in his own mind, the felonious purpose of converting it to his own use: that the law held to be felony. In that case, as in the present, there were no previous preparations—no settled plan of operations by which the prisoner hoped to escape with impunity—there was no purchasing of

of American stock—there was no procuration of doubloons to fly with to a foreign country—and there were none of those other strong circumstances which characterized the case of Mr. Walsh. Eccles simply possessed himself of the bill, and converted it to his own use. There was some difference of opinion as to the law of the case; but it was afterwards solemnly argued before the twelve judges, who pronounced Mr. Eccles's offence to be felony, and he was accordingly banished the country. The crime, however, now under consideration did not involve the life of the prisoner, it was but a transportable offence. The question in this case, if it was a question at all, was, whether, at the time Mr. Walsh received the prosecutor's bank notes, he intended, in the language of the law, feloniously to take them against the will and without the consent of the proprietor, and convert them to his own use? Had the jury any doubt that he so intended? Had they any doubt, when he purchased the doubloons and American stock, when he prepared his linen for travelling from London, when he was overtaken at Falmouth, and confessed that he intended to go to Portugal, and actually delivered to the prosecutor's attorney the American debentures and the doubloons which he had purchased; and still less could they have any doubt when he candidly, in his letters to his brother, (which would be produced in evidence,) developed the whole of his plan, and confessed that he designed to run away with the prosecutor's property, that his intention was felonious? It would be said, that his intention was not felonious, because he did not convert the whole of the prosecutor's money to his own use; that he honestly accounted to him

for the 6000*l*. That very circumstance in his (Mr. Garrow's) mind, only showed that his plan was more cunning and subtle. The accounting honestly for the 6000*l*. to the solicitor-general was only intended to lull all suspicions of the intended robbery; and so high an idea had the prosecutor of the prisoner's honour, that the detection of the offender was to be attributed to the merest accident. The simple addition of one or two words to the answer of the banker's clerk, when the prosecutor had asked whether Mr. Walsh had left any money along with the bills of exchequer, caused the detection of the offender, and prevented the successful completion of his intended robbery. The learned gentleman concluded by anticipating such a verdict from the jury, as would completely answer the object of this prosecution.

Sir T. Plomer was then examined. He stated, that for many years past he had employed the prisoner as his stock-broker. In the course of last summer he made a contract for the purchase of a considerable estate, and informed Mr. Walsh of the circumstance, and that he should be obliged to complete the purchase by Michaelmas. In consequence of this he consulted with Mr. Walsh upon the propriety of selling a large quantity of stock in the funds, for the purpose of meeting the occasion. Mr. Walsh, however, advised him not to sell soon, as there was a prospect of a considerable rise in the funds, and the later the sale was postponed the better. As the title to the estate which he intended to purchase was not made out, he was not in such a hurry, and therefore waited until Mr. Walsh himself, about the middle of November, urged him strongly to sell out his stock, giving him as a reason, that

the funds would fall. He complied with his suggestions; but as the contract for the estate was not sufficiently forward for completion, he suggested the idea of laying out the money, which would otherwise lie idle, in the purchase of exchequer bills. He had given a written permission to the prisoner on the 28th of Nov. to sell out his stock, and a subsequent day was fixed by Mr. Walsh for him to attend at his office, for the purpose of transferring the stock. He should not have sold out so soon, but for the repeated solicitations of Mr. Walsh. When the stock was sold out, he received an account of the produce from the prisoner, which he left him to pay into Messrs. Gosling and Co.'s (the witness's bankers), and which he said he would do. It was on the 4th of December that he went into the city to transfer the stock. The prisoner said he would call next morning at his chambers in Lincoln's Inn-square, to receive a check for the money; which he did, and witness gave him a check on Messrs. Gosling for 22,200*l*. It was given for no other purpose than to purchase exchequer bills, which the prisoner promised to bring him at four o'clock on the 5th of December. The prisoner accordingly called next day, about half-past four, and produced Messrs. Goslings' receipt for 6000*l*. worth of exchequer bills, stating that he had contracted for the rest, but that they could not be got that day, as they were locked up by the teller, Mr. Trotter, in a drawer at Messrs. Coutts's, the bankers, to which house he was agent; but adding, that he had paid the remainder of the money back to Messrs. Gosling, for Sir Thomas's account. Sir T. on his way home, called at Messrs. Goslings', and, on inquiry, found the

exchequer bills had been there deposited, but no money. This excited his surprise, and induced some inquiry; but he saw Mr. Walsh no more until he was in custody at Bow-street. There were now several letters from the prisoner produced, in which he acknowledges the whole transaction. These letters were proved by George Thomas to be in the prisoner's handwriting. During the reading of them by the clerk of the court, particularly where they mentioned the distresses of his wife and children, and the manner in which he was forced to abandon them and a country where he could no longer bear to live in disgrace, the prisoner appeared to be convulsed with the deepest anguish, and frequently burst into tears.

The next part of the evidence went to prove the payment of the check at Messrs. Goslings' to Mr. Walsh himself, with the numbers of the bank notes. It was next proved by Mr. W. Hannan, that he sold the 6000*l*. exchequer bills on the morning of the 5th of December to Mr. Walsh, and 1500*l*. India bonds, which were paid for in ten bank notes of 1000*l*. tallying with those paid by Messrs. Gosling.

Mr. Dennis de Berdt, partner in the house of Desman and Co. proved that the prisoner applied to him on the 19th of November respecting the purchase of American stock, to the amount of 11,000*l*. and of course completed the bargain on the 5th of December, paying him in bank notes, the numbers of which corresponded with those paid at Messrs. Goslings'.

Mr. Joseph Walsh, the prisoner's brother, proved that after his repeated application he had paid him a debt of 1199*l*. on the 5th of December, and a 1000*l*. note of the
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sum appeared to be one of those paid by Messrs. Gosling.

Mr. Fearn proved that the prisoner applied to him, on the 2d of December, for the purchase of 500*l.* in Portuguese doubloons, but afterwards, on the 5th, diminished his order to 300*l.* which he then took and paid for in notes, which were proved to have been paid for at a banker's, in change for one of the 1000*l.* notes before mentioned.

The whole of the notes received by the prisoner for sir Thomas Plomer's check at Messrs. Goslings' having been proved to be thus disposed of by him for his own purposes, the remainder of the evidence traced him to Falmouth, where he was found by Mr. Jenkins, sir T. Plomer's solicitor, and where he surrendered to him the American debentures, and the bag of doubloons, acknowledging his intention to abscond from the country.

The evidence for the crown being closed,

Mr. Scarlett now rose, and was proceeding to address the court upon some points of law in this case on behalf of the prisoner; when

Mr. Garrow said, that although he was ready now to argue any points that his learned friend might offer, yet exhausted as the court was, after so many hours of attention, and as it was probable that, if the arguments of his learned friend should go to any length, it might lead of course to a long reply; he thought it would be better, as most probably the arguments on both sides would ultimately lead to a more extended discussion next term, or be referred to the opinion of the twelve judges, it might equally well answer the purposes of his learned friend to state shortly to the court the leading points of his objections.

To this the court also acceded, and Mr. Scarlett proceeded. He said, that in looking to the objections he was about to offer on behalf of the prisoner, no man who knew him could suppose he entertained an opinion different from that of every honest man as to the moral turpitude of the prisoner's conduct. Indeed, the prisoner himself had in his letters acknowledged that turpitude in its fullest extent, and, he was convinced, must feel with the utmost compunction the full depth of the disgrace in which an act so fraudulent had involved him. But it was not the criminality of his moral conduct that remained at this moment to be discussed, but the construction of law upon the fact as it stood, and the question, whether the evidence this day adduced was sufficient to sustain the charge of felony, as set out in the indictment? The indictment consisted of seven counts, which, however, resolved into two charges; the one for stealing the check of sir Thomas Plomer upon his banker, and the other for stealing the bank notes afterwards; and it was stated in the indictment as the property of sir T. Plomer.—With respect to the former, he should maintain that no such charge as that of larceny could be sustained by the evidence; for it appeared that the check itself was freely and voluntarily given to the prisoner by sir Thomas, and applied in part to the uses for which it was given, so far as obtaining for it the payment at the banker's, and applying a considerable sum to purchase exchequer bills and other stock, as he was directed, which were duly deposited for sir Thomas's account. By the act of the 2d of Geo. II. cap. 25, which defines the crime of larceny, it was necessary to show that the party charged with

the offence had, by some previous contrivance or circumvention, obtained the property from the owner; whereas it was here in proof that sir Thomas had given the check to the prisoner of his own accord, and confidentially in the way of his profession as a stock-broker; and consequently, that however the prisoner might be afterwards tempted to apply the check to other purposes, his mode of obtaining the possession could not be considered as a theft, however it might be as a debt. And as to the second point, that of stealing from sir Thomas the bank notes obtained from the banker for this check, it could by no means be considered as stealing from sir T. Plomer; for he had no property nor control whatever in these identical bank notes, for he never had any possession in them; any other notes might have been given for this check by the bank; or the prisoner might have changed the check with his own broker, or parted with it for any other property,—in which case it could not be maintained that he had stolen such property from sir T. Plomer. The fact was, that the check could not be available to sir Thomas so long as it remained in his own hands, and must lapse to the possession of another before it could be of value. The moment he gave it in trust to the prisoner it became a debt of civil contract, for which he expected to receive in return, not bank notes, but exchequer bills, to be purchased for his account in a professional way. The prisoner, therefore, became responsible to him for the check in part; and if he failed to perform his instruction, he became answerable only as for a debt. Eccles's case, cited by his learned friend Mr. Garrow, was materially different from

this; for there it appeared that the prosecutor never intrusted Eccles, but sent his servant to watch him, and virtually never quitted the possession of the bill. Here the contrary was the case; for the check was actually turned over to the prisoner in trust for an express purpose. If sir T. Plomer had sent his servant to the bank, expressly for bank notes, and that he had embezzled them to his own use, the case would then, indeed, be quite different. But the prisoner was not the servant of Sir Thomas, but merely empowered by him in the way of an agent, and responsible to him, only in the way of civil contract debt, for the performance of his commission. For these reasons he contended that the charge of larceny was sustained.

After some further observations from Mr. Alley on the same side, it was agreed to accept a special verdict from the jury, subject to future argument, or the opinion of the twelve judges.

Baron Macdonald then shortly addressed the jury, and told them, that strong doubts had arisen in this case upon a question of law, whether the crime charged against the prisoner was a larceny, or only a civil contract? To settle this point ultimately, two modes had been proposed. The one, of special argument in a future term, which would be attended with much greater suspense and embarrassment to the prisoner. The other, to reserve the question for the decision of the twelve judges, if the jury should convict the prisoner. The fact then for them to decide was, whether the prisoner, previously to his obtaining possession of the check from sir T. Plomer for the express purpose of purchasing exchequer bills, had formed in his own mind the fraudulent project of embezzling the money

money to his own account. The better to enable the jury to make up their minds on this question, he would recapitulate the parts of the evidence that bore immediately on the point, if they did not wish to hear the whole summed up. The jury agreed.

His lordship then recounted the circumstances of the prisoner having bargained for the purchase of 11,000*l.* in American stock so far back as 29th Nov. and his having agreed for the purchase of 300*l.* of Portuguese coin on 2d Dec.; and this while he was a ruined man, and, as he afterwards acknowledged, wholly destitute of property; and while he had in contemplation the obtaining of sir T. Plomer's money. His having acknowledged in his letters the intention to defraud somebody; first, a Mr. O—, and afterwards sir Thomas Plomer; his having come from his house in the country on the very morning of the 5th December, with a baggage for a long voyage; his subsequent purchase of stockings and night-caps for the purpose, before he obtained the possession of sir Thomas Plomer's money; and his afterwards acknowledging his settled intention for the purpose to have been fixed; taken together, could leave no doubt that the fraudulent project had been formed in his intention long before he actually received the check. The jury would, therefore, consider their verdict. Without hesitation they returned—Guilty.

The points, of course, remain for the twelve judges to decide.

19. A shock of an earthquake was felt at many places in Oxfordshire, and the adjoining counties. At Telsworth, Islip, Bletchinden, Radley, Wolvercot, and many

other villages, the windows were much shaken, and in many houses the shock was distinctly felt. It was accompanied with a deep rumbling noise, similar to a discharge of heavy ordnance. In some places this noise was heard for upwards of ten minutes.

SPECIAL COMMISSION.

Sessions house, Horse-monger-lane.

20. This being the day named for opening the special commission issued for the trial of the seamen taken on board the French ships at the capture of the Isle of France, on a charge of high treason, the chief baron, who was appointed the head of the commission, accompanied by sir Simon Le Blanc and sir Alan Chambre, took his seat on the bench about eleven o'clock.

The grand jury having been sworn, the lord chief baron delivered his charge to the following effect: He stated, that his majesty had thought it necessary to issue this special commission, to inquire into offences of no ordinary magnitude, in order to show in this, as well as in every other instance, his anxiety for the protection and salvation of the country. He was sorry to say, that the persons charged with these offences were members of those illustrious and honourable professions, the royal navy and marines, to whom the house of parliament were in the habit, session after session, of presenting their thanks for distinguished skill and valour, the recurrence of which was recorded in almost every daily paper. Still the duty which juries owed to their country obliged them to attend to cases of this nature, let the parties be whom they might; and his lordship was so well acquainted with a grand jury of the

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county

county of Surrey, that he should not think it necessary to detain them, except to explain so much of the law as was requisite to carry them through that preliminary inquiry.

All the prisoners stood committed for the same offence; so that the jury would not be puzzled by any variety of crime:—it was one of the species of high treason,—the highest offence of which a man in civil society could be guilty, because thereby the whole community might be injured, and the laws and constitution be totally subverted. Anciently the law on this subject was ill-defined and ill-arranged, till the statute 25 Edw. III. distinctly enumerated and ordained, that acts to the exclusion of all others should be deemed high treason in future. This statute was wholesome, wise, and just; for, in proportion as the punishment was heavy, the crime should be certain. By this statute, all former treasons, which were before as numerous and extensive as the caprices of the sovereign or his ministers, were reduced to several; and though some were added by subsequent parliamentary enactments, yet all that were fundamental were to be found in the statute of Edward. The first three treasons, which were compassing the king's death, violating his consort, and levying war against him in his realm,—were such as tended directly to the subversion of the state. The fourth, of which these persons stood charged, was that of adhering to the king's enemies; to assist whom, in their plans of conquest, was more destructive to the constitution than even the levying of war in the realm; for a rebellion might be consistent with a due administration of justice and the protection of pro-

perty, as this country had experienced in the century before the last; but subjugation by such an enemy as ours, would be followed by the destruction of all property, and certainly of all liberty. Such was the preliminary inquiry; and if there should be any reasonable ground for the charge, the prisoners would be put to explain their conduct. The statute required, first, that the particular acts of treason should be distinctly set forth in the indictment; that the overt or open acts should be proved by two witnesses; and all collateral facts, not tending to the proof of the overt acts, might be proved by one witness only. Assistance might be afforded to the enemy by furnishing them with arms, ammunition, and necessaries—by giving them intelligence—by conspiring to assist them in invasion—and in some cases even by dissuading them from making an hostile attack. He mentioned these things, not so much for the instruction of the grand jury, as for the purpose of warning to some of the persons who might be called together on this occasion. It would be incumbent on the prisoners to show, that what they had done, was done under fear of death, or under duress; and that the compulsory force continued during the whole time, as well as existed at first: not that they would be called upon to account for every day; but they must show either that they had attempted to escape, and had been prevented; or that they had been pursued and brought back; or that they had been narrowly watched; or that the attempt would have been attended with great difficulty and danger, so that upon the whole it would have been impracticable, although

although it might not appear so at the actual moment. These, and such reasons as these, if satisfactorily proved, would be considered a sufficient defence: but the apprehension of great damages to property, or of grievous inconvenience, or hardships which might be inflicted upon them as prisoners, would not excuse them. He mentioned this, the rather because greater hardships and oppressions were now used against prisoners than had ever before been known in modern warfare, for the purpose of inducing them to enter into the enemy's service. It was fit, therefore, that the law should be exactly explained, that persons in a situation similar to that in which the prisoners had been placed, might know what was expected from them by their country. In short, nothing less than actual compulsion, or a well-founded apprehension of death, would be esteemed a sufficient justification. The lord chief baron then concluded, by hoping that the prisoners would be able to explain their conduct satisfactorily to the petty jury.

The witnesses were then sworn, and the court adjourned. The prisoners are by law allowed ten days for the preparation of their defence, after the finding the bill of indictment.

BOW-STREET.

21. At a late hour on Saturday night, 13 of the men who have uttered the forged certificates of their services in the royal navy, and defrauded the governors of Greenwich hospital in connection with Gawler, the clerk, were brought before Mr. Graham, and admitted to bail, themselves in 50*l.* each, and two sureties in 25*l.* each. Some of their certificates stated them to have

served longer in the navy than they were years old. Others stated them to have served eighteen, twenty, and twenty-one years, whereas they had only served about four, five or six years. The men appeared extremely penitent for what they had been led into, and hoped mercy would be shown them. They principally reside in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields, where Hopeton, the public-house agent, also resides, who was connected with Gawler in procuring the men, and Gawler manufactured and got passed the forged certificates in the office.

LEEDS SESSIONS.

New interpretation of the toleration act.

24. Mr. Robert Wood, a preacher in the methodist connection, presented himself before the magistrates, and requested that the oaths might be administered to him, that he might make the declaration required by the toleration act, to qualify him to officiate as a dissenting teacher.

The bench inquired if he was appointed a teacher to any specific congregation?

The rev. Mr. Wood, sen. who is also a travelling preacher in the same connection, replied, that his son was to preach at Bramley.

Recorder—Suffer the young man to answer the question himself.

Mr. Robert Wood.—It is intended that I should preach at Bramley, Armley, and other villages in the vicinity.

The recorder, after some conversation with the bench and the counsel near him, resumed—"From a report of a case just published, it appears that the court of king's bench have decided, that a protestant dissenter, who states himself as one who preaches to several congregations, without showing that he

he has a separate congregation attached to him, is not entitled to take the oaths and make the declaration required by the toleration act. It will therefore be necessary for you to prove your appointment to preach to a separate congregation, before you can be entitled to take the oaths.

Mr. Maude here observed, that though the court of king's bench did not, in the case cited, think proper to issue a mandamus to compel the magistrates to administer the oaths, it did not follow that the oaths might not be administered as heretofore, without requiring those new conditions, which were never before heard of.

Mr. Hainsworth, in reply, said, the magistrates could only administer the oaths agreeably to the provisions of the toleration act; and if that act required certain previous conditions, it was not in the power of that bench, or any other, to dispense with them; for if the magistrates, in the case alluded to, had required any thing to be done which the law had not made necessary, the court of king's bench would have issued a mandamus to compel them to administer the oaths.

In these observations the court coincided, and refused to administer the oaths.

Before the court adjourned, Mr. Holthy, a student under the tuition of the rev. Mr. Steadman, a dissenting minister at Bradford, presented himself for the same purpose, and his application was rejected on the same grounds. But it appeared upon inquiry, that this gentleman had made application to an improper sessions, the court having no jurisdiction out of this borough; and he was advised to make application to the sessions for the riding. On

this gentleman expressing some surprise at the new provisions, which, after the lapse of a century, had been discovered in the toleration act; Mr. Hardy, the recorder, admitted that it was certainly a new interpretation of the act, and that magistrates had been uniformly in the practice of administering the oaths without any reference to those conditions which the court of king's bench had decided to be necessary.

The following is an abstract of the details of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and of the movements of general Hill's corps, which were published in the gazette of January 28.

Downing-street, Jan. 27.

A dispatch is received from lord Wellington, dated Gallegos, 9th Jan.—His lordship invested Ciudad Rodrigo on the 8th. The enemy had increased the difficulty of approaching the place by a strong redoubt constructed on the hill of St. Francisco. It was necessary to attempt to take it: it was stormed on the night of the 8th, by a detachment of the light division, led by lieutenant-col. Colbourne. The work was carried in the most brilliant manner, and all the garrison either killed or taken. Our loss was only six men killed; capt. Mein and lieutenant Woodgate of the 52d, and lieutenant Hawkesley of the 95th, with 14 men wounded.—By this success lord Wellington has been enabled to break ground within 60 yards of the place, the redoubt of St. Francisco being converted into a part of our first parallel.—General Hill entered Merida on the 30th Dec. He had hoped to surprise general Dombronski, but his approach was discovered by a patrol. The French general retreated from Merida, leaving

leaving magazines of bread and wheat, and some unfinished works. On the 1st, gen. Hill marched to attack Drouet's corps d'armée at Almendralejo; but the enemy retreated to Zafra, abandoning 450,000 pounds of wheat, &c.—On the 3d a detachment of our cavalry beat a body of the enemy's horse at Fuente del Maestre, taking 2 officers and 30 men prisoners, gen. Drouet retreating to Llerena. Gen. Hill found it useless to pursue him, and returned on the 5th of January to Merida.

INTERESTING NAVAL INTELLIGENCE.

Narrative by a person on board the Grasshopper, of the circumstances attending the loss of that vessel and the Hero.

"On Wednesday, Dec. 18, 1811, we sailed from Wingo Sound, in company with his majesty's ships Hero, Egeria, and Prince William armed ship, with a convoy of 120 sail or upwards. The Egeria and Prince William, with the greatest part of the convoy, separated from us in the tremendous weather we had shortly after leaving the Sleeve; and on the 23d we found ourselves in company with the Hero, and about eighteen sail, mostly government transports. At half-past eleven on that day, captain Newman made signal to come within hail; when he told us, as he conceived we were near about the Silver Pitts, he should steer S. W. after noon; which was accordingly done: and at the close of the day, we steering that course, running at the rate of nine knots per hour, at about ten o'clock the night-signal was made to alter course to port two points; which was repeated by us. At this time only four of the convoy were in sight, and they

were shortly lost sight of in the heavy squall of snow and sleet. At half-past three the hands were turned up, the ship being in broken water: we found we were on a sand-bank, the pilots imagining it to be Smith's Knoll. The captain instantly ordered the brig to be steered S. S. E. thinking to get out to sea; but she continued striking so hard for a length of time, that we had almost given her up for lost, when suddenly, and very fortunately, we fell into three fathoms water; upon which the captain caused an anchor to be let go, when we perceived the Hero again (as we then thought) also at an anchor, though she fired several guns and burnt blue lights: but, alas! when the day broke, we had the mortification of witnessing a most horrible scene. The Hero was totally dismantled, and on her larboard beam-ends, with her head to the north-east, about a mile from us, upon the Haeck's Sand, as we then found we were inside of it, off the Texel Island; the ship's company were all crowded together on the poop and fore-castle. As soon as daylight had well appeared, she hoisted a flag of truce and fired a gun, which we repeated, and very shortly after saw a lugger, two brigs, and several small vessels, plying out of the Texel to our assistance; but owing to the flood-tide having made, and the wind blowing a perfect gale N. N. W. the lugger was only able to come within two or three miles of us by two o'clock in the afternoon. In the mean time we hoisted out our boats, and made an attempt to get near the Hero; but the surf was so high, that it was all ineffectual, and we were under the cruel necessity of seeing so many of our brave countrymen perishing, without being able

able to render them any assistance. The Grasshopper at the same time was constantly striking very hard, though every thing had been thrown over-board to lighten her, except the guns, upon which it was feared she would have bilged. The master was then sent to sound in every direction, for a passage to make our escape by (though I have since found out that an escape was totally impossible); but quarter less three, and two fathoms and a half, were the only soundings he could meet with. The captain, therefore, with the opinion of the officers, agreed, that we had no chance of saving ourselves but by surrendering to the enemy, who were at this time, as I have before mentioned, coming to our assistance and that of the Hero, from whose wreck, I am sorry to say, not one soul has been saved. I observed, likewise, about five miles to the northward of us, a vessel on shore, with her foremast standing, and another some distance from her, both of which I took to be the transports that were under our convoy. The commanding officer here has since informed us, that the telegraph has reported that eight or ten vessels were wrecked upon the coast to the northward on the 23d instant, and had shared the fate of the poor Hero. A transport, called the Archimedes, beat over the Haecks as well as ourselves, with the loss of her rudder; but has since been wrecked, though the crew are saved, and now prisoners of war, as well as we. At close of day, finding the weather threatening to be worse, and the brig striking so repeatedly, we cut the cable and ran for the port in view: when we approached the lugger, which was by this time anchored, she sent a pilot to us,

who took us into the Texel, where we surrendered to the Dutch squadron, under the command of admiral de Winter, who, I must in justice say, has behaved to us in the most humane and attentive manner. They also used every means in their power to save the crew of the unfortunate Hero; but the badness of the weather rendered it totally impossible. We lost but one man, Mr. King the pilot, who was killed by a capstern bar, which flew out as we were heaving in cable to put service in the hawse."

Accounts from Lemveg, Jan. 6, by an Anholt mail, state the following particulars of the shipwrecks of the St. George and Defence: "There were no more than eleven men saved of the crew of the St. George, as the twelfth died before he could be brought into a house. These seamen state, that the ship, previous to the loss of her masts, had likewise had her rudder broken by striking on the Red-sand; and the one which was made on board to replace it, was too weak to steer and govern the ship in a gale of wind in the North Sea, and which might, probably, cause the ship's stopping.—The Defence first took the ground; and on signal being given by her of the accident, the St. George immediately let go her anchor; but in bringing up with the anchor she took the ground abaft, so that her forepart, which had deeper water, and was confined down by the cable, was, in a short time, under water. To save them by boats and craft from the shore was impossible. Such as were hoisted out were immediately driven from the ship, with the exception of one single boat, in which about 20 men attempted to save themselves, but it upset alongside the ship, and they were

were all drowned. On the afternoon of Christmas-day, when the last of the eleven men left the ship on a small piece of plank, admiral Reynolds and captain Guion, the commander of the ship, were lying dead aside each other upon the quarter-deck, as were also about 508 men of the crew, who had died through fatigue and cold, and from the sea breaking over them; only about fifty men remaining still alive, whose cries were only heard until it became dark, when it is to be hoped that an end was put to their misery. Two days afterwards, when the gale was abated, and the wind, being easterly, was off the shore, a Danish boat, with two of the English sailors, went on board to bring away the corpses of the admiral, the captain, and several other persons; but they found the deck was washed away by the sea, with all the bodies lying on it. It is supposed the ship must now be broken right athwart, although both ends of her are still perceptible, and that it must be the ammunition lying in the bottom, which holds her together. Among the ship's crew, which is said to have been no more than 750, about 40 were reckoned in the class of officers; and of these, exclusive of the admiral and captain, ten were lieutenants, one secretary, one captain, and three lieutenants of marines. The secretary, who was a married man, was half dead when he came on shore, and expired immediately after. A quantity of gold coins found upon his person, such as whole and half-guineas, Dutch ducats, &c. and likewise some English bank-notes, is, so far as yet known, all the money saved. According to the report given by the survivors, the admiral must have been a most gallant man. He

would not quit his ship, but died on board her. He was a widower, and has left two daughters behind him, and a son, who is a captain. —A great number of dead bodies have been driven on shore between Hausbye and Nessum, all of which were interred with military honours. Forty-seven barrels of gunpowder have been saved out of the Defence."

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

The king (on the prosecution of the bishop of Derry) v. Mansell Phillips, esq. M. P.

29. The attorney general moved for the judgment of the court on Mansell Phillips, esq.

The defendant having appeared in court, the criminal information which he was charged with, having published, in a newspaper called "The Cambrian," a libel against the bishop of Derry, and on which information the defendant had allowed judgment to go against him by default, was read.

Mr. Bevan then addressed the court on the part of the defendant. He had it in charge from his client to declare; that he felt the most sincere conviction in his own mind, that there was not the shadow of truth for that calumny against the right reverend prelate, of which he had so indiscreetly suffered himself to be the propagator. From the first moment that he became sensible of the injustice he had been made the means of rendering to the character of this distinguished prelate, he had felt most sincere contrition for his offence, and had deeply deplored his own indiscretion in the part he had acted. In communicating the intelligence, as it had come to his hands, to the proprietor of *The Cambrian*, he had not intended that it should meet the

the public eye. When he observed, therefore, that it had been published, he immediately wrote to him, finding fault with him on this account. Having himself no knowledge of the right rev. prelate, he made it his business to obtain a letter of introduction to him from his solicitor; and inspired with a wish to make a personal acknowledgement to the bishop, of his deep sorrow for the offence which he had so indiscreetly committed, he went over to Ireland for the sake of imploring forgiveness.—He was so unfortunate, however, to ascertain on his arrival in the neighbourhood of the right rev. prelate's residence in Ireland, that he had set out for this country; so that the defendant's journey to Ireland was rendered nugatory. As a gentleman, the defendant felt himself called on, in duty, to make every atonement in his power for the offence into which he had injudiciously fallen. This, he now wished, in the most unequivocal terms, to do through him (Mr. Bevan) his counsel. He was also desirous of an opportunity of waiting on the right rev. prelate himself, that he might, to him personally, make an acknowledgement of his error. The defendant had offered to the bishop to pay the costs of the proceedings, but these he had refused to receive. The defendant had in consequence, under the impression that the right rev. prelate, though he might be unwilling himself to receive any thing in the shape of a pecuniary consideration, might not be disinclined to see it transferred to some deserving charitable institution, had placed a considerable sum at the disposal of the bishop, to be appropriated to such charitable uses as he should choose. Under these circumstances,

the learned counsel hoped that the defendant should experience the lenient consideration of the court, in the judgement which they were now called on to pass upon him.

The attorney-general said, he could not be ignorant that no inconsiderable effect had been produced on the court by the address of his learned friend, and also by the judicious line of conduct which the defendant had been advised to pursue throughout. Little remained for him (the attorney-general) now to say, because every object which the right rev. prelate could be supposed, in the present prosecution, to have in view, was already answered. One word in explanation, however, he must be permitted to say. The bishop of Derry, with that liberality which belonged to him, seeing two young men who were exerting themselves to carry on, in the neighbourhood of his diocese, a manufacture which promised, if successful, to be highly beneficial to the surrounding country, assisted them with money for this purpose. The undertaking failed; the bishop, in consequence, lost his money; and on this circumstance had some malevolent person raised the report that the bishop himself was engaged in mercantile speculations. After what had been done by the defendant, the bishop felt he could ask no more. He had only to declare, as to the sum so properly placed by the defendant at the right rev. prelate's disposal, his lordship had resolved that no part of it should be disposed of in that country to which he more peculiarly belonged, so as to seem to dispense with any of his accustomed charities in that country. The right rev. prelate wished that the sum in question

tion should go to a charity in this country—that it should go to the society of the Sons of the Clergy.

Lord Ellenborough said, in these circumstances, the proper course would be, to take the defendant's own recognizance to appear to receive the judgement of the court when called on, and for his good behaviour.

The defendant was accordingly discharged, on giving his own recognizance to the above effect, to the extent of 500l.

Extract of a letter. "Texel, Jan. 31.

"The fishing-boats, &c. which set out at day-break of the 29th inst. to the assistance of the vessel shipwrecked upon the Haak, approached her; but at a cable's distance the sea was so strong, and the sands had collected to such a degree, that the boats struck violently upon them, and immediately the row-boats became useless; nevertheless the chief pilot, Duynheer, risked the sacrificing of his life to save some men, and ventured on the shallows and sunken rocks, whilst the English, having made a raft, by tying empty barrels together, let it down. This bold measure placed Duynheer in a situation to receive 35 men, all sailors, and two pilots. The pilot's boat was already half filled with water, and it was with difficulty she withdrew from so critical a situation. One of the enemy's sailors expired in the boat, and two are dangerously wounded. This position hindering them acting on either side, our boats retired. On the 30th in the morning, it blowing from the southward very fresh, the frigate again began to fire, and the fishing-boats, &c. returned to renew their efforts.—The vessel proves to be the Manila frigate, of 42 guns and 250 men. She struck upon

the Haak at seven at night of the 28th of January, when the captain endeavoured to have an anchor carried out, but did not succeed, and lost in attempting it five boats and 36 men. The 34 prisoners are marched for Amsterdam."—"Feb. 1. The boats have succeeded in saving all the people on board the frigate, amounting to between 170 and 180 men. I shall order them to proceed directly to Amsterdam. Three of the five boats belonging to this frigate, supposed to have been lost in carrying out an anchor, have arrived upon Texel Island with some men. A small part only of the prisoners' clothes has been saved, it being with considerable difficulty that the crew were taken off. I beg to mention the exemplary conduct of lieut. Jacob, who commanded pilot Duynheer's boat, which executed the bold manœuvre I stated yesterday. All the prisoners overwhelm him with their gratitude, and declare that he attempted an almost impossibility, with the greatest risk of perishing himself to save 35 men, which he accomplished."—By a later account brought by a British vessel, only six are said to have perished.

FEBRUARY.

AMERICA.

1. A phenomenon has appeared in the United States, in the person of a boy of seven years, who can neither read nor write figures, so as to enumerate; but who nevertheless resolves, as it were by instinct, without error, the most intricate questions that may be proposed to him in arithmetic. [See Public Occurrences for October.]

On the 27th of December at Richmond in America, the play-house

house was crowded with an unusual audience: there could not have been less than 600 persons in the house. Just before the conclusion of the play the scenery caught fire, and in a few minutes the whole building was wrapt in flames. It is already ascertained, that 62 persons were devoured by the terrific element. We are informed, that the scenery took fire in the back part of the house, by the raising of a chandelier; that the boy, who was ordered by some of the players to raise it, stated, that if he did so, the scenery would take fire; when he was commanded in a peremptory manner to hoist it. The boy obeyed, and the fire was instantly communicated to the scenery. He gave the alarm in the rear of the stage, and requested some of the attendants to cut the cords by which the combustible materials were suspended. The person whose duty it was to perform this business was panic-struck, and sought his own safety. This unfortunately happened at a time when one of the performers was playing near the orchestra, and the greatest part of the stage was obscured from the audience by a curtain. The fire falling from the scenery, upon the performer, was the first notice which the people had of their danger. Even then, many supposed it to be a part of the play, and were, for a little time, restrained from flight by a cry from the stage that there was no danger. There was but one door for the greatest part of the audience to pass. Men, women, and children, were pressing upon each other, while the flames were seizing upon those behind; who, urged by the flames, pushed those out who were nearest to the windows; and
 of every description began

to fall one upon another, some with their clothes on fire, some half roasted. In addition to the list now given, it is believed that at least 60 others perished, whose names are not yet ascertained. [Here follow the names of 62 persons, among whom were the governor of the province (Smith) and his lady.]

IRELAND.

In the court of king's bench, Dublin, the trial of Mr. Kirwan commenced Jan. 27. His counsel challenged all the jurors, upon the ground of their having been improperly selected by the crown officers. After a due investigation of the point, the court found against the challenge. On the 28th, an affidavit on behalf of Mr. Kirwan was brought forward, the purport of which was to procure for him the same advantage as the crown had had with respect to persons on the pannel; alleging that some were orange-men, and enemies of the catholics. This business occupied Wednesday. On Thursday the 30th the trial opened with a speech from the solicitor-general; and the chief justice afterwards proceeded to charge the jury, explaining to them at considerable length the provisions of the convention act. The jury having retired for 15 minutes, returned with a verdict of Guilty; subject, however, to the future decision of the judges of a point of law, relative to an informality in the indictment. On the conclusion of the trial, Mr. Kirwan was informed by the court, that, notwithstanding his conviction, he was perfectly at liberty to go at large, upon the recognizance he had already provided.

Mr. Kirwan was brought up on Feb. 6; fined one mark, and discharged.

charged. Judge Day, on delivering the sentence of the court, took occasion to make some forcible remarks upon the catholic committee, than which, he said, the catholic cause had not a greater enemy.

EXCHEQUER CHAMBER, WEST-
MINSTER HALL.

The King v. B. Walsh, esq. M. P.

This day the point reserved by the court in arrest of judgement, in the case of Mr. Walsh, namely, whether the offence of which he had been found guilty was larceny, or a breach of trust merely, came on to be solemnly argued before the twelve judges in the exchequer chamber.

Mr. Scarlet, on behalf of the prisoner, in an elaborate argument, adduced a great variety of cases, which he maintained were of a class similar to the present, and contended that the offence imputed to his client was not felony, but simply a breach of trust. The chief ground upon which he proposed to maintain this proposition, was a just consideration of the relation which subsisted between the prosecutor and the prosecuted, at the time the offence was alleged to have been committed. The prosecutor had employed the prisoner in the way of his trade, to purchase for him a certain number of exchequer bills, with a certain sum of money, or a warrant for the receipt of money. In giving that warrant to the prisoner, he was invested with a species of property in it; he received it, not to return it again in the shape he had received it, but to bring back exchequer bills in lieu thereof. The nature of the property which could have constituted the subject of a larceny, merged, in the instant of its transfer to his hands, into a mere act of

trust. The draft came to the prisoner's hands lawfully in the first instance, and consequently the idea of a felonious taking or converting was at once done away. Could the honourable prosecutor have charged the prisoner with feloniously stealing from him 22,000*l.* worth of exchequer bills, had the prisoner so laid out all the money intrusted to him? Certainly he could not. In order to recover the possession of them, he would be obliged to have recourse to a civil action. The indictment charged the prisoner with stealing 22,000*l.* in bank of England notes. The check of the prosecutor was not converted into cash until after it came into the hands of the prisoner: consequently the idea of a felonious taking that sum could not be supported, until that of the prisoner itself made it a case upon which larceny could have been committed. The prisoner received it not as money, but merely as the means of procuring money for the purpose of executing his trust. The learned gentleman cited a great many cases in support of this doctrine, which he contended were decisive upon the question for which he argued.

Mr. Gurney argued the case in support of the conviction for felony, at considerable length. He said the larceny in this case was the larceny of the bank notes; and he contended, that the written order of sir Thomas Piomer upon his banker for 22,000*l.* was the same thing as if he had personally accompanied the prisoner to the banker's, and there given him further orders to give to the prisoner the bank notes. The check was the means of getting the money, and was just the same thing as if a man gave another the key of a

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strong box, authorising him to take out of it a sum of money contained therein, for a certain purpose. His learned friend had argued, that the prisoner had done this in the way of his business. But for his (Mr. Gurney's) part, he never knew it was in the way of a man's business to rob another, and convert that property to his own use, which had been intrusted to him for a certain purpose. The circumstance of its being done in the way of business was no excuse whatever for this offence, and no ground for removing a charge of felony. That it was larceny, he was prepared to show by a variety of cases precisely analogous. He denied that the cases cited by his learned friend (Mr. Scarlet) bore at all on the present question. Those to which he referred were cases wherein third persons were concerned, and were clearly cases of mere fraud or breach of trust. But the present one was characterized by a very different aspect. Here there was no third person. The prisoner had received the money, and had converted it to his own purposes. The learned gentleman then quoted several cases, which contradicted the principle of Mr. Scarlet, that the property was vested in the person intrusted at the moment of transfer to his hands. They went to prove that the ultimate property of the owner never ceased during the time it was out of his hands in the possession of another. The prosecutor would have had a right to seize his property wherever he should find it, and to have taken it from the possession of the prisoner himself at any time, had he apprehended that his intentions were dishonest. He was proceeding to cite other cases to support this doctrine, when the

further hearing was ordered to be adjourned.

FRANCE.

2. Bonaparte has, in lieu of the Dutch order of the Union, created an imperial order called the Reunion; the crosses and decorations of which are destined to reward the services of the great officers of state, judges, and the civil officers of the empire. It is composed of 200 grand crosses, 1000 commanders, and 10,000 knights. The duke of Cadore has been nominated grand chancellor, and M. Vander Goes Van Dixland grand treasurer. Half a million of francs have been granted towards its endowment. The oath binds the individual to be faithful to the emperor, and to the dynasty.

According to tables published in the almanac of the French board of longitude, the population of the French empire amounts to 48,987,144 souls. Of this number it is supposed that 28 millions speak the French language, 6,453,000 the Italian, 4,068,000 the Dutch or Flemish, 967,000 the Breton, and 108,000 the Basque. The population of the States connected with the system of France, in which number are included the kingdom of Italy, Spain, Switzerland, the confederation of the Rhine, &c. is estimated at 38,141,541 souls.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Paris journals announce the surrender of Valencia by capitulation to marshal Suchet, created by Bonaparte, for this service, duke of Albufera. It appears, from the documents published in the French papers, that Suchet, after the battle of Saguntum, advanced with his centre to the suburbs of Valencia, and was employed nearly a month

month in waiting the arrival of the reinforcements and artillery, and collecting the other requisites for the siege. On the 26th the line of Blake's army was attacked; and, his cavalry being routed, the infantry were pursued to the intrenched camp of Manisser and Quarte; which being subsequently forced, the cannon, baggage, and caissons, were all taken, the army of Blake cut off from the road to Murcia, and obliged to throw itself into Valencia. During these operations, two English frigates, with some gun-boats, kept up an incessant fire, in order to retard the progress of the French; but retired, finding matters desperate. The French then attacked a number of small intrenched camps, took two stand of colours, thirty pieces of cannon, with 100 caissons and waggons; and the Spaniards, in their flight, are said to have been pushed into the marshes of Albufera, where many of them perished. On the evening of the 25th Dec. Valencia was invested on all sides. On the 2d Jan. the trenches were opened before the new town of Valencia, which was 6000 toises in extent, with the extremities of the right and left touching the Guadalavivier. The fortifications were three years in erecting, and were defended by a large ditch. The walls of the old town are represented to be mere garden walls. Blake, in this situation, foreseeing the fall of the place, made an attempt with 12,000 men to retire, in the night, from Valencia; but was prevented, with the loss of 400 men. More than 1500 men afterwards deserted from Blake, who abandoned the line of fortifications. On the 6th, Suchet offered the Spanish general a capitulation, which was refused. Between the

6th and 9th, 2700 bombs were thrown into the town, batteries mounted ready to make a breach in the interior defences, lodgements effected in the two last houses of the suburbs, with mines prepared under two of the principal gates of the town. Dreading the effects of an assault to a population of upwards of 200,000 people, Blake desired a capitulation for the town and army, which was signed on the 9th Jan.; the troops surrendering as prisoners of war, and the property of the inhabitants to be respected. On the 10th, the army and garrison, consisting of 18,000 men, marched out and laid down their arms, including 893 officers, and 22 generals, among whom are Zayas and Lardizabel, generals O'Donnell and Blake. In Valencia were found 374 pieces of artillery, 180,000 lbs. of powder, 3,000,000 cartridges, &c. Mr. Tupper, the English consul, escaped from Valencia on the 3d Jan. Blake, with his aides-de-camp, is ordered to Paris.

M. Amice, an astronomer of Milan, has constructed a telescope 17 feet in length and 11 inches in diameter. It is the largest ever made in Italy, and is said to equal the best English glasses for observing the heavenly bodies. On trial it was proved that the smallest writing might, by means of it, be read at the distance of 300 yards, and every stop and fine stroke plainly discerned.

Powell v. the Bishop of London.

3. This case came on to-day for a final hearing, when lord Ellenborough said, the act which gave the power to the bishop to approve or disapprove persons was the 14th of Charles II. by which it was provided, "that no person should be
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admitted as lecturer, or allowed to preach as such, in any church or other place of religious worship in the kingdom, unless previously approved of and licensed by the bishop of the diocese." Dr. Povah now complained that the bishop had refused to license him, not stating his reasons, and refusing to hear him; and he applied to the court to order him to do so; but the opinion of the court was, that they had no power to interfere. When the matter came first before the court, it did not appear clear what were the grounds on which the bishop refused to license, and therefore the court granted a rule, which had produced an affidavit in answer, in which he swore that his sole reason for refusing to license Dr. Povah, was a conscientious opinion, and conviction formed, after he had been repeatedly admitted before him and examined, that he could not approve him, and therefore, consistently with his duty, could not license him. His lordship went on to state, that his opinion, after diligent and impartial inquiry into the life and doctrine of Dr. Povah, was confirmed; and he was convinced that a conscientious discharge of his duty as a bishop, could not allow him to license a person whose life and doctrine he did not approve. The learned lord observed, had the mandamus gone, and the bishop returned this as an answer, the court must have held it good, unless they were prepared to say that they, and not the bishop, really possessed the power of approval; and if the court should feel itself authorized to assume such a power, their mandamus to the bishop would say, "Approve, though you do not approve, and take our conscience instead of your own to guide

you in your judgements." His lordship concluded by declaring his opinion and the opinion of the court to be, that they had not the power to grant a mandamus. With respect to the archbishop of Canterbury, the court were of opinion, if Dr. Povah thought proper, he might still apply to him; but unless the court could repeal a wholesome and wise act of parliament, the present rule must be discharged.—The attorney-general trusted, with respect to the bishop, the rule would be discharged with costs.—Lord Ellenborough said, he did not think, as this was the first time the question had come specifically before the court, that the rule should be discharged with costs. The law having now been laid down, should any similar applications be made, the court, on the subject of costs, might think differently.—Rule discharged.

SURRENDER OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.

5. At nine o'clock last night, the Park and Tower guns announced the arrival of important intelligence. It was the confirmation of the report brought from Corunna.—Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm on the 19th ult.—The dispatches from lord Wellington arrived about seven o'clock. They were brought by one of his lordship's aides-de-camp, the hon. major Gordon.—The earl of Liverpool was at the house of lords at the time of their arrival. The major immediately proceeded thither, and delivered them. Soon afterwards the following letter was transmitted to the lord mayor:—

Downing-street, Feb. 4, 1812,

My lord, the hon. major Gordon, aide-de-camp to general lord Wellington, has this moment arrived at my office, with the satisfactory

factory intelligence of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, by storm, on the evening of the 19th of January. The French governor-general Bannier, about 78 officers, and 1700 men, are taken prisoners, and 153 pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores were found in the place.

The particulars of this most important event will be immediately published in an Extraordinary Gazette. In the mean time, I have enclosed a list of his majesty's army who have unfortunately been killed and wounded on this occasion.

I have the honour to be,
my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient
and humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

To the right honourable the
lord mayor.

This morning the following Gazette Extraordinary was published:

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Feb. 4.

Major the honourable A. Gordon has arrived this evening at lord Liverpool's office, with a dispatch, addressed to his lordship by general viscount Wellington, dated Gallagos, 20th Jan. 1812.

My lord,—I informed your lordship in my dispatch of the 9th, that I had attacked Ciudad Rodrigo, and in that of the 15th, of the progress of the operations to that period; and I have now the pleasure to acquaint your lordship that we took the place by storm yesterday evening after dark.

We continued from the 15th to complete the second parallel, and the communications with that

work; and we had made some progress by sap towards the crest of the glacis. On the night of the 15th we likewise advanced from the left of the first parallel down the slope of the hill, towards the convent of St. Francisco, to a situation from which the walls of the Fausse Braye and of the town were seen, on which a battery of seven guns was constructed, and they commenced their fire on the morning of the 18th.

In the mean time, the batteries in the first parallel continued their fire; and yesterday evening their fire had not only considerably injured the defences of the place, but had made breaches in the Fausse Braye wall, and in the body of the place, which were considered practicable; while the battery on the slope of the hill, which had been commenced on the night of the 15th, and had opened on the 18th, had been equally efficient still further to the left, and opposite to the suburb of St. Francisco.

I therefore determined to storm the place, notwithstanding that the approaches had not been brought to the crest of the glacis, and the counterscarp of the ditch was still entire. The attack was accordingly made yesterday evening in five separate columns, consisting of the troops of the 3d and light divisions, and of brigadier-general Pack's brigade.—The two right columns, conducted by lieutenant-colonel O'Toole, of the 3d cazadors, and major Ridge, of the 5th regiment, were destined to protect the advance of major-general Mackinnon's brigade, forming the third, to the top of the breach in the Fausse Braye wall; and all these, being composed of troops of the 3d division, were under the direction of lieutenant-general Picton.

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The fourth column, consisting of the 43d and 52d regiments, and part of the 95th regiment, being of the light division under the direction of major-general Craufurd, attacked the breaches on the left, in front of the suburb of St. Francisco, and covered the left of the attack of the principal breach by the troops of the 3d division; and brigadier-general Pack was destined with his brigade, forming the 5th column, to make a false attack upon the southern face of the fort. Besides these five columns, the 94th regiment, belonging to the 8d division, descended into the ditch in two columns on the right of major-general Mackinnon's brigade, with a view to protect the descent of that body into the ditch, and its attack of the breach in the Fausse Braye, against the obstacles which it was supposed the enemy would construct to oppose their progress.

All these attacks succeeded; and brigadier-gen. Pack even surpassed my expectations, having converted his false attack into a real one, and his advanced guard, under the command of major Lynch, having followed the enemy's troops from the advanced works into the Fausse Braye, where they made prisoners of all opposed to them.

Major Ridge, of the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, having escaladed the Fausse Braye wall, stormed the principal breach in the body of the place, together with the 94th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, which had moved along the ditch at the same time, and had stormed the breach in the Fausse Braye, both in front of major-general Mackinnon's brigade. Thus these regiments not only effectually covered the advance from the trenches of major-

general Mackinnon's brigade by their first movements and operations, but they preceded them in the attack.

Major-general Craufurd and major-general Vandeleur, and the troops of the light division on the left, were likewise very forward on that side, and in less than half an hour from the time the attack commenced, our troops were in possession of, and formed on the ramparts of the place, each body contiguous to the other. The enemy then submitted, having sustained a considerable loss in the contest.

Our loss was also, I am concerned to add, severe, particularly in officers of high rank and estimation in this army. Major-general Mackinnon was unfortunately blown up by the accidental explosion of one of the enemy's magazines, close to the breach, after he had gallantly and successfully led the troops under his command to the attack. Major-general Craufurd likewise received a severe wound while he was leading on the light division to the storm, and I am apprehensive that I shall be deprived for some time of his assistance. Major-general Vandeleur was likewise wounded in the same manner, but not so severely, as he was able to continue in the field. I have to add to this list lieutenant-colonel Colborne of the 52d regiment, and major George Napier who led the storming party of the light division, and was wounded on the top of the breach.

I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship the uniform good conduct, spirit of enterprise, and patience and perseverance in the performance of great labour, by which the general officers, and troops of the 1st, 3d, 4th, and light divisions, and brigadier-gen. Pack's brigade,

brigade, by whom the siege was carried on, have been distinguished during the late operations. Lieut.-general Graham assisted me in superintending the conduct of the detail of the siege, besides performing the duties of the general officer commanding the first division; and I am much indebted to the suggestions and assistance I received from him for the success of this enterprise.

The conduct of all parts of the 3d division, in the operations which they performed with so much gallantry and exactness on the evening of the 19th, in the dark, afford the strongest proof of the abilities of lieut.-general Picton and major-general Mackinnon, by whom they were directed and led; but I beg particularly to draw your lordship's attention to the conduct of lieut.-colonel O'Toole of the 2d caçadores, of major Ridge of the 2d batt. 5th foot, of lieut.-colonel Campbell of the 94th regiment, of major Manners of the 74th, and of major Grey of the 2d batt. 5th foot, who has been twice wounded during the siege.

It is but justice also to the 3d division to report, that the men who performed the sap belonged to the 45th, 74th, and 86th regiments, under the command of captain M'Leod of the royal engineers, and captain Thomson of the 74th, lieut. Bèresford of the 88th, and lieut. Metcalfe of the 45th; and they distinguished themselves not less in the storm of the place, than they had in the performance of their laborious duty during the siege.

I have already reported in my letter of the 9th inst. my sense of the conduct of major-general Craufurd; and of lieut.-colonel Colborne, and of the troops of the

light division, in the storm of the redoubt of St. Francisco, on the evening of the 8th inst. The conduct of these troops was equally distinguished throughout the siege; and in the storm, nothing could exceed the gallantry with which these brave officers and troops advanced and accomplished the difficult operation allotted to them, notwithstanding that all their leaders had fallen.

I particularly request your lordship's attention to the conduct of major-gen. Craufurd, major-gen. Vandeleur, lieut.-col. Barnard of the 95th, lieut.-col. Colborne; major Gibbs and major Napier of the 52d, and lieut.-col. M'Leod of the 43d. The conduct of captain Duffey of the 43d, and that of lieut. Gurwood of the 52d regiment, who was wounded, have likewise been particularly reported to me; lieut.-col. Elder, and the 3d caçadores, were likewise distinguished upon this occasion.

The 1st Portuguese regiment, under lieut.-col. Hill, and the 16th under col. Campbell, being brigadier-general Pack's brigade, were likewise distinguished in the storm, under the command of the brigadier-general, who particularly mentions major Lynch.

In my dispatch of the 15th, I reported to your lordship the attack of the convent of Santa Cruz, by the troops of the 1st division, under the direction of lieut.-general Graham, and that of the convent of St. Francisco, on the 14th inst. under the direction of major-general the hon. C. Colville. The first-mentioned enterprise was performed by captain Laroche de Stackenfels, of the 1st line battalion king's German legion; the last by lieut.-colonel Harcourt, with the 40th regiment. This regiment

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remained from that time in the suburb of St. Francisco, and materially assisted our attack on that side of the place.

Although it did not fall to the lot of the troops of the 1st and 4th divisions to bring these operations to their successful close, they distinguished themselves throughout their progress, by the patience and perseverance with which they performed the labours of the siege. The brigade of guards, under major-general H. Campbell, was particularly distinguished in this respect.

I likewise request your lordship's attention to the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, the chief engineer, and of brigade-major Jones, and the officers and men of the royal engineers. The ability with which these operations were carried on exceeds all praise; and I beg leave to recommend those officers to your lordship most particularly.

Major Dickons, of the royal artillery, attached to the Portuguese artillery, has for some time had the direction of the heavy train attached to this army, and has conducted the intricate details of the late operation, as he did those of the late sieges of Badajoz in the last summer, much to my satisfaction. The rapid execution produced by the well-directed fire kept up from our batteries, affords the best proof of the merits of the officers and men of the royal artillery, and of the Portuguese artillery, employed on this occasion. But I must particularly mention brigade-major May, and captains Holcombe, Power, Dyncley, and Dundas, of the royal artillery, and captains Da Cunha and Da Corta, and lieutenant Silva, of the 1st regiment of Portuguese artillery.

I have likewise particularly to

report to your lordship the conduct of major Sturgeon, of the royal staff corps. He constructed and placed for us the bridge over the Agueda, without which the enterprise could not have been attempted, and he afterwards materially assisted lieutenant-general Graham and myself in our reconnoissance of the place, on which the plan of the attack was founded; and he finally conducted the 2d battalion 5th regiment, as well as the 2d caçadores, to their points of attack.

The adjutant-general, and the deputy-quarter master-general, and the officers of their several departments, gave me every assistance throughout this service, as well as those of my personal staff: and I have great pleasure in adding, that, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the increased difficulties of procuring supplies for the troops, the whole army have been well supplied, and every branch of the service provided for during the late operations, by the indefatigable exertions of Mr. commissary-general Bisset, and the officers belonging to his department.

The marshal del Campo, Don Carlos d'Espana and Don Julian Sanchez, observed the enemy's movements beyond the Tormes, during the operations of the siege; and I am much obliged to them, and to the people of Castille in general, for the assistance I received from them. The latter have invariably shown their detestation of the French tyranny, and their desire to contribute by every means in their power to remove it.

I will hereafter transmit to your lordship a detailed account of what we have found in the place; but I believe there are 158 pieces of ordnance, including the heavy train belonging

belonging to the French army, and great quantities of ammunition and stores. We have the governor, general Barnier, about 78 officers, and 1700 men prisoners.

I transmit this dispatch by my aide-de-camp, the hon. major Gordon, who will give your lordship any further details you require; and beg leave to recommend him to your protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WELLINGTON.

ROBBERY OF THE BRIGHTON COACH.

6. On Wednesday one of the Brighton coaches was robbed of re-issuable Brighton Union bank-notes amounting to upwards of 3000*l.* in the following manner:—Messrs. Weston, Pinhorn and Co. bankers, Borough, are agents to the Union Brighton Bank, and send to them a parcel every week, by the coach which goes from the Blossoms inn, and for security they engage the inside of one of the seats, which is locked in London, and no person has a key besides the bankers at Brighton. On Wednesday they sent notes to the above amount, in a tin box, with a patent lock to it, which was put into an iron chest; which chest was locked and put into the seat, which was also locked. On the arrival of the coach at Brighton, it was discovered that the tin-box had been forced open, and all the notes taken out. The coachman is not suspected; and there is no doubt but that the whole of the inside of the coach was taken by a gang of thieves, for the purpose of stealing the notes. Two of the passengers (a man and woman), calling themselves by the name of Burley, got into the coach at the Blossoms inn, at seven o'clock on Wednesday morning, and a man named Cole;

when they got to the Elephant and Castle, another man of the name of Cole got in. The other two passengers were to be taken up at the Plough inn, Clapham, where the coachman waited upwards of twenty minutes; and no passengers appearing, he proceeded on his journey. When the coach got to Mitcham, the man calling himself Burley told the coachman, the lady was so extremely ill she could not proceed any further, and left the coach. The coachman proceeded on to Ryegate, where the two men calling themselves Cole also left the coach, telling the coachman they had some business to transact there, and should not go on to Brighton till the following day.

Extract of a letter from an officer of the Laurel, dated Plymouth Dock, Feb. 8.

“We had for the last five weeks been employed blockading four line of battle ships in the port of L'Orient. The Maidstone frigate was dispatched by sir Harry Neale, to order us to Quiberon bay, where we arrived on the evening of the 30th. The fleet was employed all that night in watering the Laurel, as we had been selected as one of three frigates ordered to pursue three French frigates that had escaped from the Loire. At eight on the morning of the 31st we weighed, in company with the Rota and Rhin frigates, and made sail through the passage Taiguese, a difficult and arduous one at all times; it blowing very hard, the Rota led through the passage, the Laurel unfortunately followed; the Rota's pilot lost the marks and got bewildered, it being then extremely hazy. The Rota escaped the rocks; we unfortunately struck on the Govivas, a sunken rock, as did the Rhin, but was not damaged to the

the extent the *Laurel* was, whose false keel and part of the main deck immediately floated alongside, and a large hole in her bottom. The *Laurel* was backed off and brought to an anchor, sails furled, and all hands to the pumps. In this disastrous state we continued pumping for one hour and a half, when it was reported the ship was gaining fast, and would be down in 10 minutes. No time was to be lost to prevent the ship sinking in 10 fathoms water; the cable was cut, and the ship run on shore on a reef of rocks, about one mile from the French coast, in order to save the lives of the men. The enemy directly commenced a heavy fire of shot and shells from their batteries and field-pieces. In order to save the lives of the crew, a flag of truce was hoisted. The enemy continued their fire until we dispatched three boats, with about 70 men and four officers, on shore, when the fire ceased, we imagine, in consequence of our officers remonstrating against the inhumanity of firing on defenceless men. But such was their want of feeling, and must for ever stamp the French name with infamy, that they would not suffer our boats to return for the remainder of the officers and ship's company, who must have perished, had it not been for the brave and indefatigable captain Sommerville, who, in defiance of all danger, and against the remonstrance of his pilot, worked his ship up among the rocks, brought her to anchor, and took the remainder, officers and ship's company, off the wreck, after remaining there several hours with no prospect of saving our lives except by a raft we were then preparing. On the *Rota's* boat taking the remainder of the men from the wreck, the enemy commenced fir-

ing again on the boats, until they were out of reach of shot. At the time of my quitting the ship, she was entirely under water; the men were hanging on the weather bulwark for several hours before leaving the wreck. Thus was lost one of the finest, fast-sailing ships his majesty ever possessed, from the haziness of the weather, and ignorance of the French pilots."

BRITISH NAVAL FORCE.

The following is extracted from the official returns of the force of Great Britain, up to the first inst.:—At sea, 80 of the line, 9 fifties, 129 frigates, 97 sloops, 5 bombs, 123 brigs, 30 cutters, 59 schooners—total 522. In port and fitting, 43 of the line, 7 fifties, 30 frigates, 38 sloops, 1 bomb, 29 brigs, 6 cutters, 17 schooners—total 171. Guardships, 4 of the line, 1 fifty, 4 frigates, 5 sloops—total 14. Hospital ships, &c. 34 of the line, 4 fifties, 2 frigates—total 40. Total in commission, 161 of the line, 21 fifties, 165 frigates, 130 sloops, 6 bombs, 152 brigs, 36 cutters, 76 schooners—total 747. In ordinary, and repairing for service, 69 of the line, 13 fifties, 56 frigates, 37 sloops, 6 bombs, 10 brigs, 2 schooners—total 198. Building, 32 of the line, 2 fifties, 13 frigates, 5 sloops—total 52.—Grand total, 202 of the line, 36 fifties, 234 frigates, 172 sloops, 12 bombs, 162 brigs, 36 cutters, 78 schooners—in the whole 992 vessels of war. Of the varied force of the British navy, there are, in the Mediterranean 87 vessels: 32 of the line. Off the coast of Spain and Portugal, 72; 15 of the line. In the English Channel, 82; 14 of the line.

9. The special commission at the sessions-house, in Horsemonger-lane,

lane, for the trial of 12 seamen, who were found to have entered the enemy's service, at the capture of the Isle of France, was held this day, when W. Cundell, alias Connell, belonging to the Laurel at the time of the capture, was arraigned: his defence was, that the dungeon in which he was confined was loathsome and filled with vermin, and as a preliminary step to escape, he feigned to enter into the French service, in order that he might go at large: it was given in evidence, however, that the prisoner not only wore the French uniform, but did duty as a soldier, and that he had treated the British officers, prisoners, with great contempt. The jury found him guilty Death; but recommended him to mercy, on the ground of his having returned to his allegiance when the opportunity offered. On Tuesday, the 11th, C. Parker and J. Tweedale, alias Tweddel, were tried and found guilty.—On Wednesday, the 12th, C. Bird was convicted, but strongly recommended to mercy, on account of his having manifested much penitence at his conduct, and behaving humanely to his shipmates who were prisoners.—On Thursday, the 13th, J. Smith and G. Armstrong were capitally convicted; the former was proved to have assisted the enemy in making carronade slides; the latter had entered the French service, and worked as a shoemaker, but in attempting to escape, had one eye knocked out and one hand broken.—On Friday, the 14th, S. Farlane was convicted; after which, J. Teaster being put to the bar, the attorney-general spoke as follows:—"Gentlemen of the jury, The object of these prosecutions is, to show that offenders, such as the

prisoner at the bar, and those whose fate has been already decided, cannot escape the hands of justice; a fact which it is necessary should be publicly impressed on the minds of those engaged in the military and naval services of the country. It may be proper for me to state, that many more persons were found acting in a similar manner. There were reasons for selecting those men who have been tried, as well as those who remain to be tried. Their cases, however, could not be so accurately examined by those who had the opportunity of making the selection, as by myself. I have had an opportunity of investigating the particulars of every charge, and I think the ends of justice are answered."—(Here the learned advocate was so much affected that he could not proceed; and the whole court participated in his sensibility.)—"I was about to state, gentlemen, that the purposes of justice have been answered. I would not let my learned friends know the course I intended to pursue, lest it might be conceived that by holding out a promise of lenity towards the remaining prisoners, I was desirous of exacting, as a sort of sacrifice to mercy, the conviction of the man who has just been tried. I do now, however, think, that those who have been tried will furnish a sufficient example to deter others from the commission of a like offence. I would not have it understood that those who remain have been selected without discrimination. No; there are circumstances of alleviation in their conduct, which form a considerable shade of difference between their guilt, and that of the men who have been convicted. After what has passed, I think it is

is impossible that any man who owes allegiance to this country can be so rash as to do as these men have done; except, indeed, persons who have sunk to the last degree of depravity. In ending the prosecutions here, I sincerely hope that the prisoners at the bar, as well as all others who have been concerned in similar proceedings, will be convinced, that that country which they so basely deserted is not unmindful of their interests, nor inattentive to the calls of mercy as well as of justice. In fine, I hope this lenity may not be misplaced, and that we may not be again shocked with the repetition of such offences, the existence of which is destructive to the safety, character, and honour of the nation."—Mr. Brougham, counsel for the prisoners, did justice to the manner in which these prosecutions were conducted, and complimented the attorney-general on the humane feelings he had manifested throughout, and particularly in his address.—The chief baron Macdonald then passed sentence to the following effect: "The scene passing here is one which I least expected Great Britain would ever see. Scarce a session of parliament passes that we do not find the conduct of the British navy spoken of in terms of high eulogium, and thanks voted to them for their unparalleled bravery. Nay, scarce a week passes that our public papers do not teem with some new instances of gallantry, some further laurels reaped by our naval forces. How unexpectedly, then, do I this day see so many seamen of Great Britain convicted of high treason, of having deserted their king and country, and of having entered into the service of the enemy! You

(naming the prisoners) have been convicted of this heinous offence, after prosecutions conducted not alone with mercy, but with a degree of delicacy which must have excited the admiration of every person who witnessed them. To murder a single man is dreadful, as it deprives the state of a subject; but, joining yourselves to the enemy, and thereby anticipating the death of numbers, is dreadful in proportion to the number of lives you might have destroyed. Next to lifting your hand against your sovereign, your crimes could not have assumed a blacker dye. By your example you have taught the enemy to believe that they will reap in our service fresh aid, thereby inducing them to press harder, and find in the British navy a nursery for their seamen, and this under the eye of such meritorious officers as captains Lambert, Curtis, Willoughby, and Woollcombe; the former of whom apprized you of your danger, and exhorted you not to forget your duty. Under these circumstances, it now only remains for me to pass that sentence upon you that the law dictates, a duty which, as I am now growing old, I did hope to escape, but which, painful as it is, I am bound to perform. It is, that you, and each of you, be taken to the place from whence you came, and thence be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, where you shall be hanged by the necks, not till you are dead; that you be severally taken down while yet alive, and your bowels be taken out and burnt before your faces; and your heads be then cut off, and your bodies cut in four quarters, to be at the king's disposal."—The prisoners appeared deeply affected, and, fall-
ing

ing on their knees, implored for mercy.

The correspondence between the prince regent, the duke of York, and lords Grey and Grenville, on the subject of forming an extended administration, is of much interest. The communication was made to the duke of York, who was authorized to inform lord Grey. The following is a copy of the letter.

THE PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER TO
THE DUKE OF YORK.

My dearest brother,—As the restrictions on the exercise of the royal authority will shortly expire, when I must make my arrangements for the future administration of the powers with which I am invested, I think it right to communicate to you those sentiments which I was withheld from expressing at an earlier period of the session, by my earnest desire that the expected motion on the affairs of Ireland might undergo the deliberate discussion of parliament, unmixed with any other consideration. I think it hardly necessary to call your recollection to the recent circumstances under which I assumed the authority delegated to me by parliament. At a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger, I was called upon to make a selection of persons to whom I should intrust the functions of the executive government. My sense of duty to our royal father solely decided that choice; and every private feeling gave way to considerations which admitted of no doubt or hesitation. I trust I acted, in that respect, as the genuine representative of the august person whose functions I was appointed to discharge; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that such was

the opinion of persons for whose judgement and honourable principles I entertained the highest respect. In various instances, as you well know, where the law of the last session left me at full liberty, I waved any personal gratification, in order that his majesty might resume, on his restoration to health, every power and prerogative belonging to his crown. I certainly am the last person in the kingdom to whom it can be permitted to despair of our royal father's recovery. A new æra is now arrived, and I cannot but reflect with satisfaction on the events which have distinguished the short period of my restricted regency. Instead of suffering in the loss of any of her possessions, by the gigantic force which has been employed against them, Great Britain has added most important acquisitions to her empire. The national faith has been preserved inviolate to our allies; and if character is strength as applied to a nation, the increased and increasing reputation of his majesty's arms will show to the nations of the continent how much they may still achieve when animated by a glorious spirit of resistance to a foreign yoke. In the critical situation of the war in the peninsula, I shall be most anxious to avoid any measure that can lead my allies to suppose that I mean to depart from the present system. Perseverance alone can achieve the great object in question; and I cannot withhold my approbation from those who have honourably distinguished themselves in support of it. I have no predilections to indulge—no resentments to gratify—no objects to attain but such as are common to the whole empire. If such is the leading principle of my conduct, (and I can appeal to the

the past in evidence of what the future will be,) I flatter myself I shall meet with the support of parliament, and of a candid and enlightened nation.—Having made this communication of my sentiments in this new and extraordinary crisis of our affairs, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain ever was engaged. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to lord Grenville.—I am always, my dearest Frederick, your affectionate brother,

(Signed) GEORGE, P. R.

Carlton-house, Feb. 13, 1812.

P. S. I shall send a copy of this letter immediately to Mr. Perceval.

REPLY OF LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE.

February 15, 1812.

Sir,—We beg leave most humbly to express to your royal highness our dutiful acknowledgements for the gracious and condescending manner in which you have had the goodness to communicate to us the letter of his royal highness the prince regent, on the subject of the arrangements to be now made for the future administration of the public affairs; and we take the liberty of availing ourselves of your gracious permission to address to your royal highness in this form what has occurred to us in conse-

quence of that communication. The prince regent, after expressing to your royal highness in that letter his sentiments on various public matters, has, in the concluding paragraph, condescended to intimate his wish, that “some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his royal highness’s hands, and constitute a part of his government:” and his royal highness is pleased to add, “that with such support, aided by a vigorous and united administration formed on the most liberal basis, he would look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain has ever been engaged.” On the other parts of his royal highness’s letter we do not presume to offer any observations; but in the concluding paragraph, in so far as we may venture to suppose ourselves included in the gracious wish which it expresses, we owe it in obedience and duty to his royal highness to explain ourselves with frankness and sincerity. We beg leave most earnestly to assure his royal highness, that no sacrifices, except those of honour and duty, could appear to us too great to be made, for the purpose of healing the divisions of our country, and uniting both its government and its people. All personal exclusion we entirely disclaim: we rest on public measures; and it is on this ground alone that we must express, without reserve, the impossibility of our uniting with the present government. Our differences of opinion are too many and too important to admit of such union. His royal highness will, we are confident, do us the justice to remember, that we have already twice acted on this impression; in 1809, on the proposition then made to

to us under his majesty's authority; and last year, when his royal highness was pleased to require our advice respecting the formation of a new government. The reasons which we then humbly submitted to him are strengthened by the increasing dangers of the times; nor has there, down to this moment, appeared even any approximation towards such an agreement of opinion on the public interests, as can alone form a basis for the honourable union of parties previously opposed to each other. Into the details of these differences we are unwilling to enter; they embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire. But his royal highness has, himself, been pleased to advert to the late deliberations of parliament on the affairs of Ireland. This is a subject, above all others, important in itself, and connected with the most pressing dangers. Far from concurring in the sentiments which his majesty's ministers have, on that occasion, so recently expressed, we entertain opinions directly opposite; we are firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the present system of government in that country, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of his majesty's subjects still labour on account of their religious opinions. To recommend to parliament this repeal is the first advice which it would be our duty to offer to his royal highness; nor could we, even for the shortest time, make ourselves responsible for any further delay in the proposal of a measure, without which we could entertain no hopes of rendering ourselves useful to his royal highness, or to our country. We have only therefore further to beg your royal

highness to lay before his royal highness the prince regent the expression of our humble duty, and the sincere and respectful assurance of our earnest wishes for whatever may best promote the ease, honour, and advantage, of his royal highness's government, and the success of his endeavours for the public welfare. We have the honour to be, &c.

GREY.

GRENVILLE.

To his royal highness
the duke of York.

MR. WALSH'S PARDON.

The following has been printed by
order of the house of commons:

*The lord chief baron to Mr. secretary
Ryder, Feb. 15, 1812.*

Sir,—I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his royal highness the prince regent, that Benjamin Walsh was indicted before me at the last sessions holden at the Old Bailey, for stealing from sir Thomas Plomer a certain order for the payment of 22,000*l.* and also stealing bank-notes to that amount. The facts of his having formed the design of converting this money to his use, and of actually so converting much the greater part of it, were proved without contradiction. But doubts having occurred to Mr. justice Le Blanc and myself, (Mr. justice Chambre being absent from indisposition,) the case was reserved for the judges to consider whether the facts proved amounted to the crime of larceny. The arguments of counsel concluded last night; and the case was considered by ten judges present (two being confined by illness), who were of opinion that the facts did not, in estimation of law, amount to felony. The prisoner having been convicted of that offence, I am humbly to recommend him as
a proper

a proper object of his majesty's pardon. I am, &c.

AR. MACDONALD.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

Sittings before lord Ellenborough and a special jury.

The King v. Brown.

15. This was an information on the part of the crown, against colonel Thomas Brown, charging him with a gross fraud, in forging a variety of documents, seeming to be sanctioned by the subscriptions of George Harrison, Esq. and of the honourable Cecil Jenkinson as if they had passed through the secretary of state's office and the treasury board, with intent to impose upon sir C. Brisbane, governor of the island of St. Vincent's, by inducing him to cause 4,237 acres of waste land, in the island of St. Vincent's, to be marked off as a grant to colonel Brown, no such grant having been made, or even thought of, at the treasury or secretary of state's office. It appeared that in 1805 colonel Brown, who had been a meritorious officer during the American war, represented to government that he had a gang of slaves to the number of 600 or 700 in one of the Bahama islands, whom by his attention and kindness he had so much improved that they were in a state of increase. They were not, however, in safety where they then were; and colonel Brown's application to government was for a grant of a portion of the waste crown land, in the island of St. Vincent's, which he should undertake to cultivate in a particular manner. This application was favourably received; and it was agreed that a grant of six thousand acres should be made to colonel Brown. It appeared, however, that of the 6000 acres so

proposed to be granted to him, upwards of 3000 were already in the temporary occupation of settlers, who had gone on cultivating them at a considerable expense. These settlers conceiving that they were at least entitled to a right of preemption, in preference to a stranger, made representations to government on the subject; who being of opinion that justice was on their side, allowed them to become purchasers of their different possessions, at an estimated value of about 60,000*l.* As a compensation to colonel Brown, however, for the disappointment sustained by him, government handed over to him 30,000*l.* being more than the one-half of the sum actually received, and also made a grant in his favour of the proportion of the 6000 acres which continued in a waste state, amounting to nearly 3000 acres; and this without demanding any consideration whatever. Colonel Brown seemed at first perfectly satisfied with this liberal conduct towards him; but very soon resolved, by the present fraud, to get the money, and also the additional number of acres, to make up his original 6000 acres. With this view he procured a letter to be written, and to be signed with a name purporting to be the signature of George Harrison, esq. assistant secretary to the treasury; also a statement of the distribution of colonel Brown's original grant, making out that 4237 acres are still due to him, also sanctioned by the supposed signature of Mr. Harrison; and also a document purporting to be signed by the hon. Cecil Jenkinson, addressed to sir C. Brisbane, ordering him to hand over to colonel Brown the waste acres of crown lands to make good to him the deficiency, by assigning to him 4237 acres more,

so as to make up his original 6000 acres, besides allowing for deep places, ravines, public roads, &c. These documents were transmitted in an envelope, bearing the treasury seal, to sir C. Brisbane, who proceeded to act upon them; and the fraud might have been perfected, but for a dispute between colonel Brown's agent in the island and sir C. Brisbane, which required the latter to write to this country; in consequence of which the whole was detected.

Sir C. Brisbane was examined, who proved that he received the documents in question, on which he proceeded to act, as if they had been real instructions from government.

Mr. Steele, a law stationer, and his apprentices and clerks, proved that the bodies of the papers in question were written in their office, in Chancery-lane, from copies furnished to them by colonel Brown; also that a plan of the property, to which also sir C. Brisbane spoke, as accompanying the other documents, had been furnished to colonel Brown through Mr. Steele's means.

Earl Moira, sir Alured Clark, sir J. Stuart, and Charles Shaw, esq. all of whom had known colonel Brown for upwards of thirty years as a meritorious and highly deserving officer, who in the American war had made great sacrifices, and had suffered much on account of his loyalty, gave him the character of being an officer and a man highly esteemed, and of the strictest honour and integrity.

Lord Ellenborough said, the information certainly charged the defendant with a high and foul offence. The question for their consideration was, whether that charge had or had not been made out. The office and effect of character were

to lead the jury to a decision where the evidence lay in a doubtful scale; but it could never be allowed so to operate as to outweigh evidence altogether. Here the defendant was clearly shown to have superintended, ordered, and paid for the documents in question. These documents were afterwards found at St. Vincent's with false signatures attached to them; and it would be for the jury to say, the defendant having been superintending the former part of the transaction, if they believed him to have been also concerned in the concluding part of it.

The jury, after consulting a few minutes, found the defendant Guilty.

FUNERAL OF MAJOR-GEN. ROBERT CRAUFURD AT CIUDAD RODRIGO.

Lord Wellington, to testify his high sense of major-general Craufurd's great and distinguished merits and services, determined that he should be interred in the breach which he had so ably and heroically assaulted, as the highest honour he could confer upon him.

The light division assembled before the St. Francisco convent, where their late beloved commander lay, at twelve o'clock on the 25th of January. The fifth division lined the road from thence to the breach. The officers of the brigade of guards, of the cavalry, and of the 3d, 4th, and 5th divisions, with lord Wellington and the whole of the head-quarters at their head; general Castanos, and all his staff; marshal Beresford, and all the Portuguese, moved in the mournful procession.

He was borne to his place of rest on the shoulders of the brave men whom he had led to victory. The field officers of the light division officiated as pall bearers, major-

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general

general Charles Stewart (adjutant-general) was chief mourner, attended by capt. Wm. Campbell, and lieuts. Wood and Shawe, aides-de-camp to their late glorious commander, and by the staff of the light division.

The ceremony was as awful as affecting, as sublime as possible, and well calculated to inspire feelings of the most exalted nature; and if any other sentiment but that of the most poignant grief could have found place on this melancholy occasion, it would certainly have been envy at such an end, so wept.

The breach of Ciudad Rodrigo is the monument of this admirable man, bedewed with the tears and decked with the praises and blessings of the whole army.

OLD BAILEY.

21. George Hammond was indicted for having stolen two 50*l.* bank of England notes in the dwelling-house of Messrs. Birch and Chambers, of Bond-street, on the 11th of January last.

Mr. Bolland stated the case to the jury, from which it appeared that the prisoner, at the time of committing the offence with which he stood charged, was fourth clerk to the prosecutors. These gentlemen kept their accounts by means of a waste book, a cash book, and a ledger, which latter book contained the general accounts of the concern. Amongst other persons who kept cash at Messrs. Birch and Chambers' was a gentleman named Vale, with whom the prisoner was intimately acquainted, and in consequence of the confidence which subsisted between them, Mr. Vale had been induced at various times to suffer the prisoner to make use of his account and to pay money in his name, for which he afterwards

obtained checks and bills of exchange, and drew it out again. On the 19th Dec. last particularly, the prisoner called on Mr. Vale and told him that he had paid 200*l.* in to his account, and producing the banker's book, Vale there saw the entry of that sum made. The prisoner then asked him to suffer him to draw upon him at two months for the sum in question, which Mr. V. immediately agreed to; and the prisoner having drawn the bill, he accepted it. On the 19th of January following the prisoner again called upon him, and brought with him the bill of exchange for 200*l.*, for which he begged him to give him a check for 100*l.* and another bill for another 100*l.*; to which Mr. V. also acceded, and the prisoner departed. On the same day the prisoner, having access to the cash-drawer, took out the two fifty pound notes charged in the indictment, and entered in the waste book the check of Mr. Vale, as paid to a man. The ledger of the prosecutors was of such a nature, that if any mistakes occurred in the entries they could not be discovered until the end of the year, when the general accounts of the firm were balanced. And at the end of the year 1811, on the accounts being wound up, it was discovered that there was a deficiency in the cash account of nearly 2000*l.* This circumstance having excited much alarm in the minds of the prosecutors, they resolved to have the whole accounts of the concern minutely examined. The result of which examination was, that the cause of the defalcation was traced to the account of Mr. Vale, where, from the entries in the ledger, it appeared that sundry sums, and amongst others one for 200*l.* on the 19th

19th December, had been paid in, which did not appear, as they necessarily would, had they been paid, in the waste book and cash-book. This led to further investigation; and it was finally discovered that these entries had been made by the prisoner; and as they regularly appeared in Mr. Vale's account, they were not discovered until the investigation described took place.—The prisoner then absconded, but was taken at Hythe, with one of the notes which he had taken from the till, in exchange for Mr. Vale's check, in his pocket; when he expressed the consciousness of his error. Mr. Bolland observed, that Mr. Vale had been as much the dupe of the prisoner as the prosecutors, and was not in the slightest degree privy to his misconduct—and concluded by expressing his confidence, that the jury, considering the whole facts of the case, however painful it might be, would find the prisoner Guilty of the capital charge.

The facts having been proved in evidence,

Mr. Alley and Mr. Laws contended, that the crime imputable to the prisoner was not that of felony; nor could it be held that the prosecutors had any pretence for the present prosecution, inasmuch as the prisoner took the notes on the faith of Mr. Vale's check, which was a sufficient security to Messrs. Birch and Chambers, as they had good ground for an action against Mr. Vale, for the recovery of the amount. If any crime was committed by the prisoner, it was that of fraud on Mr. Vale.

The learned judge on the bench thought it was a point of such difficulty that they would reserve it for

a more solemn deliberation. Mr. justice Bailey then called upon the jury to decide first, whether the prisoner had taken the money from the till; and next, whether, when he made the entry in the ledger, he had the fraudulent procuration of the two notes in view.

The jury found—"That the prisoner had taken the notes from the till, and at the time of making the entry in the ledger did it with a fraudulent intention."—They however observed, that they conceived the prisoner had a right to take the two 50*l.* notes upon the faith of Mr. Vale's check.

MARCH.

2. In the court of session at Edinburgh, a cause was tried of considerable importance to literary property, in the case, Cadell and Davies versus Robertson.—Mr. Creech bought the copyright of Burns's poems, which were first published in 1786; and as Burns died in 1796, the copyright, of course, expired in 14 years from the date of their first publication. In 1798, a new edition was published, with some additional poems, which had never before appeared. These last, however, were not entered in Stationers' Hall. In 1800, another edition of Burns's works was published by Creech of Edinburgh, and Cadell and Davies, London, with a life of the author prefixed, by Dr. Currie. This edition included the additional poems, first published in 1798, but was not entered in Stationers' Hall. In 1802, when the exclusive privilege had expired, J. Robertson, bookseller, at Edinburgh, published a small edition of the poems of Burns, in which he included some of those new poems by the author in 1798;

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upon

upon which, Cadell and Davies, and Creech, applied by bill of suspension for an interdict, and at the same time raised an action against Robertson, concluding, not for *penalties*, but for *damages*, on account of the infringement on their property, by publishing these additional poems, the copyright of which had not yet become free. The bill of suspension and interdict was passed, and conjoined with the action of damages. This action the court of session decided (16th May 1801), by recalling the interdicts, sustaining the defences against the action of damages, and assoilzieing the defender; to which interlocutor, on its being again brought under their consideration, they adhered. The pursuers complained against these judgements to the house of lords, when it was decided (16th July, 1811), that "Although no person trenching on literary property is liable to any of the penalties or forfeitures thereby enacted, unless the title to the copies of such books shall, before publication, be entered in the register book of the company of stationers, as by the said act is directed; yet, that the persons to whom the sole liberty of printing books is thereby given for the term or terms therein mentioned have, by the said statute, a right vested in them, entitling them to maintain a suit for damages in case of a violation of such right, and also entitling them to maintain a suit in order to prevent the violation thereof, by interdict, for the term or terms for which the statute hath given them such sole liberties, although there shall not have been such entry made before publication, as aforesaid; and it is hereby ordered, that with this declaration

the said cause be remitted back to the court of session in Scotland, to review the interlocutors complained of, and further to do therein what may be meet."—In virtue of which judgement, the pursuers presented a petition to the court of session, praying their lordships to review the before recited interlocutors, and to do as should seem meet. The court, in applying the principles laid down in the judgement of the house of lords (Jan. 24, 1812), altered their former interlocutors, found damages due, and remitted the case to the lord ordinary, to ascertain the quantum.—It may now, therefore, be held as a law in Scotland, as it has long been in England, that authors or their assignees have a statutory right to their literary property for 14 or 28 years, as the case may be, which entitles them to prosecute for damages at common law all who may violate that right, though their works may not have been entered in Stationers' Hall; such entries being only necessary to entitle them to recover the statutory penalties.

3. On the arrival of the Bath coach early this morning at Chippenham, two outside passengers were discovered to be dead, and another, a soldier, had but faint signs of animation left, and died the following morning. During the whole of the night it had rained incessantly; and to the cold, added to the drenched state of their clothes, the fatal catastrophe is to be attributed.

4. Harriet Magnes, alias Furlong, alias Voice, was tried at Winchester for an assault on Thomas Dellow, the infant son of James and Rebecca Dellow (London), on the 18th of November last, and imprisoning him for the space of eight weeks.

weeks*. A second count in the indictment charged the assault to have been committed on the 28th December at Alverstoke in Hampshire, and the imprisonment to have been for 12 hours. She was acquitted by the direction of judge Graham, on the ground that the assault, if any, was committed in London; and he could not consider any thing done subsequently as amounting to an assault. She was again tried, on the 7th, for falsely imprisoning Thomas Dellow, detaining him, and cutting off his hair, without the consent of his parents. The jury found her Not guilty; evidence having been given, that her husband, Richard Magnes, was present during the time the little boy was detained by her at Alverstoke.—No evidence having been produced in the course of these trials to prove whether Mrs. Magnes was the person who actually took Thomas Dellow from St. Martin's lane, Upper Thames street, or whether she received him from some other person, this affair may perhaps remain a mystery for years to come, like that of Elizabeth Canning and Mary Squires.—H. Magnes was also tried on the 5th for having married—Furlong, she being already married to Richard Magnes. The evidence not being sufficiently strong as to the identity of H. Magnes, she was acquitted also of this charge.

5. Several dead bodies were found on the north shore, near Liverpool, supposed to have come from some vessel wrecked during the severe gales of the preceding night. By the inscription on part of the stern of a vessel which has been found, she appears to have been the Fly packet, from Newry to Liverpool.

6. In the court of king's bench, this day, D. I. Eaton, of Ave-Maria-lane, bookseller, was found guilty of publishing a pamphlet forming the third part of Paine's "Age of Reason." Immediately after his conviction, the defendant was committed to Newgate. Lord Ellenborough observed, that a more wicked, blasphemous, or libellous publication had never come under his cognizance.

HERTFORD ASSIZES.

7. The rev. Samuel Hornbuckle, the parson of Watton, in this county, was capitally indicted under lord Ellenborough's act, on a charge of administering calomel to Sarah Weeks, his maid servant, in October 1808, with intent to procure abortion, she being then quick with child.

The rev. gentleman against whom the charge was made, holds the living of Watton, which is of considerable value, and is considered a person of excellent character and great respectability.

Mr. Pooley led the prosecution, and Mr. Alley was brought down specially to assist in the conduct of it. It was carried on at the instigation of the parish officers, and by some other individuals.

The first witness called was Mr. Taylor, a medical gentleman at Watton. He stated, that in October 1808 (the 16th or 17th) he was sent for to see Sarah Weeks, Mrs. Hornbuckle's maid servant. He saw Mr. H., who told him that Sarah Weeks had had a fit; that she was in a dropsy, and he apprehended the water had flown to her head. He replied, Poh! it was no such thing. He went up stairs to examine her, and found her

* See the preceding volume.

lying in bed.—She was pregnant, and had labour pains upon her. Her mouth and tongue were also very much swelled, and he detailed the symptoms which ensued for several days; the result of which was, that the girl was in a deep salivation. He told Mr. H. that the report of the neighbourhood was, that he was the father of the child, and if the girl died, he would be in an awkward situation, Mr. H. burst into tears. Mr. Tyce was called in, and the girl recovered. Mr. H. told him that he thought the girl had been dropsical, and he had given her some oxymel of squills, and showed him the phial with some remaining; but he was of opinion that a large dose of mercury had been administered in some shape or other.

On the cross-examination of this gentleman by the common serjeant, it appeared that Mr. H. and himself had formerly been intimate, but that they had since that time been at open variance; and subsequent to this transaction in 1808, Mr. H. had prosecuted this witness on a special statute, and made him pay a fine of 20*l*.

The next witness was Mrs. Vigis, whose husband lived servant at Mr. H.'s farm-yard. She stated, that one day about the latter end of October, 1808, Mr. H. came from the parsonage, which was near to their house, and begged her to come up, for Sarah Weeks was in a fit. Sarah Weeks, as she understood, had lived with Mr. H. about seven or eight years. When she got to the house, they found the girl insensible on the floor in a closet. They got her up, and carried her to bed; her tongue was very much swelled, hanging out of her mouth, and her teeth clenched upon it. Mr. H. shed

tears. Mr. Taylor was sent for, and he attended several days, and she was delivered of a child, which was dead. Mr. H. sent her to the clerk with half-a-crown, to desire him to bury the child directly. The child was buried at dusk. After the girl recovered, she was sent to her father's, where she remained for some time; and the witness deposed, that she was sent by Mr. H. several times to fetch her to the parsonage, and related a number of messages which it is hardly credible any man in his senses would have sent; such as to inquire of her from Mr. H. whether she felt herself with child again? not to be persuaded to say who was the father of the last, &c. &c.

Upon the cross-examination of this witness, it appeared, that she left Mr. H.'s service in the month of March following; that there had been a serious quarrel between them, as Mr. H. had accused her of incontinence, and reproached her with bringing up her daughter in loose habits; that her husband had sued Mr. H. on the accounts between them, and had also threatened him with an action for defaming his character.

The husband was next called—he spoke in confirmation of some parts of his wife's testimony; and on cross-examination admitted he was in hostility with the prisoner.

The learned judge here addressed himself to the counsel for the prosecution, and observed, that if the prisoner were convicted of the crime laid to his charge, he certainly must leave him for execution. It was therefore most important that the fact should be proved by clear and unsuspected testimony. The charge was a very stale one, as it was above three years old, and no reason assigned why it was not before inquired

inquired into. The witnesses already produced, it was clear, acted from other impressions than the desire of justice, and he had carefully read the deposition of Sarah Weeks herself, who was most conversant with the transaction; and if she detailed in evidence what she there stated, it clearly acquitted the prisoner, for she denied that the prisoner had ever administered any medicine to her, or that he was the father of the child. Now, ought they not, at least, if they thought they could bring the fact home to the prisoner, to do it by witnesses against whom no imputation of malice could be urged?

The counsel for the prosecution admitted that they could not make the case stronger. The jury therefore found the prisoner Not Guilty.—The assizes finished.

12. At Ely assizes, Michael Whiting, a shopkeeper at Downham, and a methodist preacher, was capitally convicted on a charge of administering poison to Geo. and Jos. Langman, his brothers-in-law, who were under age. He had supplied them with flour, in which he had mixed poisonous ingredients; and a pudding was made of it, of which the brothers partook. They were immediately seized with violent vomitings: the elder brother soon recovered, but the younger remained for some days in a precarious state. The remnants of the puddings, on being analysed, were found to contain corrosive sublimate of mercury.—Before his execution, the prisoner acknowledged the justice of his sentence.—By the death of the two brothers, their younger sister and the prisoner's wife would have become entitled to the father's estate.

13. At Cambridge assizes, Dan. Dawson was indicted for poisoning

a colt on the Newmarket course in April 1811. By the testimony of Cecil Bishop, who had been a shopman to a chemist and druggist, it appeared, that he had, on the prisoner's application, prescribed a solution of arsenic as a means of sickening a horse without killing him; and on its being put into a trough at Doncaster, two brood mares were killed. They failed in an attempt at Brighton in 1809, but succeeded at Newmarket in 1811, where, in conjunction with a man named Triste, the witness had been employed by the prisoner to infuse poison into the troughs. The arsenic was infused by means of a syringe, the troughs being covered and locked. After having watered the horses on the 1st of May, they were taken ill in the stables; and the four which died may be estimated, considering their own value and their engagements, at 12,000*l*. While Dawson was in London, Bishop was busy in keeping arsenic in the trough. The fact of poisoning was proved by Mr. Prince; and another witness deposed that he had been applied to by the prisoner to act as agent. The judge directed the acquittal of the prisoner, on the ground that he had been indicted as a principal, instead of an accessory before the fact, which, in point of law, could not be maintained.—The prisoner was, however, detained on a charge of poisoning race-horses in 1809.

16. A powder-mill blew up at Hounslow, and four men were killed. One person had a very narrow escape, having just quitted the corning-mill when the accident happened.

This morning was seen at Carlisle the beautiful phænomion of two parhelia, or mock suns, in the
(D 4) heavens.

heavens. They were first observed about ten o'clock, and appeared of variable brightness until near twelve.

17. St. Patrick's day. A riot took place at Portsmouth between the North Cork militia, stationed at Gosport, and some watermen, who insulted the soldiers, and attempted to pluck the shamrocks from their hats. The utmost alarm prevailed; all the shops were shut up, and an English regiment, quartered in the barracks, was ordered out to quell the disturbance, which with difficulty they accomplished, but not till one boy was killed, and about 20 men and a boy wounded; some of them dangerously.

YARBOROUGH AND CO. V. THE BANK OF ENGLAND.

17. The plaintiffs are bankers at Doncaster, and brought this action of trover to recover from the defendants three notes of 100*l.* each, the payment of which had been stopped.

The attorney-general stated, that Mr. Sydney, an attorney, (the real defendant in this action, who had indemnified the bank of England,) on the 2d of June was walking along Fleet-market, (whether he put himself into bad, or bad company was thrust upon him, was not of much consequence,) when his pocket was picked of five bank of England notes for one hundred pounds each. He took the necessary steps, to advertise rewards and stop the payment, but without success, until some time afterwards, three of the five notes (those now in question) were sent to the bank from the house of Messrs. Gosling and Co.—Payment was of course refused, and Messrs. Gosling and Co. wrote to their correspondents at

Doncaster, the present plaintiffs, from whom they received them. They came into the hands of Messrs. Yarborough and Co. in the following way. During the week of the races, a person called at the house of the plaintiffs, and requested some of their small notes for one of the bank of England notes for which this action was brought, and signed the name of captain Johnson at the back of it. This note could be identified; and as the other two notes for 100*l.* were received from the plaintiffs in the same week, it was presumed that they were received under similar circumstances, excepting that no name was required. Messrs. Yarborough, therefore, being innocent holders for a valuable consideration, brought this action to recover the notes in question.

Chas. Tewtell, clerk to the plaintiffs, proved the receipt of one of the notes from a man calling himself captain Johnson. It frequently happened during the race week that persons came into their shop with large notes, for which they obtained change, without any inquiry, or any entry being made in the books of the notes received or given.

Chas. Hamilton, a clerk in the house of Messrs. Gosling, deposed, that the other two notes of 100*l.* each were received at the same time with that signed by captain Johnson, from the plaintiff.

Mr. Garrow, on behalf of the defendants, admitted that no criminality could attach to any of the parties before the court, although it was clear that a felony had been committed, by which his real client (Mr. Sydney) had been deprived of his property. If, however, there were no guilt, he thought, and he trusted the jury would concur with him, that a very improper negli-

negligence had been shown by the plaintiffs in the conduct of their business. Had they employed the caution they were for the sake of the public bound to use (particularly during a week when, perhaps, all the sharpers of the three kingdoms were crowded upon the race-course), Mr. Sydney might have been able to trace the progress of these large notes, so as to bring the criminal who had robbed him in Fleet-market to conviction. The case, therefore, came simply to this issue—Who was to bear the loss, the Doncaster bank or Mr. Sydney? In the decision of this point the jury must decide by the comparative innocence of the two parties, because the burden ought to be borne by the most guilty. The fact was, that Mr. Sydney was in no respect blameable, having been hustled in Fleet-market, on returning with a servant from purchasing provisions for his family.

The plaintiffs, on the contrary, had been almost criminally negligent of their duty, and ought to be the sufferers. After proving the possession and loss of the notes by Mr. Sydney, he should feel that he was entitled to the verdict.

The testimony was then adduced; but although the payment of the notes in question to Mr. Sydney was established, yet the witness failed in making out the loss, in as much as they only proved a declaration by Mr. Sydney that his pocket had been picked, and not the fact. A verdict was accordingly found for the plaintiffs, 300/.

FEMALE HEROISM.

A man named John Bunton was lately committed to the city gaol at Norwich, for burglariously entering the premises of Messrs. Aggs in the night, and stealing some twist cotton. The conductor of the

manufactory has a daughter, who superintends the department performed by women, and sleeps in a room adjoining. She was awakened by a noise; when, slipping on a great coat that lay in her room, she ran to her father's chamber, who not being dressed with sufficient speed, she snatched up a large hammer, and went alone in the dark into the manufactory, where she perceived Bunton taking away the twist cotton from the loom. She instantly struck him on the back of the head with the hammer, and on his turning about repeated the blow upon his forehead with such effect, as to bring him to the ground covered with blood. Apprehending he might have accomplices, she shrieked, which brought her father to her assistance, and they secured the robber.

EXECUTION.

18. Yesterday morning Wm. Cundell and John Smith, convicted of high treason in the Isle of France, were executed, pursuance to the sentence of the law, at Horse-monger-lane. After their bodies had been suspended the usual time, they were beheaded, and their remains consigned to their friends for interment. The melancholy scene commenced at eight o'clock. The unfortunate young men had been conducted from their cells to the chapel, where they remained some time, and were then drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution; attended by a clergyman, with whom they fervently engaged in prayer. They seemed to be fully sensible of their guilt, and conducted themselves with becoming fortitude. The executioner, when he held up the head of each of these unhappy men, exclaimed, "Behold the head of a traitor!" and

and as no such melancholy event had been witnessed for a long period, it made an awful impression on the vast multitude of spectators who attended.

An extent was issued against the estate of Mr. Chinnery, a chief clerk of the treasury, who has always preserved the most honourable reputation. His deficiencies are stated at 70,000*l.* and the property obtained by the extent is represented to be 30,000*l.* Besides a very considerable income from the treasury, he had several agencies: his accounts, it is said, had not been examined for several years.—Since the issuing of the extent he has disappeared.

It appears that the judges, to whom the case of Mr. Walsh was referred, were of opinion, that the crime with which he was charged did not amount to felony; but, as the jury had decided on his guilt, and the case did not come before them as a special verdict, the only way to get rid of the conviction was to represent the matter to the prince regent, and solicit for him the royal pardon; which was accordingly granted. He has been discharged from Newgate, and obtained his certificate of bankrupt.

18. This morning, Mr. George Skene, late chief clerk of Queen's-square police-office, who was convicted of having forged certain receipts for the purpose of defrauding the treasury, was executed pursuant to his sentence. Great interest had been used to obtain a pardon for him; but on the Friday preceding he was informed that he had no mercy to expect.—Mr. S. was of a most respectable family in the north of Scotland, and was next heir to the large property of Skene of Skene. He married the widow of a near relation to the

earl of Fife. By his wife, who was burnt to death, he had four children; three of whom died prematurely, and the other fell by her own hands.

THE LATE DOWAGER COUNTESS STANHOPE.

21. Her ladyship's will, which has been proved in Doctors' Commons, is in these words; viz.

"Ovenden, 11th February, 1805.

"This is the last will and testament of me Grisel dowager countess Stanhope, written with my own hand. After payment of all my lawful debts, I give and bequeath all I am possessed of at my death to my dearly beloved son Charles earl Stanhope, from my approbation of his private and public conduct; and I appoint him my executor. If I die at Ovenden, I wish to be very privately buried in the family vault in Chevening church.

"Witness my hand this eleventh day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and five. "G. STANHOPE."

Amongst her ladyship's papers, a remarkable manuscript, written in her own hand, was found, which contains the following prayer to the Almighty, composed by her husband, the late Philip earl Stanhope, which exhibits not only a religious zeal the most fervent, but also a degree of sublime patriotic devotion probably as yet unheard of in the annals of mankind.

"Copy of my dear lord's prayer, from the original in his own handwriting.

"O almighty and everlasting God, the all-wise and all-righteous ruler of mankind, vouchsafe to grant the prayer of thine unworthy servant, that, if, in the course of thine inscrutable and adorable providence,

vidence, I can contribute, even by the sacrifice of my life, or fortune, or character, to the preservation of my native country, from those heavy calamities and distresses which to us short-sighted creatures have appeared impending over it, (and wherewith at this time our enemies threaten us,) as also to the reformation of manners, and the advancement of genuine undissembled virtue, by means whereof thy gracious favour may be regained, and public peace and happiness procured, I may always in that case be willing, and, when strengthened by thy divine assistance, able to surrender, for those desirable ends, every blessing and comfort of life, into thy most bountiful hands, from whom I have received them all."

BET ON BONAPARTE.

21. A curious trial, in which the rev. R. Gilbert was plaintiff, and sir M. M. Sykes, bart. M. P. defendant, came on at the York assizes, for the recovery of a bet on the life of Bonaparte; the condition of which was, that the plaintiff, on paying 100 guineas, should receive one guinea per day so long as Bonaparte should live. For nearly three years the defendant continued to pay the stipulated sum. It was contended on the part of the defendant, that the offer made by sir M. Sykes "to receive 100 guineas to pay one guinea a day during the life of Bonaparte," was a hasty expression in a moment of conviviality, and anxiously caught by the rev. divine, in the language of any common five-guineas-better on a race-course, who hailed him with—"Will you, sir Mark? I'll take you—*Done!*" Mr. Gilbert did, indeed, when he found the feeling of the company against this bet, say, "If you will submit, sir Mark,

to ask it as a favour, you may be off." Mr. Topping said he should contend that the proposal of sir Mark was not meant as a serious bet; and if this should be the opinion of the jury, he would be entitled to a verdict; but if it should be thought a real wager, he should then submit some observations on the law of the case, and contend that in the event of an invasion an interest might be revealed in this wager inconsistent with the public safety. "Putting the case (said Mr. Topping) that Bonaparte should, as the head of his army, succeed in effecting a descent upon this country, it is clear that the plaintiff would have an interest in protecting that life, which every true subject and friend of his country would be interested in destroying; he would have an annuity of 365 guineas per annum depending on the personal safety of his inveterate foe.—The judge then proceeded to state the evidence to the jury, with his observations upon it, leaving them to decide on the fact—whether there was any intention of betting on the part of sir Mark Sykes, and reserving the point of law. The jury returned a verdict for the defendant.

FRENCH PRISONERS.

28. Those concerned in assisting the escape of French prisoners have had a vehicle made for their conveyance, to avoid suspicion or detection, exactly resembling a covered cart used by calico-printers, with strong doors at each end, but with seats in the inside to hold a number of men. One of them was detected about a week since in a very extraordinary way. Some revenue officers went into a public-house near Canterbury, where they observed two men playing at cards, who

who the officers suspected were Frenchmen, and were on their way to escape from this country. They communicated their suspicion to a neighbouring magistrate, who informed them, that at that hour of the night (about eight o'clock) their constable was generally intoxicated, and it would be of no use applying to him, but advised them to procure the assistance of some of the military who were in the neighbourhood; which the officers accordingly did, and surrounded the house, it being shut up. The landlord refused to open the door, saying it was too late an hour. The soldiers told him they were in search of some deserters. A short time afterwards two men came out of the back door, and the revenue officers only suspecting there were two Frenchmen, secured them and were satisfied; but another came out directly afterwards, whom the soldiers stopped; he also, as well as the two, proved to be Frenchmen. They were all conveyed away in custody. This turned out to be a mere chance detection, as the two men whom the revenue officers had seen playing at cards in the public-house in the early part of the evening, proved not to be Frenchmen, but two respectable tradesmen of the neighbourhood; but while the officers were gone to the magistrate, a cart of the above description arrived at the house with four Frenchmen, and the application of the military to enter the house having alarmed them, they were escaping out of the back door: the fourth man, however, who was some time in coming out of the house after the others, escaped detection then, and got into the London-road and overtook the cart. It being ascertained by those who had the three Frenchmen in custody, that they had been brought

there in a cart, pursuit was made, and it was overtaken: the driver and the Frenchman who was in it were taken into custody. They all were examined before the magistrate; when it appeared that the four Frenchmen were officers, and had broke their parole from Ashby-de-la-Zouch; that the cart had been fitted up with seats to conveniently hold a number of Frenchmen across the country. The Frenchmen only got out of the cart at nights, to avoid detection or observation. They stopped at by-places, and made fires under hedges. A man of the name of Webb, by whom the driver of the cart was employed, was also taken into custody.

APRIL.

ITALY.

1. A shock of an earthquake was felt at Rome on the 22d March, which lasted 25 seconds, and was accompanied by loud noise resembling thunder. The motion was undulatory, and in a direction from north to south. Most of the public buildings were damaged, and many of the houses thrown down, and whole families buried in their ruins. Several females died of fright; and in the effort to gain the most open spots, many individuals were trampled to death.

SPAIN.

The Corunna journals contain a dispatch from the gallant Mina to gen. Mendizabel, informing him that on the 9th ult. at a short distance from Victoria, he defeated a body of the enemy, consisting of 2000 infantry and 150 horse, with the loss of 500 killed and 150 prisoners. A convoy which this corps was escorting fell into his hands; and he had the further satisfaction of releasing 400 Spanish prisoners.

Mina

Mina took 120 loaded waggons; and among the spoils were 250,000 crowns in specie, and gen. Dorsenne's baggage.

Cadiz, April 2. Circular from the minister of the interior, to the prelates, councils, superior juntas, &c. of the provinces.

Among the weighty cares which at present attract the attention of the supreme government, the means of remedying the scarcity which affects a great part of the peninsula occupies a principal place. The contest in which the nation is engaged, and has with so much glory sustained for nearly four years, has naturally produced that deterioration in agriculture and interior commerce which those countries that become the theatre of war always experience, and which the ferocity and spirit of devastation that characterize our enemies have enormously increased.—In addition to these, so considerable injuries, the shortness of the late harvest, the aversion of the labourer to cultivate the land in the provinces occupied by the French, persuaded that he would but sow and reap for his oppressors; and, lastly, the system adopted by the enemy, in order to ensure the subsistence of his troops, of forming immense magazines in the internal provinces, viewed, with reason, as the granary of the kingdom, have succeeded in producing hunger and misery, as may be discovered by the exorbitant price to which all grain has risen, and cause fears of still greater evils in those months which must precede the ensuing harvest.—The government cannot consider this sad perspective without the most profound grief; but among the miseries of an inevitable war, sworn to by the nation, and in which all the resources are

inefficient for the indispensable equipment and support of the soldier, it cannot give way to its good intentions, and, as it wishes, relieve the wants of the labouring classes, and give proportionate succours, according to the scarcity experienced in the provinces.”

[Here the regency, after promising to use every exertion to alleviate the public misery, and calling upon the prelates, &c. &c. to endeavour to prevail on the husbandmen to sow the ground with such seeds as are congenial to the season, proceeds:] “The aversion to sow and cultivate the fields, for fear the enemy should enjoy the benefit of their labours, ought to be efficiently combated. The labourer should have inculcated upon him, that the seed he commits to the earth remains covered from French rapacity, and that in the mean while the efforts of a government, determined to bury itself in its ruins, rather than submit to the barbarous enemy who attacks us; the heroic constancy of the Spanish people; the copious assistance which is expected from our ally, the generous British nation; the war which threatens Bonaparte in the north; and, above all, Divine Providence, whose cause is ours, and who has given us so many and such signal proofs of his protection, even in the midst of our greatest misfortunes, may easily, and perhaps sooner than is expected, produce such a change in the state of affairs, that, by the time for reaping the fruits of the seed sowed this spring, the enemy may not be in a condition to enjoy them.”

It ends by requesting the prelates, &c. &c. to use their influence in prevailing on men of capital to endeavour to procure provisions, and the establishment of charitable institutions.

RUSSIA.

2. Advices from various stations in the Baltic concur in representing war between France and Russia as on the eve of commencing ; and state, that the French grand army of 200,000 men, in four divisions, under the command of Massena, Berthier, Oudinot, and Davoust, was then on its march to attack Russia. This army, which has been on the war-establishment ever since the 15th Feb., has been designated the grand army, instead of the army of the Rhine : Jerome Bonaparte was to have a command in it. Of the capability of Russia to sustain a contest with France, nothing is known.

A foreign journal gives the following as a correct statement of the annual produce of the mines of Russia : 1600 pounds of gold, fifty thousand of silver, two millions of lead, eight millions of copper, 623 millions of iron, and 156,000 pounds of vitriol. From the working of these mines the crown derives a revenue of six millions and a half of roubles.

A grand national library, the collection of which was begun by Catherine II., has been completed and opened at Petersburg. It comprises 250,000 printed volumes ; 80,000 of which relate to theology, and 40,000 duplicates. There are 12,000 manuscripts, many of them exceedingly curious, being obtained from the remotest parts of the empire ; among them are some epistles of St. Paul, written during the 4th century, with marginal notes, and a book of Mahomedan prayers, in Cufic characters.

AFRICA.

At St. Helena, in December last, a mutiny broke out among the company's troops, with others, for the

protection of the island ; caused by a reduction in their rations of rum and provisions : upon which the mutineers privately agreed to insist on what they termed their rights, and formed a plan to seize the stores. The governor became acquainted with their intentions, and frustrated their plan, but not till after a serious contest had taken place. The insurgents had got the deputy governor into their power, but he was released by the governor himself. The mutiny was entirely subdued : seven of the ringleaders were tried and executed, forty sent to England, and several remained in confinement.

AMERICA.

The spirit of independence is spreading rapidly in the Spanish colonies of South America. Under the protection and influence of the new republic of Venezuela, the provinces of Carthagena and Truxillo have declared themselves independent states ; and the former had sent an army against the inhabitants of St. Martha, to compel them to accede to the general confederation. The act of independence, issued by the inhabitants of Carthagena, is dated at a period when they could not have learned the removal of the cortes, to whose misconduct this revolt may in some measure be attributed. The new republics are raising troops, establishing military schools, and making other preparations to resist any attack. The following is an abstract :

Act of independence of Carthagena.

The act commences by invoking the Deity, and declaring that the representatives of the city of Carthagena of the Indies, having assembled to enter upon the enjoyment of their just and unalienable rights,

rights, devolved upon them in the course of events, with which it has pleased Divine Providence to mark the downfall of the Spanish monarchy, and the erection of a new dynasty on the throne of the Bourbons, deemed it proper to make known the causes of their separation from the Spanish monarchy. It then proceeds: Turning with horror from the contemplation of the 300 years of vexations, miseries, and calamities, heaped upon our unhappy country by the conquerors and mandatories of Spain, whose history cannot fail to astonish posterity at the duration of our sufferance,—and passing in silence over the consequences of that unhappy period for America,—we shall confine ourselves solely to the events which, peculiar to this province, have taken place only since the epoch of the Spanish revolution. [A recapitulation of the causes of complaint against the manner in which the regency of Old Spain conducted themselves towards Spanish America here follows. Their removal was followed by the installation of the general cortes; which, in asking the authority, is said to have announced itself to the world with the dignity becoming a great nation, and in sentiments and ideas so liberal as to astonish Europe, and convince the world that Spain was not quite buried in the grossest ignorance.] They proceed: “We acknowledged the cortes; but, rendered cautious by past events, and convinced by our own experience, that no distant government can secure the happiness of its colonies, we recognised them only as a sovereign, while they governed legally and conformably to the principles they announced, reserving for ever to ourselves the interior administration and æcono-

mical government of the province.” The act concludes by declaring, in the face of the universe, that the province of Carthagena of the Indies is from that day (the 11th of Nov.) a free, sovereign, and independent state.

4. This being the day for the quarterly report of the state of the king’s malady to be made by the queen’s council to the privy council, all the members attended at Windsor, and, after receiving the testimony of the physicians, made up the report; the substance of which is understood to be, “that his majesty’s bodily health is as good as it has been at any former period of the complaint; that his mental health is as much deranged as it has been at any time; that none of the physicians expect that his majesty will recover, yet none of them entirely and absolutely despair.” The two archbishops, the lord chancellor, lord Ellenborough, and sir Wm. Grant, saw the king in his apartment, when they had an opportunity of verifying, by their own observation, the account of the physicians.

6. A singular circumstance is stated in the case of Wyat, of Fowey, convicted of the murder of Valentine the Jew. The prisoner was brought up to receive sentence on Thursday, and Mr. justice Chambre, supposing it to be Friday, sentenced him to be executed on Monday. The act of parliament enacts, that persons convicted of murder shall be executed within 48 hours after their conviction; they are therefore generally tried on the Friday, in order that they may have the benefit of Sunday, which is a *dies non*. The sentence, however, not being conformable to law, as it allowed a longer period than 48 hours between the conviction and execution,

execution, the prisoner was brought up again on Friday, and sentenced to be executed on Saturday. The execution was respited till the 1st of May, and the opinion of the judges is to be taken respecting the legality of the sentence.

FRANCE.

The late disturbances at Caen are noticed as follows: "Caen, March 19.—For several days past there has been a tumultuous assembly of people, for which the dearth of provisions was the pretext, but whose true object was plunder. Some bad subjects, having collected a number of women, violently proceeded to the houses of some proprietors of grain, but contented themselves with stealing linen and goods. The authorities gave proofs of prudence and firmness. The principal ring-leaders were remarked, and notice taken of their places of abode. During this time, the troops, who had been called in, united, the chiefs were arrested, and tranquillity restored. On the 14th of March a military commission was assembled in the castle of Caen, and the accused, in number 61, denounced before it; when nine persons, four men and five women, having been convicted of being the authors of the audacious meeting, from whom proceeded shouts of menace against the magistrates, and whose intention was to carry devastation thro' the town of Caen, were condemned to suffer death: eight to eight years' hard labour; and ten to five years' solitary confinement. On the 15th, at ten in the morning, judgement was carried into execution."

Thunder-storms were very generally experienced throughout France in February last; and, besides occasioning the loss of many lives,

had levelled many public buildings, houses, &c. On the night of the 23d, three vessels in L'Orient were sunk by thunder-bolts. The department of Chamberi suffered severely on the 16th of February by an inundation, caused by a high wind and the melting of the snow; all the rivers and currents overflowed their banks, carrying away the bridges, houses, cattle, &c. For 24 leagues the water attained an elevation of 12 feet, desolating near 60 communes and villages. The city of Chamberi was greatly damaged in its different quarters, many of the houses being thrown down, and the water entering windows of others. A number of persons lost their lives. The most elevated point of the mountain of Arclosun, near Chamberi, was on the 17th of February detached from its base, and buried beneath its ruins five families, their houses, cattle, &c. The church of St. Pellerin, department of the Loire, was on the 22d of February struck by lightning, and burnt to the ground before the flames could be extinguished.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The Spanish regency have refused to ratify one of the articles of the capitulation of Valencia, concluded between general Blake and marshal Suchet, relative to the exchange of the prisoners of war; having sworn, they say, never to enter into any convention with the enemy until he shall have quitted the Spanish territory. Near 4,000 men, who were made prisoners in Valencia, have escaped, and are again in arms against the common enemy.

The cortes have lately published a decree, enabling all Spanish subjects of Moorish origin, either by

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the father or mother's side, to take degrees in the universities, and to enter the religious orders or the priesthood, provided they are possessed of the other requisites. Earl Wellington accepted from the cortes of Spain the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo, subject to the future approbation of his own government; which has since been received.

The new Spanish constitution was solemnly proclaimed in Cadiz on the 19th ult. and *Te Deum* celebrated with great magnificence. The people hailed it with enthusiastic acclamations. By the regulations adopted relative to the succession to the throne, the cortes reserve the power of altering the succession, or even removing the sovereign, in case of misconduct. Ferdinand the VIIth is proclaimed the lawful sovereign.

The whole coast of Spain, from Puerto Santa Maria to Ayamonte, has been declared in a state of blockade; the more effectually to distress the French before Cadiz, and prevent their receiving any supplies by sea.

FALL OF BADAJOS BY STORM, ON THE SIXTH OF APRIL.

The siege continued but twelve days with open trenches. On the 25th of last month, the trenches were opened before Badajos: on the evening of that day fort Picurina was taken; and on the 6th of the present month the whole place was carried by assault.

The assault commenced on the night of the 6th inst. when three breaches that were deemed practicable had been effected. On the loss sustained by the fourth division under general Colville, and the light division under colonel Bernard, and the valour displayed by them in the attempt to gain these

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breaches, it is unnecessary to dwell. Lord Wellington has spoken in just terms of the deserts of all the officers and men engaged in this sanguinary conflict. Suffice it to say, that the French troops had so well fortified themselves with interior trenches, that the advance of our brave men was suspended in this quarter: but, while the chief attention of the enemy was directed to the defence of the breaches, general Picton had gained possession of the castle of Badajos, commanding the town, by escalade; and maj.-gen. Leith's division,—converting (under circumstances that had been pre-conceived) a false attack into a real one,—having turned an outwork, gained the ditch; and, climbing the adjoining bastion, established themselves in the town itself. Badajos being thus entered, the defence of the breaches was no longer either practicable or useful: our men entered to certain conquest; and the enemy, with their generals at their head, surrendered themselves prisoners.

We cannot speak too highly of the heroes who accomplished this well-timed achievement: it exalts the fame of British valour almost beyond any thing that has gone before it; and may serve as an example and stimulant, not only to our allies, but to all the nations of Europe.

9. A numerous meeting of the livery of London was held at Guildhall, pursuant to requisition, Mar. 6, to take into consideration the situation of the country; when twelve resolutions complaining of the administration of the country, and praying the dismissal of the present ministers, were carried, and a petition to the same effect ordered to be presented to the prince regent.—Another meeting was held on the

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7th of April, when the lord mayor stated that the prince regent had thought proper, in conformity to the usage of his royal father since 1775, to decline receiving their petition on the throne. The report of the sheriffs was then read, which stated, that they had waited on the prince regent on Wednesday se'n-night, and delivered the following message: "May it please your royal highness, we are ordered by the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, to wait upon your royal highness, humbly to know when you will be pleased to receive their humble address and petition." To which his royal highness replied: "I shall receive your petition at my levee to-morrow se'n-night, in the usual way." One of the sheriffs then addressed the prince regent in the following words: "Will your royal highness allow us, officially placed, as we are, in your royal presence, as the organ and servants of the livery of London, humbly to ask, whether it is intended to receive the deputation appointed by the common hall at the levee, to present their address?" The prince regent answered: "There are certain forms attending that; but I think the best way will be for me to communicate with the secretary of state, who will inform you." In consequence of this answer, the sheriffs waited on Mr. Ryder next day, who informed them that their petition would be received like other petitions from town or country. Twelve resolutions were then carried, in which it is observed that the right of the livery was never disputed until 1775, the period of Wilkes's popularity, and that since two addresses had been received from the court of lieutenantancy, a body inferior to the livery of Lon-

don; and that, by their being presented and received upon the throne, the petitioners have the satisfaction of knowing that their complaints are heard.

MIDDLESEX SESSIONS.

10. Henry Gawler was indicted for fraudulently obtaining, under false pretences, six promissory notes for the payment of one pound, from Mary the wife of — Spright, on the 22d of October last.

It appeared in evidence, that the prisoner, at the time of this transaction, was a clerk in the ticket-office in the Navy-office. The prosecutrix, who resides at Kentish-town, having been informed that the prisoner had interest to procure the discharge of her son (by a former husband), who was serving as a seaman on board his majesty's ship *Active*, called at his house in Ossulstone-street, Somers-town, for the purpose of applying to him on the subject. Not finding him within, however, at that time, she left her commands and returned home: in a few days afterwards the prisoner himself called upon her at Kentish-town, and said he understood she wished to obtain her son's discharge, adding, that he could settle the business at once, and that her son might be home at least in the course of two months. The prosecutrix, delighted with the hope of seeing her child, asked him what would be the expense? He said it would cost 40*l.* to procure the discharge. The prosecutrix expressed her utter inability to raise such a sum; upon which he said that he should not want the money all at once, but he must have 5*l.* down. She had not the money then in her possession, and the prisoner went away promising to call again. In the mean time the prosecutrix

secutrix received a pressing request from her son, to try every means in her power to obtain his discharge. In two or three days afterwards the prisoner called again upon the prosecutrix, and told her she must contrive to raise some part of the money. She had then procured six *l.* notes, and immediately gave them to him; and upon his complaining that that was a very small sum, she promised to send him some more money in a few days. The prisoner went away with the *l.* promising to forward her wishes. In two days afterwards she sent him two other *l.* notes, which were delivered at his house by a little boy. Some time having elapsed, and not hearing any account from the prisoner, she called upon him at the Navy-office to inquire what progress he had made in the business. He received her with all the affected consequence of an official man; told her that the lords commissioners of the admiralty had not yet given their answer upon the subject, but her son's case was before them,—consoling her with the assurance that things of that kind could not be done in a hurry, and that it might be even three months before her son could be sent home. Shortly afterwards Mr. Gawler absconded from London, and the prosecutrix did not see him again till he was in custody at Bow-street, upon suspicion of misconduct of a more serious nature.

The case on the part of the prosecution having been clearly made out, Mr. Alley submitted to the court that, however infamously wicked the conduct of the defendant was in the eyes of every honest man, the case had not been made out under the act of parliament by which he was tried, inasmuch as

bank-notes did not come within the meaning of the word *moneys*, which was the term used in the statute. This point he urged confidently, and he contended that no lawyer could correctly contradict him in this position.

The court, however, after hearing the question argued at length, were clearly of opinion, that if bank-notes did not come within the meaning of the term *money*, yet, as they were *money's worth*, they were to be recognised as money under this act of parliament.—The jury found the prisoner Guilty.

Mr. Alley again earnestly pressed the same point of law in arrest of judgement; but it was again over-ruled by the court, and the prisoner was sentenced to seven years transportation.

11. New Drury theatre is in great forwardness. A meeting of the subscribers was held this day at the Crown and Anchor, lord Holland in the chair. The house is to be opened on the 10th October: the cost of the whole will be 150,000*l.* Thanks were voted to the noble chairman and Mr. Whitbread; the latter elucidated particulars relative to the funds, building, scenery, &c. and asserted that the undertaking held out prospects of emolument infinitely greater than those of any similar undertaking.

13. Between four and five o'clock this morning the Highgate tunnel fell in, and the labour of several months was in a few moments converted into a heap of ruins. It was the crown-arch near Hornsey-lane that first gave way, and the lane in consequence fell some feet deep, and instantly became impassable. The falling-in of the archway had been anticipated by the workmen for nearly a fortnight previous to

the catastrophe, and is considered to have originated in too economical a regard to the quantity of bricks used in the arch, and the quality of the cement for uniting them having been deteriorated by too great a proportion of sand.

15. An address on the part of the English Roman catholics was presented at the levee to the prince regent, by lord Clifford, hon. Mr. Stourton, sir Henry Englefield, bart., sir John Throckmorton, and Edward Jerningham, esq.

17. A meeting of the common council was held, this day, to consider the propriety of an address and petition to the prince regent, upon the unprecedented and embarrassing situation of the country. Mr. Quin, after attributing the distresses under which the country laboured to the want of a fair representation of the people in parliament, moved some resolutions, and an address to the prince regent.—Mr. Waithman supported the motion, but thought that the orders in council were destructive to the trade of the country, and the principal cause of the present scarcity and high price of provisions.—Mr. Jacks admitted the embarrassment of our national affairs, but had doubts of the proposed remedy; and ridiculed the idea of a reform in parliament.—Mr. S. Dixon opposed the resolutions altogether, and contended that the situation of this country was far preferable to any other.—Sir W. Curtis defended the orders in council and measures of administration; and observed, that he was not prepared to pull down one edifice, till he was in a situation to erect another which should excel it.—Sir C. Price, sir J. Shaw, and messrs. Atcheson and A. Brown, followed on the same side;

while aldermen Combe and Wood spoke at length in support of the resolutions, which were ultimately carried by 98 to 82.

BOW-STREET.

CURIOUS OCCURRENCE.

17. Wednesday evening, one of the most extraordinary investigations took place before Mr. Nares, the sitting magistrate, that ever disgraced a civilized country, respecting two beings in the shape of men, whose conduct proved that they could not possess intellects superior to beasts. It appeared that on the same evening, as Croker belonging to the office was passing along the Hampstead-road, he observed at a short distance before him two men on a wall, and directly after he observed the tallest of them, a stout man, about six feet high, hanging by his neck from a lamp-post attached to the wall, being that instant tied up, and turned off deliberately by the short man. This very unexpected and extraordinary sight astonished and alarmed the officer; he made up to the spot with all possible speed, and just after he arrived there, the tall man who had been hanged fell to the ground. Croker produced his staff, said he was an officer, and demanded to know of the other man the cause of such extraordinary conduct: in the mean time the man who had been hanged recovered from the effects of his suspension, got up, and on finding Croker interfering, gave him a violent blow on the nose, which nearly knocked him backwards. The short man was then endeavouring to make off: however, the officer procured assistance, and both the men were secured and brought to the above office; when the account the fellows

lows gave of themselves was, that they worked together on canals. They had been in company together on Wednesday afternoon, and tossed up with halfpence for money, and afterwards for their clothes: the tall man who was hanged won the other's jacket, trowsers, and shoes. They then, in the most wanton manner, and worse than brutes, tossed up who should hang the other. The short one won that toss, and they got upon the wall, the one to submit, and the other to carry their savage conduct into execution on the lamp-iron. They both agreed in this statement. The tall one, who had been hanged, said, if he had won the toss, he would have hanged the other. He said he then felt the effects on his neck of the time he was hanging, and his eyes were so much swelled that he saw double. Mr. Nares and Mr. Birnie, the magistrates, both expressed their horror and disgust at such conduct and language, and ordered the man who had been hanged to find bail for the violent and unjustifiable assault on the officer, and the short one for hanging the other. Neither of them being provided with bail, they were committed to Bridewell for trial.

RUSSIA.

20. The "dreadful note of preparation" for war between Russia and France is strongly heard throughout the whole continent, and every thing seems nearly ready for action on the part of the latter, unless her opponent makes a full and speedy submission. Bonaparte's troops are marching in great force through Prussia, which power is obliged to keep them on the road, and add 15,000 Prussians to their

number.—Russia, in the mean time, is said not to be unprepared for the event, and is endeavouring to strengthen herself by alliances with England and Sweden. Seventeen thousand of the imperial guards, infantry and cavalry, had marched from the capital for the frontiers of Poland, where a considerable force had assembled. It was even reported that the emperor Alexander had determined to take the command in person against the French; while general. Barclay de Tolly, Bennigsen, Armfeldt, and others, were to have commands under him.—Gen. Von Suechtelen had been dispatched from St. Petersburg to Stockholm, on an important mission.

Since the year 1810, 30 persons in Russia have attained the age of 115 years, 24 that of 120; 11 that of 135; and 2 that of 140.

AMERICA.

The American congress have voted a loan of 11 millions of dollars, most of which has been raised at 8 per cent. the interest on which is to be paid by an addition of 100% per cent. on all goods and merchandize imported, but not to commence until hostilities actually take place.

A bill has been introduced into the American congress, the provisions of which declare, that if any foreigner shall be guilty of impressing any American citizen on board of a foreign ship or vessel, he shall, if arrested, be tried and convicted as a pirate, and suffer death; and the American so impressed, on his return to his country, shall be entitled to 30 dollars per month during the time of his detention, and may recover it by a suit of foreign attachment against the debtor of

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any British creditor; and what he shall recover, and the costs, shall be so much payment of the debt.

22. The subject of the Cambridge Seatonian prize poem for the present year is "Joseph's making himself known to his brethren." The following are the subjects for the members' prizes: Senior bachelors, *De philosophia Platonica disquisitio et judicium.* Middle bachelors, "*Utrum precepta à rhetoribus tradita vere eloquentia profuisse an nocuisse dicendum est?*"

SIR F. BURDETT V. SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

24. The writs of error, in the actions brought by sir F. Burdett against the speaker of the house of commons and the serjeant at arms, were finally argued in the exchequer chamber; when the court unanimously affirmed the judgement of the king's-bench.

ADDRESS AND PETITION OF THE
COMMON COUNCIL.

28. The right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and common council of the city of London waited upon his royal highness the prince regent, at Carlton-house, with the following address and petition; which was read by the recorder:

"May it please your royal highness,

"We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, humbly approach your royal highness, dutifully to represent our deep sense of the difficulties and dangers impending over the country, and anxiously to invite your beneficent attention to the complaints and grievances of your afflicted but faithful subjects. Fourteen months have elapsed since your

royal highness acceded to the regency of these kingdoms, at which time we felt it our duty to submit to you a statement of abuses which had taken root in the various departments of the government, the speedy correction and removal of which we deemed essential to the prosperity and safety of the empire; and we now again present ourselves before your royal highness to express our unfeigned sorrow, that during this interval no efficient measures have been adopted by your ministers, calculated to satisfy the wishes and wants of your people; but that, on the contrary, the same mal-practices, and the same false principles of government, have been tenaciously pursued and enforced, thereby adding contumely to injury, and extinguishing the spring of public energy in a free nation. We have continued to witness the same system of profligacy in the expenditure of the public money; the same system of governing by undue influence and corruption; the same system of delusion in regard to the circulating medium and finances of the country; the same system of arbitrary and grievous assessment and collection of taxes, by which industry is thwarted, and liberty violated; the same system of introducing into the heart of the country foreign troops; the same system of persecuting the press, by which the value of free discussion on national topics is lost to prince and people; and, finally, the same system of coercive restrictions on the freedom of commerce, by which many of our merchants and manufacturers have been involved in ruin, and flourishing districts reduced to beggary. As faithful and loyal subjects, and as the representatives of the

the first city in your empire, we feel the deepest affliction in being thus compelled to reiterate this enumeration of the mal-practices and mistaken principles of your ministers: we should, however, compromise that sense of public duty, and that character of frankness, which appertain to us as freemen and Britons, were we to disguise the truth, and forbear to express our conviction that your confidential advisers have plunged this great and once flourishing empire into an abyss, from which we can be rescued only by radical reforms, and a total change in our domestic government and foreign policy. In a crisis, therefore, which involves the destiny of the greatest empire of these or past times,—of an empire which is blessed by Providence with unequalled natural advantages, and which possesses a people that in all ages have bravely secured their prosperity on the solid basis of public liberty, we feel that we should justly merit the reproaches of our country and of posterity, if, at such a crisis, we were to refrain from laying before your royal highness a faithful representation of the public grievances, and expressing our painful apprehensions for the welfare and the very existence of the nation. We therefore pray, that your royal highness will be graciously pleased to dismiss from your councils those ministers who have proved themselves so undeserving of the confidence of your people, and call to the administration of the government men of public character and patriotic principles, whose enlarged and liberal policy is suited to the enlightened character of the nation,—whose wisdom and energy would prove equal to the exigen-

cies of the times,—whose inclinations would lead them to secure the affections of the people, and whose public spirit would stimulate them to effect those reforms in the commons house of parliament, and in the various branches of the state, which at this perilous crisis are absolutely necessary to the restoration of national prosperity, and not less essential to the honour and true interest of the crown than to the security and true glory of the empire. Signed by order of the court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE."

To which address and petition his royal highness was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"It must always be my inclination to listen with attention to the petitions of any part of his majesty's subjects. For the redress of any grievances of which they can reasonably complain, I have full confidence in the wisdom of parliament, the great council of the nation. Being firmly of opinion, that the total change in the domestic government and foreign policy of the country, which it is the declared object of your petition to accomplish, would only serve to increase the dangers against which we have to contend, I should be wanting to myself, and to the great interests committed to my charge, if I did not steadily persevere in those endeavours which appear to me best calculated to support the just rights of the nation abroad, and to preserve inviolate the constitution at home. These endeavours can only be attended with success when seconded by the zeal and loyalty of his majesty's people, upon which I shall continue to place the strongest reliance."

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The following address from the loyal and independent livery, as a protest against the one already noticed, has also been since presented :

"May it please your royal highness,

"We, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the undersigned liverymen of the city of London, beg leave to approach your royal highness with the strongest assurances of attachment to your person, and of our resolution to support your government with zeal, constancy, and firmness. While we sympathize most deeply with your royal highness on the lamented indisposition of our venerable and beloved sovereign, we eagerly seize this opportunity to convey to your royal highness the ardent feelings of gratitude excited in our breasts by the numerous blessings which we have enjoyed during the long and glorious reign of your royal father; and more especially by the unequivocal proofs so repeatedly afforded, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, of his sacred regard for those fundamental principles of the constitution which seated your illustrious family on the throne of these realms. Most cordially do we congratulate your royal highness on the brilliant success which has distinguished his majesty's arms, during the short period of the regency, in different quarters of the globe, by sea and land; success not less beneficial in its immediate effects than in its remote consequences, since it affords a strong ground of hope, that by a continued display of the same consummate skill and bravery on the part of his majesty's officers and men, and of the same wisdom and vigour in the councils of your

royal highness, you will be enabled ultimately to bring the arduous contest in which we are engaged to an honourable termination. At the same time, we reflect with pride on the measures pursued by your royal highness, for the support of the national character, by the preservation of the national faith with his majesty's allies; for the determination to persevere in that glorious struggle for independence on the peninsula, which is the common cause of all who enjoy and appreciate the blessings of national freedom; for the anxiety manifested by your royal highness to support the commercial credit of the nation, and to promote the general welfare and happiness of the country; and while we deeply lament the pressure of the times, caused by difficulties in trade and manufactures arising from the nature of the present contest, and partly from the dearness of corn, we cannot but express our indignation at the attempts which have been made to indispose the people against the government, for events which have so evidently been beyond their control. From our experience of the past, we are led to congratulate the country on the existence of a well-grounded hope, that the civil and religious liberties of the nation as finally settled and firmly established at the memorable era of the revolution, and the protestant ascendancy, to which, under Providence, we are indebted for the inestimable blessings we are permitted to enjoy, will be maintained inviolate. Relying on the goodness of the Almighty for a continuance of these blessings, we ardently pray that your royal highness may long be preserved to the nation, in health, prosperity, and happiness."

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SWEDEN.

1. A Swedish courier arrived at Stockholm from Paris on the 24th of March. The unjust occupation of Pomerania was, of course, the subject of his dispatches. In excuse thereof, necessity, and the uncontrollable course of affairs, are said to have been urged; and Finland, which France has not to give, has been offered as an indemnification to Sweden for her loss, and for the purchase of 35,000 Swedes to be employed in Spain. The courier is said to have returned to France with a positive rejection of these overtures, dictated by Bernadotte; the Swedish government declaring that it will do nothing injurious or offensive to Russia.

The Swedish papers furnish us with the "Address of the king," on opening the extraordinary meeting of the diet, at Orebro, on the 20th April. The style is manly, dignified, and independent. He says, "I have called you together at a moment when great and important occurrences, out of our native country, seem to threaten Europe with new misfortunes. Guarded by her situation from the forced obligation of paying obedience to foreign sway, which possibly might not accord with her own interest, Sweden has every thing to hope from unity, valour, and conduct; every thing to lose if she gives herself up to intestine divisions and unwise fear. It is by the bond of unity between me and you,—by my son's sword, rich in honour,—by the valour of our youth in arms,—by the powerful will of the Swedish people, that the prosperity of your laws and the honour of your liberties are secured. It is by the high and valuable example of un-

disturbed confidence between the king and subjects, by firm and manly decisions in the midst of tempestuous times, that the powers of Europe should be convinced, that the independence of Sweden is not solely defended by the seas which surround her coast."—He then hints that he was influenced in the removal of the diet from Stockholm to Orebro, by a desire to preserve the freedom of deliberation, pays some warm and handsome compliments to the crown prince, who, during his illness, maintained public tranquillity, and whose self-denial, he says, lays on him and the diet the joint and "sacred obligation of not deceiving his noble hopes;" and thus concludes:—"The people of Sweden have their eyes fixed on me and you; they shall not be deceived in their reasonable expectations, by a king who never hesitated to offer for his country both the pleasures of quiet life, and a harbour already gained after troubles sustained. This my solemn promise, which contains my fixed determination of going hand in hand with my son, in defiance of hostile threats from without, and possibly of opinions at home, to retain the liberty and independence of this ancient realm, lays you, my good lords and Swedish-men under a like obligation of contributing unanimously to the same object."

RUSSIA.

The letters from St. Petersburg state, that prince Czerinski, secretary to the cabinet, had been detected in a plot to assassinate Alexander. He was assisted in the project by Magnetski, one of the ministers, and by a Frenchman. The correspondence having been detected, all three had been banished.

A recent ukase of the emperor Alexander

Alexander has been issued, for laying two out of every 500 men able to carry arms in his dominions.

Another ukase forbids subjects of Russia serving in the armies of a foreign continental potentate, under penalty of confiscation of property.

A third ukase directs the return of all Russian subjects from the dominions of any continental power, within a limited time, under penalty of receiving no indemnification for loss of property which they may sustain in consequence of remaining.

The emperor of Russia left Petersburg on the 21st ult. to join the army. Generals Barclay de Tolly and Armfeldt are to have the chief command.

It is said that all the British naval officers, who have been residing during the war with England in the interior of Russia, have been invited to St. Petersburg; and many of them have been engaged in superintending the fitting out of Russian ships of war.

The Russians are endeavouring to establish a communication between the Black sea and the Caspian sea, by cutting a canal between the rivers Bartrum and Kur.

ASIA.

Capt. Canning, who had been deputed on a mission from the supreme government to the court of Ava, arrived at Rangoon in October, and had been received in the most friendly manner.

It is mentioned, that the Persian soldiers who had been appointed to convey to Icheran some superb pieces of brass ordnance brought by sir G. Ouseley as a present from his Britannic majesty to the king of Persia, had contrived to abridge

their labour by throwing the guns over a precipice at the first ridge of mountains which they came to on the road; and that the fragments were afterwards exhibited for sale in the bazar at Busheeh.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH.

10. Mr. Justice Grose pronounced the sentence of the court on John Hunt and William Squires, convicted of an outrage on a religious meeting, in nearly the following words:

"You are here to receive the judgement of this court, having been convicted most properly of a very dangerous offence to society, of a no less dangerous offence than that of breaking and entering the dwelling-house of another, doing mischief to the doors and windows, and assaulting the mistress of that dwelling-house, Mrs. Tomlins. When we consider the whole of this case, it is an enormous case, whether we look to the violence used, to the day, to the numbers assembled, or to the purpose for which you were assembled: the violence was great, and a great deal of injury was done to the man's property. Although you pretend you did not meet there for the purpose of doing an injury either to their persons or their property, you did meet there to do that which is as bad—you met there for the purpose of disturbing those who had assembled for the purposes of religious worship: and when we recollect what the law tolerates with respect to religious worship, it is most abominable in private individuals to disturb others in celebrating that worship which the law allows. Your numbers were alarming, the mischief you did was very injurious to these persons, and the purpose for which you met was an abominable

abominable intention to interrupt them in the exercise of that worship which the law allows, and in the celebration of which the law will protect them. It is for us to see that you receive such a punishment as shall be sufficient not only to deter you from the commission of such offences in future, but to deter others from the commission of similar offences. Therefore taking into our consideration, as we do, all the circumstances of the case, as well as the circumstances mentioned in each of your affidavits, we do order and adjudge that you, John Hunt, pay a fine to the king of 20*l.* and be imprisoned in his majesty's prison of the king's-bench for the space of one calendar month, and give security to keep the peace for three years, yourself in 100*l.* and two sureties in 50*l.* each. And as to you, Wm. Squires, with respect to whose offence there is certainly a distinction, we do order and adjudge that you be imprisoned in the prison of the king's-bench for the space of one calendar month, and then be discharged; and that you John Hunt be imprisoned till the fine be paid, and until you have given such security."

EARTHQUAKE AT CARACCAS.

12. The subjoined letters from Caraccas and La Guayra, its port, afford some interesting particulars with regard to this terrible convulsion of nature, which seems almost to have rivalled the earthquake that laid Lisbon in ruins more than half a century ago.

Extract of a letter from Thomas Molini, esq. dated Caraccas, March 29, 1812, to his brother in London:—"The dreadful catastrophe that took place in this city, on Thursday last, my pen is not able

to describe; you will, without doubt, receive the dreadful details from other quarters.

"My only motive for writing, is to allay your apprehensions relative to my person, and I hope you will receive this letter as soon as the shocking account reaches England.

"On the day above mentioned, at about seven minutes past four in the afternoon, we experienced one of the most dreadful earthquakes you can imagine. In less than three minutes one quarter of the town was laid in ruins, and the remaining three-fourths of the houses rendered totally uninhabitable. The number of lives lost is not yet ascertained, but the most moderate accounts estimate it at 5000 souls.

"Similar accounts have reached us from La Guayra, and various other quarters: what is the extent of the evil in the interior, we do not know. I fear the calamity has been general throughout the continent.

"P. S. General Miranda is well, and was out of town when this dreadful event happened."

Extract of a letter from captain Cuthbert, of the ship Highlander, dated La Guayra, April 1, 1812:

"Since my arrival here, one of the greatest calamities has occurred at this place that ever happened in any country. On the 26th ult. whilst on board, I heard a most dreadful report of an earthquake: it lasted, as nearly as my recollection will serve, about two minutes. I soon learnt that the town of La Guayra was laid in ruins, and that numbers of the inhabitants were killed and buried in them. The city of Caraccas, I understand, has experienced a still worse fate, and has been totally abandoned by the unfortunate

unfortunate inhabitants. The rocks and mountains were rent asunder; and it is impossible for pen to describe the devastation occasioned by this horrible explosion. The cargo which I was to have taken on board has shared the fate of nearly all the goods in the city, and has been swallowed up in the general ruin. When the shock was first felt on board, every person was impressed with the feeling that the ship was beating to pieces on the rocks. On my going on shore, the most awful and afflicting scene presented itself;—hundreds of the suffering inhabitants were seen mixed with heaps of ruins, and many of them still yet alive with their heads out, imploring assistance from their fellow-citizens, who, instead of affording them aid, were throwing themselves prostrate before images, beating their breasts, and imploring for themselves the protection of their saints. When the alarm had in some degree subsided, the bodies of the dead were sought for; but I have not been able to ascertain the extent of the loss which this hapless city has sustained."

ASSASSINATION OF MR. PERCEVAL.

13. Yesterday afternoon, at about a quarter past five, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the house of commons, he was shot by a person of the name of Bellingham, who had placed himself for that purpose at the side of the door leading from the stone staircase. Mr. Perceval was in company with lord F. Osborne, and immediately on receiving the ball, which entered the left breast, he staggered and fell at the feet of Mr. W. Smith, who was standing near the second pillar. The only words he uttered

were, "Oh! I am murdered," and the latter was inarticulate, the sound dying between his lips. He was instantly taken up by Mr. Smith, who did not recognise him until he had looked in his face. The report of the pistol immediately drew great numbers to the spot, who assisted Mr. Smith in conveying the body of Mr. Perceval into the speaker's apartments; but before he reached them, all signs of life had departed. Mr. Perceval's corpse was placed upon a bed, and Mr. Lynn, of Great George-street, who had been sent for, arrived, but too late even to witness the last symptoms of expiring existence. He found that the ball, which was of an unusually large size, had penetrated the heart near its centre, and had passed completely through it. From thence the body was removed to the speaker's drawing-room, by Mr. Lynn and several members, and laid on a sofa.

The horror and dismay occasioned by the assassination of Mr. Perceval prevented any attention from being paid to other persons, and it was not until the right honourable gentleman was raised from the floor that a person belonging to the Vote-office, exclaimed, "Where is the rascal that fired?" when a person of the name of Bellingham, who had been unobserved, stepped up to him and coolly observed, "I am the unfortunate man." He did not make any attempt to escape, but resigned himself quietly into the hands of some of the by-standers. They placed him upon a bench near the fireplace, where they kept him, and all the doors were closed, and the egress of any persons prevented. When the assassin was interrogated

as to his motive for this dreadful act, he replied, "My name is Bellingham; it is a private injury—I know what I have done—It was a denial of justice on the part of government."—At this time the prisoner was in no legal custody, but was surrounded by many members, who insisted that he should be taken into the body of the house. The criminal was however previously searched, to which he made no resistance, and upon his person were found a steel pistol, loaded, about seven inches in length (the fellow to that with which he had effected his fatal purpose, which had been secured) with a short screw barrel, and a bundle of papers folded like letters. Two messengers, Wright and Skelton, then conveyed the prisoner to the bar of the house of commons, where the utmost confusion and anxiety prevailed. The speaker had quitted the chair, the house having resolved itself into a committee on the orders in council; but, on hearing the afflicting intelligence, he returned and resumed his seat. Order having been restored, general Gascoyne said in an audible voice, "I think I know the villain," and walking up to the assassin, and looking in his face, inquired, "Is not your name Bellingham?" He returned no answer but by shaking his head, and stood afterwards motionless and apparently composed, resting his hands upon the bar, and looking directly forwards to the chair.

The speaker then proposed in a firm voice, that the criminal should be conveyed to the prison-room, and that a magistrate should be sent to receive the examination of the witnesses of the shocking transaction.—He also stated, that in case that the prisoner might be

less able to attempt an escape, or a rescue be effected by accomplices, it would be fit that he should be conducted to the place of confinement, not through the lobby where the murder had been perpetrated, but through the private avenues round the house.

The proposal was highly approved; and the speaker further said, that it might render the detention of the criminal more secure if members would precede, in order to see that all the passages were clear.

A great many gentlemen immediately rose to comply with the request; when

Mr. Whitbread, in a tone of voice which betrayed the difficulty he felt in commanding his feelings, observed, that to prevent confusion, it would be better if those members who should go before for the purpose of seeing that the passages were clear were named from the chair, or the eagerness of all to fulfil the undertaking would prevent its proper execution.

The speaker added, that it would be right that the utmost precaution should be used, not only lest the criminal should injure others, but should attempt violence on himself.—He then named Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Long, and Mr. Bootle, who directly left the house to clear the avenues to the prison-room. The assistance of several other messengers was called in, who followed with Bellingham in their custody; and they were succeeded by lord Ossulston, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Manning, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Pole, and about ten others.

The speaker also directed that all members who were magistrates of Middlesex, as well as all persons who had witnessed any part of the transaction, should attend the

the committee to examine and to give evidence.

Sir C. Burrell produced the loaded pistol taken from the prisoner; and another member the bundle of papers found in his coat pocket.

The house was then adjourned.

Bellingham was conducted without the slightest resistance to a large room beyond the termination of the upper lobby, where the magistrate (Mr. Watson, serjeant at arms of the house of lords) who had been sent for, attended; Mr. alderman Combe, Mr. Angelo Taylor, and other magistrates assisted at the examination. The witnesses proved the facts we have above communicated. It appeared that a person was standing between the deceased and the prisoner at the time the pistol was fired, and that the latter, to effect his diabolical design, was obliged to raise his hand over the shoulder of the intervening individual, and the ball consequently took a slanting direction, entering rather high upon the breast-bone. The flash of the pistol was seen by many; but the perpetration of the crime was so instantaneous, that its prevention was impossible. The assassin had been often seen lately in the gallery of the house of commons, and it appears that he had yesterday been watching the entrance of every member into the lobby with great attention,—although this circumstance could excite no peculiar notice. General Gascoyne, the member for Liverpool, deposed before Mr. Watson and the other magistrates, that he had seen Bellingham often, and that he had received many petitions and memorials from him respecting some claims upon government, which he ought to be allowed. Those demands, it is stated, originated in

services alleged to be performed by the criminal in Russia, for which he complains that he has obtained no remuneration. It seems likewise, that numerous similar ineffectual representations were made to the unfortunate victim of his revenge, and to the speaker. General Tarleton also gave evidence, as well as many others who witnessed the perpetration of the sanguinary deed, and those who first seized upon the prisoner's person.

The facts stated seem to discountenance altogether the idea that any accomplices were concerned with Bellingham in this inhuman deed; although by some individuals it was thrown out, that because persons were seen running out of Westminster-hall, immediately after the murder, they might be accomplices in the deed. It was natural that men might be eager to communicate the extraordinary event to their friends.

The dreadful intelligence spread with amazing rapidity, and before six o'clock the crowd collected on the outside was so great, that it was deemed prudent to close the doors of Westminster-hall, as well as to plant constables at all the entrances, to prevent a concourse within the passages of the house. Ingress was denied to all persons but members and witnesses. The multitude kept augmenting every minute, and at length it was resolved, in order to ensure tranquillity and to produce a dispersion of the mob, that the house-guards should be called out. They accordingly left their quarters, and paraded in Old and New Palace-yard, and in St. Margaret's and Parliament-street until a late hour. The gates of St. James's Park were closed about eight o'clock, where the foot-guards were drawn out, and

and the city militia, as well as several bodies of volunteers, were called on to preserve the peace of the metropolis; and they all mustered with an alacrity that did them the highest honour.

During the whole of the examination the assassin maintained the utmost composure. He said he had for more than a fortnight watched for a favourable opportunity of effecting his purpose; that he had implored for justice in vain; that he had made application to every person likely to procure him redress; and that he had been at length driven to despair, by being told at the public offices that he might do his worst.—“I have obeyed them—I have done my worst, and I rejoice in the deed.” Not the slightest symptom of remorse appeared in the wretch, notwithstanding the universal horror which his atrocity had produced on all that surrounded him.

Mrs. Perceval was on a visit to the honourable Mrs. Ryder, lady of the right honourable the secretary of state for the home department, at his house in Great George-street, Westminster, when the sad catastrophe happened, and was apprized of it on her return to Downing-street. Mrs. Perceval and her children, 12 in number, are plunged into inexpressible grief, as is lord Arden, his brother. Every window of the house was immediately closed, but the street was thronged with the populace till midnight.

The environs of Parliament-street and Palace-yard were rendered almost impassable by the pressure of the crowd, notwithstanding the vigilance of the police officers.

A cabinet council was summoned, and the departure of the post was delayed till dispatches could

be made out, and instructions prepared for the civil and military authorities in every part of the united kingdom, in order that seasonable steps may be taken for preserving the peace throughout the country,—and particularly in those districts where an inflamed and infatuated multitude have committed the most savage barbarities. We have every reason to believe that the measures taken will be effectual; as the military power in the disturbed counties is intrusted to a most vigorous and yet humane officer, the honourable general Maitland, in whose sagacity, firmness, and exertions, the public may have the most entire confidence.—The earl of Derby and earl of Stamford have also left town for their respective counties, to exert their authority as lords lieutenants, to restore tranquillity.

The committee concluded their examination of the assassin at half after nine o'clock; and a notice was sent to Mr. Newman, the keeper of Newgate, to prepare for the reception of the delinquent. Mr. Sheriff Heygate went himself to Newgate, and gave particular directions, that the murderer, when received into the gaol, should be watched in such a way as to prevent the possibility of his perpetrating suicide.

The cabinet council sat to a late hour, and between twelve and one o'clock this morning Bellingham was conveyed under a strong escort of dragoon guards, in a coach, to Newgate.

The commitment was signed by Michael Angelo Taylor, esq. who accompanied him in the coach to Newgate, attended by Mr. Ross, one of his majesty's messengers, and two officers of the police. The troop of horse was under the command

mand of colonel Barton: the cavalcade did not arrive at Newgate till one o'clock, and by orders of the cabinet council two men were ordered to sit up in the cell with him.

CORONER'S INQUEST.

The body of Mr. Perceval was removed from the speaker's house during Monday night to his own in Downing-street; and yesterday morning, at eleven, a most respectable jury was summoned to attend A. Gell, esq. coroner for Westminster, at the house of Francis Dukes, the sign of the Rose and Crown, in Downing-street. After taking a view of the body, the following witnesses were examined:—

Henry Burgess, of Curzon-street, Mayfair, solicitor, being sworn, saith: Yesterday afternoon, about five, I was attending in the lobby of the house of commons, near the door-keeper's seat; I heard the report of a pistol apparently as if fired at the entrance of the lobby; in less than half a minute I saw a gentleman coming forward towards the door of the house, staggering; and at the same time I heard a cry of "Murder, murder!" This gentleman had his hand on his breast, and exclaimed "Oh!" faintly, and fell forward on his face. I heard a cry, "That is the person," pointing to the seat near the fire-place; on which I sprang forward to the seat, and there I observed a man in extreme agitation sitting on the seat, and one or two others on his right. I immediately looked at his hands, and observed a small pistol either under his left hand or close by it: I immediately seized the pistol, and asked him what could induce him to do such a deed or act: he immediately replied, "Want of redress of grievance, and a refusal by govern-

ment," or words to that effect. I immediately said to him, "Have you another pistol?" He replied, "Yes." I asked him if it was loaded; and he replied, "Yes." I then took several articles out of his waistcoat pockets; and some one took from his person the pistol which he before told me was loaded. The pistol which I took from him was warm, at least so far as a small pistol usually is when recently fired off. In the course of the afternoon, I believe, I was the first person examined; and when my evidence was read to me, in the presence of the prisoner, on his being asked if he had any remarks to make, or words to that effect, he replied, "I think Mr. Burgess's statement is correct; only I wish to observe, that instead of my hand being upon or near the pistol, I think he took it out of my hand," or words to that effect. When I first saw the prisoner he was greatly agitated; but by the time I was examined that agitation had subsided, and he appeared to me to be perfectly calm.

HENRY BURGESS.

General Isaac Gascoyne, member for Liverpool, of Hertford-street, Mayfair, sworn. About a quarter after five o'clock yesterday I was writing a letter in the committee-room; I heard the report of a pistol shot, and jumped up, exclaiming that it was the report of a pistol. I went down stairs; I saw a number of people standing about, and a person pointed out a man to me sitting on the bench by the fireplace; the person saying, That is the man who fired the pistol; I sprang upon him, and grasped him by the breast and neck; I perceived him raising his left hand with a pistol in it; I let go my hold, and seized his wrist with both my hands, and twisted his arm round with all my force;

force: he seemed to have little hold of the pistol: I desired a person standing by to take the pistol from his hand; which was done. I took papers from his pocket, and tied them up: he appeared to be dragging from my hold, but I kept him fast. I delivered the papers to Mr. Hume, and then told the prisoner it was impossible he could escape: he replied, "I am the person who shot Mr. Perceval, and I surrender myself." I took him to the body of the house of commons, and delivered him into the custody of the messengers. I saw him lodged in the prison-room before I ever lost sight of him. The deponent further states, that the prisoner Bellingham called upon him in Hertford-street, Mayfair, about three weeks ago, and he had a conversation with him of nearly an hour, though he knew nothing of the prisoner, nor the prisoner of him. He stated that he had claims on parliament, and asked for my parliamentary assistance, he having been a merchant at Liverpool. He represented having suffered at St. Petersburg, under a false arrest, for many months: and that he applied to the then resident ambassador for redress, but without effect. He stated that he had lost many pounds, and wished me to bring the business before parliament; but I did not think his case required any interference in that way, and recommended him to memorialise the ministers. He left Liverpool four years ago, and only had been there two years. During this conversation he was as calm and as collected as any man could be, and had not the least appearance of a person insane. He was much agitated yesterday, when he (the general) seized him; but before he was examined by the committee, he was more composed;

and before he went to Newgate last night he was quite calm again.

ISAAC GASCOYNE.

Joseph Hume, esq. Gloucester-place, Portman-square, member of parliament for Weymouth, being sworn, said:—I was sitting in the house of commons yesterday evening; a few minutes after five, when I heard the report of a pistol, and an immediate bustle or noise; I left the house, and went into the lobby, immediately towards the fire-place, where the crowd was; I saw a man sitting on the bench; who has in my presence declared his name to be John Bellingham: he appeared to be forcibly pulled on every side by the by-standers; appeared to suffer considerably from the force used by such by-standers; appeared considerably agitated, and in the act of disengaging his hand from the person who grasped it severely. I seized his left arm at the moment that general Gascoyne was pulling from the person of the prisoner a bundle of papers: one of the general's hands being occupied grasping the prisoner, I seized hold of the papers from the general's right hand, informing him that I would take care of them. I still retained hold of the prisoner, and saw a person in the act of pulling from about the waist of the prisoner a small pocket steel pistol, which he immediately examined, and found primed; I desired that person to take care of it; and, on subsequent examination, I found that same pistol to contain a ball and powder.—I held the prisoner, and assisted to conduct him to the bar of the house of commons, where I quitted my hold, leaving him in the custody of two servants of the house, as directed by the speaker. The speaker having directed the prisoner to be conducted to the prison-room, and

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all members who had witnessed any part of the transaction to follow, I accompanied them, and attended the examination of witnesses for about an hour: the agitation under which the prisoner seemed at first, appeared to me gradually to subside; and by the time the first deposition was taken he was able to answer, and to speak distinctly and calmly. The magistrate, Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, told him, it was his duty to caution him not to answer any thing that might criminate himself. He answered, that he was obliged to the magistrate, but that he would use his own discretion. On the evidence of Mr. Burgess being read to him, he stated, that he thought there might be a little inaccuracy in the evidence given by Mr. Burgess, in stating that the pistol, when first seen by him, lay near to his (the prisoner's) hand; whereas, if his recollection served him well, his hand was either upon the pistol, or that he grasped it. During the time I remained there, after he had heard the different depositions read over to him, he either assented to their correctness, or pointed out wherein he thought there was any difference, observing particularly on the evidence of general Gascoyne, that he could not positively correct the exact words, as the general would materially be less agitated than he was at that time; or words to that effect. On the whole, I do consider that he was perfectly sane, making a little allowance for the agitation of the moment.

JOSEPH HUME.

William Smith, esq. Park-street, Westminster, member for Norwich, sworn.—He deposed as follows: Yesterday afternoon, about a quarter past five o'clock, passing through the lobby to go to the house of commons, I stopped to speak to a

gentleman about the centre of the lobby, and while in conversation with him, I heard the report of a pistol. I immediately turned my head, and observed some conversation at the end of the room. Several voices called out to shut the door to prevent any person escaping. There might have been present in the lobby from 30 to 40 persons. In an instant I observed a person rush from the cluster of people who were standing about the door, and come staggering towards me; he reached about the spot where I was first standing, and then fell on his face on the floor. I walked round him, not immediately recognising his person; and not supposing he was mortally wounded, but observing he did not stir, I stooped down to assist him, and on raising his head I perceived him to be Mr. Perceval. I then requested the assistance of a gentleman who was standing close to the body, and we carried him between us into the speaker's secretary's room. We set him on a table, he resting on our arms. I think he was not only speechless but perfectly senseless, and blood came from his mouth. His pulse in a few minutes ceased, and he soon died. I think he was quite dead when Mr. Lynn, the surgeon, came. He died in less than a quarter of an hour. The body was afterwards deposited in the speaker's drawing-room. I am quite incapable of giving any evidence of the person who committed this horrid murder.

WILLIAM SMITH.

William Lynn, of Great George-street, Westminster, surgeon, sworn.—I was sent for yesterday afternoon soon after five o'clock. On reaching the speaker's secretary's room, I found Mr. Perceval supported by two gentlemen; his body was partly

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on and partly off the table that was standing by, his shirt and white waistcoat were bloody : and on examining the body, I found a wound on the skin about over the fourth rib, on the left side, near the breast-bone. The wound had the appearance of a large pistol-ball having entered. On examining his pulse, I found he was quite dead : I then passed a probe, to ascertain the direction of the ball, and found it had passed obliquely downwards and inwards in the direction of the heart. The wound was at least three-inches deep, and I have no doubt but it caused his death. W. LYNN.

Verdict of Wilful murder against John Bellingham, alias Ballingham.

The following letter was yesterday morning sent by Bellingham from his cell in Newgate to Mrs. Roberts, No. 9, New Millman-street, the lady at whose house he lodged.

Tuesday morning, Old Bailey.

DEAR MADAM,

Yesterday midnight I was escorted to this neighbourhood by a noble troop of light horse, and delivered into the care of Mr. Newman (by Mr. Taylor the magistrate and M.P.) as a state prisoner of the first class. For eight years I have not found my mind so tranquil as since this melancholy but necessary catastrophe ; as the merits or demerits of my peculiar case must be regularly unfolded in a criminal court of justice, to ascertain the guilty party, by a jury of my country. I have to request the favour of you to send me three or four shirts, some cravats, handkerchiefs, night-caps, stockings, &c. out of my drawers, together with comb, soap, tooth-brush, with any other trifle that presents itself which you think I may have occasion for, and inclose them in my leather trunk, and the key please to send sealed, per bear-

er :—also my great-coat, flannel gown, and black waistcoat ; which will much oblige,

Dear madam,

Your very obedient servant,

JOHN BELLINGHAM.

To the above please to add the Prayer Book.

To Mrs. Roberts.

The following is a memorial, and two letters sent lately by this man to the members of parliament.

CIRCULAR TO THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, INCLOSING THE TWO LETTERS NUMBERED 1 AND 2.

Sir—Having suffered in a most unprecedented manner, for a period of six years, in Russia ; on my return two years ago I made a representation of the case to the various departments of his majesty's government, and in January last I applied for redress, by petition, to his royal highness the prince regent, who was graciously pleased to refer the affair to his majesty's most honourable privy council.—(See letter No. 1.)—The council declined to act in the business ; upon which I requested an official copy of their lordships' decision, and was answered by the clerk of the council, it could not be complied with. In consequence, I renewed my application to his royal highness the prince regent, accompanied by the inclosed petition to the house of commons, praying his royal highness, that as the affair is purely national, he would be graciously pleased to direct my complaint to be laid before parliament—to which petition I received the answer No. 2.

Having borne the weight of this unhappy affair abroad, for a series of years, in a manifold way—on my return home I had the mortification to find my affairs gone to ruin—my property sold up—my

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family

family distracted, and suffering in the most severe manner by the inevitable ruinous consequences of my detention—and for the preceding two years they had not been able to ascertain whether I was alive or dead. Since my return I have not only been bereaved of a further property (bequeathed in my absence), to make good the consequences of this business, but am now considerably involved—so fatal has it proved. Thus circumstanced, I trust I shall be pardoned in addressing the house of commons individually, in the hope that, on the behalf of national justice, some member will do me the favour to bring forward my said just petition—as common justice is all I solicit, and what every one will agree I ought to have, more especially as my sufferings for the last eight years have been almost too great for human nature to sustain.

In soliciting your kind aid, I beg to be understood, that it is far from my intention, by this address, to complain of any party whatever, being convinced that in no country upon earth is justice so purely administered as in this; and justice I am sure I shall have, so soon as the affair is known to the tribunal where alone it can be taken proper cognizance of.

With assurance that my sole wish is to obtain what is right, without prejudice to any individual, I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

JOHN BELLINGHAM.

No. 9, New Millman-street,

March 12, 1812.

(Copy—No. 1.)

Whitehall, Feb. 18, 1812.

Sir—I am directed by Mr. secretary Ryder to acquaint you that your petition to his royal highness the prince regent has been referred,

by the command of his royal highness, for the consideration of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

I am, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. BECKETT.

JOHN BELLINGHAM, esq.

(Copy—No. 2.)

Whitehall, March 9, 1812.

Sir—I am directed by Mr. secretary Ryder to acquaint you, that your petition to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that he would be pleased to order your memorial therein enclosed, addressed to the house of commons, to be brought before parliament, has been laid before his royal highness, and that he was not pleased to signify any command thereupon.

Your memorial to the house of commons is accordingly herewith returned. I am, sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

J. BECKETT.

JOHN BELLINGHAM, esq.

TRIAL OF JOHN BELLINGHAM.

15. About 10 o'clock sir J. Mansfield, accompanied by Mr. justice Grose, baron Graham, and the recorder, took their seats on each side of the lord mayor; and immediately the prisoner, who appeared calm and collected, was produced, and placed at the bar. The counsel for the prosecution were, the attorney-general, Messrs. Garrow, Abbott, Knapp, and Gurney. The counsel for the prisoner were Messrs. Alley and Reynolds. Mr. Garrow called on the prisoner to plead; which Mr. Alley opposed, stating that he ought not to plead, being insane. The court observed that he had no right to counsel till he pleaded. The prisoner complained of the prosecutors withholding the papers necessary for his defence. It was declared

declared that copies of those papers had been tendered to him. Mr. Alley read an affidavit of Anne Billett, stating in direct terms the insanity of the prisoner, which was known to several witnesses at Liverpool and elsewhere. He appealed to the justice and humanity of the court, to let the trial stand over till they could be subpoenaed to appear. The attorney-general observed that there were no grounds for such an appeal—the prisoner had resided some time in London, and was known by many persons to possess a masculine understanding, which his address would sufficiently evince. Sir J. Mansfield said, that as to the recent condition of the prisoner's mind, the affidavits were silent; and the question was, whether he was of sane mind at the time of committing the crime. He should refuse the application for postponement.—The jury were then sworn; and the attorney-general, in stating the circumstances of the murder, said, that the crime had been perpetrated against a man who, if sufficient life had been allowed him after he had received his death-wound, would have employed it in breathing a prayer to Heaven for the forgiveness of his murderer. The prisoner, in consequence of alleged injustice in Russia, where the British consul and ambassador had ineffectually interposed in his behalf, thought himself entitled to relief from ministers, who, after examination, decided that his claim was inadmissible. From the moment that he found ministers adverse to his application, he began to make preparations for the horrible catastrophe that ensued. He provided himself with pistols; and, that all might be ready, he added to the dress he wore a pocket at each side to hold the murderous in-

struments, and, posting himself at the door of the lobby of the house of commons, deliberately awaited the arrival of his victim. The learned gentleman then quoted the cases of the King v. Arnold, and the King v. earl Ferrers, to prove that though a person be insane from his childhood, yet if he be capable of distinguishing right from wrong when committing the crime, he is criminally answerable. In the case of Arnold, indicted for shooting at lord Onslow, he was proved to be insane from his childhood, but the preparations he made for the murder constituted the crime. On the trial of earl Ferrers for shooting his steward, it was proved that many of his relations had died insane; that he had committed many extravagant acts—that his friends even intended to take out a commission of lunacy against him; but he was believed to be sane at the moment of loading his pistols, &c. and his conviction followed. In the present case the prisoner appeared perfectly competent to manage his affairs, and was even intrusted to transact those of others; and, excepting the act for which he was arraigned, all his conduct appeared perfectly rational. The learned gentleman then called Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Lynn, surgeon, Mr. H. Burgess, and general Gascoyne, to prove the fact of Mr. Perceval having been murdered by the prisoner, and the identity of the latter; but their testimony was the same as on the coroner's inquest (see p. 80.)—J. Taylor, of North-place, Gray's-inn-lane, tailor, proved his being employed by the prisoner to make him a side pocket in his coat, within the breast, on the left side, so that he could conveniently get at it with his right hand—the pocket was directed to be of a very particular (F 3) depth.

depth. This coat the prisoner had on when he committed the murder, and he was seen, previously to the act, by Mr. V. Dowling, J. Norris, and Vickery, with his hand in his side pocket, waiting with anxiety near the outer lobby door for the arrival of some person. He was within arm's length of all that entered.

THE DEFENCE.

The prisoner, having obtained the papers taken from him on Monday, addressed the court, for nearly two hours, in a collected and fluent manner. He denied any motives of personal enmity to Mr. Perceval, but said a denial of justice had obliged him to take redress into his own hands. He would now unfold a scene of iniquity connected with his affairs: he then went into a detail of his sufferings for the last eight years, from which we collect that he was suspected of having sent intelligence to Lloyd's, that a ship had been unfairly wrecked in the White Sea, in consequence of which the underwriters refused to pay the insurance; that he was therefore subjected to an unmerited persecution in Russia; that he was imprisoned at Archangel, but being afterwards released, he was sent to Petersburg, when he made his complaints to the Russian government, but was again, on a false charge of debt, thrown into prison; that he applied to lord Leveson Gower, who afforded him no assistance, but that he was marched past his house daily with common malefactors; that he again represented his distress to his lordship, but was treated with neglect, though, in an affair respecting only two roubles for pilotage, his lordship four times brought it before the emperor; that his wife, only twenty years of age, with an infant in her arms, and

pregnant, was at this time obliged to make the voyage to England unprotected. Here the prisoner burst into tears, exclaiming, "Lord Gower saw and permitted so much misery. Oh, my God, what must his heart be made of! Gentlemen, I appeal to you as men, as fathers, as christians, if I had not cause of complaint!" After he had recovered himself, the prisoner said, he was kept in a miserable condition for six years, banded from prison to prison; at length, through the interference of a benevolent Russian, and when he was deserted by his Britannic majesty's representatives, he obtained a revival of the corrupt proceedings against him; but could procure no pecuniary compensation. He regretted that lord Leveson Gower had not fallen by his hand instead of Mr. Perceval. (*A murmur of disapprobation in the court.*) Considering his treatment a national affair, he had applied to ministers, and had, for the purpose of evasion, been referred from one to another, until he gave notice at Bow-street that he would take justice into his own hands; when he was told he might do his worst. He had presented petitions to the prince regent.—He was obliged to the attorney-general and the court for setting aside the plea of his insanity urged by his counsel, and could assure them, whenever he should appear before the tribunal of God, he should be adjudged innocent of the wilful murder of Mr. Perceval. That he perished by his hand he admitted; but to constitute felony, there must be *malice prepense*—the wilful intention,—which had not been proved. In this case he had been robbed of his property, his family ruined, and his mind tortured through the conduct of government agents; and he was now

now to answer with his life, because Mr. Perceval chose to patronize iniquity, and refused him redress. He would sooner suffer five hundred deaths than undergo again what he had done for the last eight years; and concluded by saying, "If I am destined to sacrifice my life, I shall meet my doom with conscious tranquillity; I shall look forward to it as the weary traveller looks for the promised inn, where he may repose his wearied frame, after enduring the pelting of the pitiless storm. Gentlemen, it will now remain between God and your consciences as to what your verdict will be."

The prisoner's witnesses were then called: Anne Billett (who appeared deeply affected) said, that she came up voluntarily from Southampton, upon reading an account in the papers of Mr. Perceval's assassination; knew the prisoner from childhood; his wife and children reside at Liverpool; his father died insane in Tichfield-street, Oxford-road. Had not seen the prisoner for the last twelve months; believed him to be deranged when he spoke of his affairs; never knew him to be under medical care.—Mary Clarke had known the prisoner since he came from Russia; believed him to be insane; never knew him to be under restraint.—Mary Fidges, his landlady's (Mrs. Roberts') servant, in Millman-street, deposed that he had lived two months at her mistress's, was very orderly, kept remarkably regular hours, and went to the Foundling twice last Sunday with her mistress. The evidence here closed; and sir J. Mansfield, having recapitulated the evidence, said that not a single fact was adduced to prove that the prisoner was disordered in his mind. The jury withdrew, and returned

in ten minutes, with a verdict of Guilty; when sentence of death was passed on him by the recorder in these impressive words:

"Prisoner at the bar, you have been convicted, by a most attentive and merciful jury, of one of the most flagitious crimes human nature can perpetrate: wilful and deliberate murder—a crime which in all ages, and throughout all nations, hath justly been held in the highest detestation. Odious and abominable as it is in the eyes of God and man, it presents itself in your case with every possible feature of aggravation. The object of your blood-thirsty vengeance was endowed with every virtue that can adorn public and private life; whose suavity of manners and gentleness of deportment disarmed hostility of its rancour, and violence of its asperity. By his death you have deprived charity of one of its most sincere and active friends—religion of one of its firmest supports—domestic society of one of its happiest examples of endearment and felicity—and the country of one of its brightest ornaments—a man whose abilities and whose worth would probably have produced lasting benefits to this empire, and ultimate advantage to the world. Every part of your iniquitous conduct is strongly impressed with the foulest character of atrocious guilt. In the midst of unarmed friends, when defenceless, except in the consciousness of virtue, and confiding in that security which ought to surround every man in this christian country, on the very point of fulfilling his public duty to his country, nay, when at the very threshold of the sanctuary of its laws, your infuriate hand committed this impious deed. To indulge in any conjectures as to your motives

(F 4)

tives for this horrid act, would lead me into an investigation of all that is base and perfidious in the human heart. The more this dreadfully diabolical transaction is contemplated, the more does the mind recoil from it with repulsive horror. For the sanguinary nature of assassination is most abhorrent to man, inasmuch as it is calculated to render bravery useless, and cowardice predominant. Justly, therefore, does your crime merit the execration of mankind. And the voice of God hath declared, that 'he who sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' Publicly, therefore, must you expiate that crime, whereby you have so much afflicted and disgraced your indignant country. And I trust that the example of your ignominious fate may duly operate to deter all others from the repetition of a crime which must infallibly attract the vengeance of a justly offended Deity. A very very short time indeed remains for you to supplicate the throne of grace, for that mercy which public justice forbids you to expect in this world. I sincerely hope that the interval which has passed between the perpetration of your horrid crime and the present moment has not been unemployed in imploring pardon of the Almighty; and it is my most fervent wish that your prayers may, through the merits of our Redeemer, find acceptance. It only remains for me to pass upon you the dreadful sentence of the law; which is, that you, John Bellingham, be taken to the place from whence you came; and that on Monday next you be conveyed to a place of execution, and there be hanged by the neck until you be dead; and that your body be afterwards dissected and anatomized. And

may God have mercy on your soul!"

The prisoner, during the early part of the trial, requested and obtained a chair, and amused himself with the flowers on the bar. In delivering his defence, his manner was warm but unimpassioned, his delivery fluent; and though he was occasionally much affected, and wept, he betrayed no embarrassment. At the conclusion he requested a glass of water. He received his sentence with the most profound awe, and was led out of court much affected with his dreadful situation. The court listened to him throughout with great attention. He was a tall thin man, and indifferently dressed. The marquis Wellesley, earl of Uxbridge, sir A. Paget, lord L. Gower, sir F. Burdett, &c. were subpoenaed by the prisoner, but not examined. The trial lasted eight hours.

Dr. Ford, the ordinary of Newgate, made several visits to Bellingham on Saturday and Sunday. He persisted in defending his crime; and on one occasion remarked, that "life had been a weary pilgrimage to him, the bliss fleeting and illusory, the misery permanent and real; in laying it down he had no vain regrets to make." About 11 on Sunday night, Mr. Butterworth, bookseller, of Fleet-street, obtained access to him, accompanied by Mr. Newman: his object appears to have been, to interrogate him as an acquaintance, and pray with him. He asked him if any person was concerned with him in the murder; to which he answered, "I do most solemnly declare there is not." The pistols he acknowledged he bought at Mr. Beckwith's, in Fleet-street. Mr. Newman then returned with pen and ink. Mr. Butterworth shortly after departed, and Bellingham

Bellingham wrote the following letter to his wife :

" My blessed Mary, It rejoiced me beyond measure to hear you are likely to be well provided for. I am sure the public at large will participate in and mitigate your sorrows. I assure you, my love, my sincerest endeavours have ever been directed to your welfare. As we shall not meet any more in this world, I sincerely hope we shall do so in the world to come. My blessing to the boys, with kind remembrance to miss Stevens, for whom I have the greatest regard, in consequence of her uniform affection for them. With the purest of intentions it has always been my misfortune to be thwarted, misrepresented, and ill-used in life : but, however, we feel a happy prospect of compensation in a speedy translation to life eternal. It is not possible to be more calm or placid than I feel ; and nine hours more will waft me to those happy shores where bliss is without alloy.—Your ever affectionate

" JOHN BELLINGHAM.

" *Sunday night, 11 o'clock.*

" Dr. Ford will forward you my watch, with a guinea and note. Once more, God be with you, my sweet Mary ! The public sympathize much for me ; but I have been called upon to play an anxious card in life."

Nothing, perhaps, can mark more strongly the state of the man's mind than the following note written the same night at 12 o'clock

" *Memorandum.—Twelve o'clock*
—I lost my suit solely through the conduct of my attorney and counsel, Mr. Alley*, in not bringing my witnesses forward (of whom

there were more than 20) : in consequence the judge took advantage of the circumstance, and I went of [on] the defence without having brought forward a single friend : otherwise I must inevitably have been acquitted. J. BELLINGHAM."

He then asked for a crust of bread, lay down and slept an hour, put his hand in his pocket and gave the last shilling to a man named Walker, saying he wished it was a guinea for his kind attentions : he then lay down and slept until six on Monday morning.

THE EXECUTION,

About six Bellingham dressed himself with great composure, and read for half an hour in the prayer-book. Dr. Ford being announced, he shook him by the hand, and left his cell for the room allotted for the condemned criminals. After a few minutes spent in prayer, the sacrament was administered to him : after this was ended, and both he and Dr. Ford had prayed fervently, the prisoner was informed that the sheriffs were ready. He answered in a firm tone, " I am perfectly ready also." The sheriffs and under-sheriffs, and their friends, then proceeded to the press-yard, and the prisoner was brought out. He descended into the yard with a firm and intrepid pace, and looking up, he observed with great coolness, " Ah ! it rains heavily ! " His face possessed the same character and colour as on Friday during his trial—No emotions of fear or compunction were visible.—After he was liberated from his fetters, he returned into the room, when most of the spectators retired into an-

* The witnesses subpoenaed by Bellingham were not called by his solicitor and counsel, who observed, that they could only prove that he had preferred claims upon government, which no one disputed ; while their cross-examinations would prove that, in their belief, he was quite sane. Bellingham acquiesced in these prudent suggestions.

other adjoining, at the request of the lord mayor, who, with the sheriffs and five or six other persons, went into the room; when the following communication took place :

HIS DYING DECLARATION.

Mr. Sheriff Birch—"The public mind, Mr. Bellingham, requires to be satisfied upon a most important point, whether any other person was in any degree connected with you in this dreadful deed, and whether it was perpetrated on any public ground?"—Bellingham, who stood very firmly, and who with an unaltered countenance attentively and respectfully listened to what was said, replied in a firm tone of voice, "Certainly not." Some one observed to him, "Then it was your own affair; it was from personal resentment."—Bellingham appeared hurt at the latter expression; and, after repeating the words "personal resentment" with an indignant or rather dignified tone, said, "I bore no resentment to Mr. Perceval as a man; and, as a man, I am sorry for his fate. I was referred from minister to minister, from office to office, and at length refused redress for my grievances. It was my own sufferings that caused the melancholy event; and I hope it will be a warning to future ministers, to attend to the applications and prayers of those who suffer by oppression. Had my petition been brought into parliament, this catastrophe would not have happened. I am sorry for the sufferings I have caused to Mr. Perceval's family and friends."—Sheriff Heygate—"It would be right they should know you feel so much regret."—Bellingham—"You may communicate it, I wish them to know it."—Sheriff Heygate—"I hope you feel deep contrition for the deed." Upon which

the prisoner (assuming an attitude of considerable dignity) said, "I hope, sir, I feel as a man ought to do."—Sheriff Heygate—"You know, that to take away the life of a man unlawfully is a heinous crime."—Bellingham—"The scriptures, you know, sir, say that."—A gentleman present said, "I hope you have made your peace with God, and that by your repentance you will meet the Almighty with a pure soul."—Bellingham—"No one can presume to do that, sir. No mortal can be pure in his sight: only our Saviour went from this world into his presence with a pure spirit."

Here he seemed desirous of quitting the room to meet his fate, and, turning to the sheriffs, with a mild but firm tone said, "Gentlemen, I am quite ready;" upon which the ordinary of Newgate looked at his watch and said, "We have ten minutes more." The executioner bound his hands, during which he said to one of them, "Do every thing properly, that I may not suffer more than is necessary." To another, "Draw the cord tighter; I wish not to have the power of offering resistance." He ascended the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and a confident and calm air: he looked about him a little rapidly; but he had no air of triumph. Some of the mob buzzed him, but it escaped his notice. On the cap being put over his face, which he at first objected to, but afterwards acquiesced in, he prayed fervently with Dr. Ford, adding in reply to an interrogatory, that "he thanked God for having enabled him to meet his fate with so much fortitude and resignation." The executioner then retired; a perfect silence ensued; the clock struck eight; and while it was striking the seventh time, the clergyman and

and Bellingham fervently praying, the supporters of the internal square of the scaffold were struck away, and Bellingham dropped! The body hung till nine o'clock, when it was conveyed in a cart, and covered with a sack, to St. Bartholomew's hospital.—Bellingham, in all his conversations with Dr. Ford, gloried in the act for which he suffered. He wound up all his answers by expressing a hope, that the fate of Mr. Perceval would prove a warning to men in power, not to neglect the claims of injured individuals; and he exulted in the success of his efforts to revenge his own injuries. Some of the public prints have expressed surprise that his letter to the magistrates of Bow-street did not excite suspicion of his purpose, and occasion his arrest; but it was so ambiguous, that we wonder not that his threat of executing justice himself, was not interpreted to be by assassination. Then, the strange medium through which he called attention (the Bow-street magistracy) might almost justify a belief of his insanity. The following extract will bear us out in the opinion: "The purport of the present is, therefore, once more to solicit his majesty's ministers, through your medium, to let what is right and proper be done in my instance, which is all I require. Should this reasonable request be finally denied, I shall then feel justified in executing justice myself; in which case I shall be ready to argue the merits of so reluctant a measure with his majesty's attorney-general, wherever and whenever I may be called upon so to do. In the hopes of averting so abhorrent but compulsive an alternative, I have the honour to be, sirs, &c.

"J. BELLINGHAM.

"To the magistrates of Bow-st. office."

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF THE ASSASSIN.

John Bellingham was a native of St. Neots in Huntingdonshire, and was born about 1771. His father was a land surveyor and a miniature painter: his mother was Elizabeth Scarbrow, the daughter of a respectable country-gentleman, of St. Neots, in comfortable circumstances. They were married in 1768 or 1769 in London, and had two children; their eldest, Mary, a dress-maker, and a well-disposed young woman, died unmarried; John was their second child. The father purchased a house at St. Neots, and resided in it till about 1775, when he returned to London, and lived in Tichfield-street, Oxford-street. In 1779 he discovered marks of mental derangement, and was placed in St. Luke's hospital. At the end of a twelvemonth he returned home as incurable, and died soon after. At the age of 14 the assassin was placed as an apprentice with Mr. Love, a jeweller, a man of excellent character, in White-chapel. Here he was first very perverse and troublesome, and at last ran away from his master. His mother's sister, Mary, had married William Daw, esq. many years clerk of the king's silver in the court of common pleas. His mother's property did not produce 56*l.* annually, and having two children to bring up, she could do but little for them; but Mr. Daw possessing a very good independent income, was continually pestered by the mother to do something for him. At length, in 1786, Mr. Daw expended money in fitting him out for the East Indies; and in the spring of 1787 he sailed as a subaltern. in the service of the company, on board their ship the Hartwell, which, on her outward passage,

sage, was wrecked in the month of May off Bona Vista, one of the Cape de Verd islands. Being thus prevented pursuing the voyage, he was one of those who got back to England. Mr. Daw, by his misfortune, not only lost all he had expended on his account, but felt himself again burthened with him; and, after much entreaty, he was induced to advance a pretty large sum, which enabled him to take the shop of a tin-plate-worker in Oxford-street. During his residence here his house got on fire, not without suspicion falling on Bellingham himself: the damage done was not great, but he took occasion to report that he had lost a great many bank-notes: this did not obtain any credit with Mr. Daw. In March 1794 he became bankrupt, and was gazetted of Oxford-street, tin-plate-worker. His creditors were not sufficiently satisfied with either his report of the fire, or his conduct, to grant him a certificate, nor did he ever obtain one under this commission. It was after this period, and not till after, that he was received into a merchant's counting-house, where he formed connexions; and his employers were induced to commission him beyond seas. Archangel was his first and chief place of business, where he continued three years. Having formed a connexion with Mr. Dorbeker & Co. of Archangel, in the timber line, he returned to England, and entered into a contract with the merchants of Hull for the supply of timber, to the amount of 12,000*l.* for which bills were accordingly accepted and paid, but produce to the value of 4000*l.* only was obtained. In the mean while his partner became bankrupt, the vessels returned in ballast, and Bellingham, who remained in Hull,

was arrested and thrown into prison. On the recovery of his liberty he returned to Archangel, and, as appears by his memorial, was arrested for debt by one Solomon Van Briemen, and thrown into prison, where he remained many months. He accused the Russian judges of corruption, and claimed the protection of the English consul, and lord L. Gower ambassador, as a British subject; but they, finding that his arrest was legal, declined interfering. He afterwards repaired to England, full of complaints against the Russian government. It was in Ireland where he married miss Mary-Anne Neville, daughter of Mr. John Neville, merchant and ship-broker, formerly of Newry, but now of Dublin. His mother died at Liverpool in 1803. His aunt, Mrs. Daw, who lived in Brompton-row, and died in December 1804, left, by will, 400*l.* to the assassin. He took up his abode at Liverpool, where he commenced business as an insurance broker; whilst his wife pursued that of a milliner. He continued at intervals to present memorials to the British government, requiring to be indemnified for his losses, on the ground of his being a British subject, and that he had suffered by the injustice of Russian individuals; but was told that they could not interfere: general Gascoyne returned a similar answer to an application of this kind. It is said that he would have shot Mr. Ryder, or lord Leveson Gower, had either of them presented themselves before him. To sir W. Curtis he answered, "I have been fourteen days in making up my mind to the deed; but never could accomplish it until this moment." On the morning of the assassination, he went with a lady to the European museum; he parted with

with her between four and five, and went down immediately to the house of commons, without having dined, and with his pistols loaded. He was so anxious not to be disappointed by the failure of the weapons, that after he had bought his pistols, for which he gave four guineas, he went to Primrose Hill to try how they would go off.—Bellingham was a mere adventurer: he never had any capital of his own; and, when in Russia, drew upon British merchants for 10,000*l.* but never made any shipments. He lived upon indifferent terms with his wife, who still keeps a milliner's shop in Liverpool, and is much respected. He has been several times upon the point of separating from her; and seldom visited her but for the purpose of possessing himself of the little money she had gained by her industry. He has left three children.

It has been stated that after the body of Bellingham was opened, the heart continued to perform its functions, or, in other words, to be alive for four hours after he was laid open. The expanding and contracting powers continued perceptible till one o'clock in the day—a proof of the steady, undismayed character which he preserved to the last gasp. It is said of some men, that the heart dies within them; but, here, the energies remained when life was extinct.

JUNE.

INSTALLATION.

1. The splendid ceremony of installing the twenty-three knights lately added to the order of the Bath took place. Early in the morning, the horse and foot guards took their stations. About ten o'clock, the persons connected with

the ceremony met in the house of lords, and at eleven the procession commenced in the following order, under a temporary boarded covering, matted, and bounded on each side by strong wooden railing: it extended from the door of the house of lords (prince's chamber) to the south-east door of the abbey (Poet's Corner):—Four ushers, with wands ornamented with ribbands. Four drummers and fifers, and eight trumpeters, in their full uniform. Esquires of the knights elect. Knights elect and the proxies of those who did not attend: the latter wore the surcoat, and were girt with the sword of the order: they carried the mantle on their right arms, and walked bare-headed. The esquires of the knights who had already received the honour of knighthood, wearing black velvet caps. The knights of the order, superbly dressed in their proper costume, and all wearing white satin hats ornamented with white plumes. Duke of York, grand master, followed by his aides-de-camp in full uniform. Then came several heralds and a party of javelin-men, by whom the procession was closed.—When the procession reached the chapel, the knights took their seats in their respective stalls, and under their banners; the proxies and esquires in their proper places. They made profound obeisances to the throne or stall set apart for the sovereign, and which (the prince regent having declined honouring the ceremonial with his presence) was of course vacant. Close to it was the stall of the duke of York, who, as acting grand master, presided on the occasion. The ceremony finished, the procession returned in the same order in which they had approached the abbey. The princesses

Augusta

Augusta and Sophia, the princess Charlotte of Wales, and the duchess of York, after the ceremony, dined with the prince regent, in company with the dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge. The order of the Bath has, on this occasion, been extended to fifty knights, including the sovereign and the grand master. The following are the names of the new knights: right hon. sir Arthur Paget, earl Wellington, hon. sir George James Ludlow, sir Samuel Hood, bart. earl of Northesk, sir Richard John Strachan, bart., hon. sir A. Forrester Cochrane; sir John Stuart, count of Maida; sir Philip Francis, sir G. Hilario Barlow, bart. viscount Strangford, sir Richard Goodwin Keates, sir George Beckwith, sir David Baird, hon. sir John Hope, sir Brent Spencer, lord Cochrane, sir John Cope Sherbrooke, sir Wm. Carr Beresford, lieutenant-general Graham, lieutenant-general Rowland Hill, major-general sir Samuel Auchmuty, right hon. Henry Wellesley, ambassador in Spain.

3. Letters from Barbadoes notice a very extraordinary phenomenon which occurred there on the 1st of May.—During the night of the 30th of April violent explosions, like thunder, but not so regular, were heard, with occasional flashes of lightning. The next morning at four o'clock the atmosphere was perfectly clear and light; but, at six, thick clouds had covered the horizon, from which issued, in torrents like rain, particles finer than sand, probably of volcanic matter; and at eight it was as totally dark as it was ever known in the most stormy night. This awful darkness continued till noon, but the dusty showers still fell at intervals till seven in the evening. During

that time, it is calculated that 40,000lb. weight of the above-mentioned dust fell within the space of every acre; greatly damaging the dwellings and plantations; it was so hot that it was apprehended it would have set the houses on fire. Similar effects were experienced at the same time within 20 miles of Martinique by the ship *Enima* and the schooner *Peggy*. It is to be feared that some one of the neighbouring islands has experienced the dreadful effects of a volcanic eruption.—N. B. We find that this awful visitation has been continued to the island of St. Vincent; the damage done is considerable, as will be seen by the following extract of a letter from St. Vincent, dated 1st May, received by the ship *John Campbell*: “Having been informed that you had not sailed from Grenada by the April fleet, I hasten to give you some account of a most alarming circumstance, which took place here last night and this morning. About sun-set, on Thursday evening, we observed an immense quantity of fire and smoke to proceed from the volcano, and continued till one o'clock this morning, when a most tremendous explosion took place, and continued till four, throwing up immense quantities of stones and ashes all over the island. On the estates in the vicinity of the mountains the ashes are said to be from two to three feet deep; that two of the principal rivers have been dried up, and new ones formed; that many of the estates in that quarter have been much injured. One white person and six negroes have been killed.”

5. The special commission for the trials of the rioters at Chester was opened May 25, by judges Dallas and Burton. Their lordships attended divine service the following

following day, and afterwards proceeded to the shire hall, when, the grand inquest of the county being sworn, judge Dallas addressed the grand jury in an eloquent and impressive speech, of which the following is a sketch :—" Gentlemen of the jury,—It is not my practice to trespass upon your time with any desultory observations ; indeed, the general state of the calendar seldom requires any particular remarks. The present instance, however, is one of an unusual nature—of a more complicated aspect in respect to guilt. It is not necessary for me to refer you to the scenes which have lately taken place amongst you. We now sit here under a special commission, which his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, has been pleased to appoint, to investigate those disgraceful proceedings which have so long agitated the manufacturing districts of this and the neighbouring counties, and which demand a necessary and early example. The number of commitments for riots, which guilt ramifies into every possible shape and form, is unprecedented and alarming. Taken by itself, the act of riot classes but as a misdemeanour, to which the variations of specific offence have attached different degrees of punishment."—His lordship here adverted to those peculiar passages in the law books applicable to the present inquiry, and proceeded to the following effect :—" The offence of taking and administering an unlawful oath or engagement, the legislature has made capital ; it comes in the shape of a felony, and both are put on the same footing as to punishment. With respect to the purport of an unlawful oath, I shall refer you to the statutes. It

is not necessary the express words of an engagement of this nature should be mentioned in an indictment. The act of taking the oath constitutes the crime ; and even the person who, by compulsory measures, assents to such a covenant, is held a participator in the crime, unless he make a declaration thereof to a magistrate within four days from the period when he assented to its purport. But, gentlemen, if on legal points you should find yourselves at a loss, I have to request you will refer to the count, from whom you will receive the information required. Several charges under the description of robbery will come under your cognizance ; and here, gentlemen, it may be necessary to put you in possession of the construction the law has put upon the word : An act of robbery must be proved to have been by force, or by putting in fear ; and the investigation of these points will be essentially necessary in the present special inquiry : but on this head no difficulty is likely to occur. It is not necessary, to constitute a robbery, that actual personal violence should be used ; expressions or threatening attitudes are equally within the meaning of the word. During the riots in London, in 1780, a boy with a cockade in his hat knocked at a tradesman's door, and when it was opened he accosted him—" God bless your honour, remember the poor mob." The tradesman rebuked the boy, and turned him out ; when the boy said he would go back and fetch their captain, meaning one of the leaders of the mob ; which he did, and the gentleman gave him half-a-crown. This was accounted robbery, the money being given under the influence of fear ; which the court held to be as decisive as if personal violence

violence had been offered." The learned judge here adverted, at some length, to the offence of burglary, and setting fire to a house or premises, and concluded a most eloquent address in words to the following purport:—"In obedience to what I feel my duty, and with these allusions to what the law is, I shall bring my observations to a conclusion, always relying, as I now do, on the discrimination, caution, and praise-worthy conduct of a Cheshire jury. I have performed my judicial duty, and I do not think it prudent or proper to proceed any further. On the general feature of the cases for your consideration, I have no reason to form any very pleasing conjectures. Distress, I fear, did not operate, as some would wish us to believe. The characteristics of the system of disturbance are of a very different colour. Hand-bills were printed, and circulated in the manufacturing districts, holding out hopes to the disaffected, and threats to the well-disposed. A secret oath was administered—the crest and consolidation of conspiracy—all these denote the intrigues of wicked and designing men, to create riot and partial injury. Justice has been for a while withheld; but the law must now unfold its terrors, always remembering, as we shall, that confidence and consideration so necessary in its execution."—The trials commenced on the 27th; when James Renshaw, a weaver, from Winslow, was indicted for a riot, with several others, at Etchells, near Stockport, on the 15th of April, and obtaining from John Norris 2s., and from other persons money, bacon, bread, and cheese. Verdict—Not guilty. The following persons were found Guilty: E. Renfern and Nancy Hurst, for ac-

companying a large mob to the granary at Staley, belonging to the Huddersfield canal company, and for breaking open and entering the same, and stealing and destroying upwards of 1000 bushels of flour and meal. Thomas Burgess, a collier, from Bredbury, for being, in company with several others, assembled at and entering the corn-mill of Jos. Clay, and burning and carrying away flour. Samuel Leet, Thomas Etchells, and James Ratcliffe, for rioting at the same place. William Greenhough, for a riot at Tintwistle; John Temple, for a burglary and robbery at Addington. Foster Roach, Colin Linden, James Wilson, James Bennett, Richard Wood, Wm. Thompson, and James Tomlinson, for unlawfully assembling together in Etchells, and by numbers and intimidation obtaining from J. Patker, esq. 7s. J. Torkington, J. Henshall, and R. Lowns, for rioting and robbing in Pownall Fee and Styall. Wm. Walker, dignified with the name of general Ludd, for a riot, and seizing flour from Ralph Booth at Gee Cross. James Crossland, for destroying machinery, and threatening the life of Robert Thomiley, a manufacturer of cotton. [William Greenhough and Abraham Broadbent, tried on the same indictment, acquitted.] John Haywood, the younger, for a riot at Tintwistle. The special commission for the county of Chester remains in force till August.

FIRE AT PLYMOUTH DOCK.

Plymouth, June 8. We are sorry to state, that this morning at three o'clock a dreadful fire broke out in three places at once, in the rope-house of the royal dock-yard at this port, which raged with great fury for several hours, and entirely

entirely consumed some of the machinery and the roof of that noble building; but, by the exertion of the different regiments in garrison, and dockyard men, it was at length got under with the assistance of the ponderous fire-engines of the dock-yard. As the wind blew hard at E. and the fire broke out on the weather side, in three places, and where neither fire nor candle nor light of any sort is ever used, there is no doubt of its having been perpetrated by some incendiary or incendiaries; and had it not been discovered providentially when it was, the vital interests of this country might have been nearly destroyed, as the opposite store-houses contained 1000 barrels of tar and 1000 tons of hemp, &c. and very large piles of heavy timber. The windows of these store-houses were scorched; but by the timely and strenuous exertions of the troops and all ranks of people the intended mischief was prevented. Various conjectures are afloat as to the cause of this conflagration, but at present all is conjecture and surmise.

Dock, June 8. This morning at four o'clock a fire was discovered in the rope-house, near the centre of the building. The alarm was immediately given by the sentinels firing their muskets, and the admiral's ship *Salvador del Mundo* firing her guns: the dock-yard bell rung the alarm, and in a very short time the military appeared in great order, and gave every assistance in their power: the artificers belonging to the dock-yard, and the engine from the laboratory, and others from Plymouth and Dock were assembled, and played with great force in every direction on the fire, but without the desired effect: the flames raged with such

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fury, and burnt with such rapidity north and south, that it almost consumed the whole of the building, nor could a stop be put to the flames until they had cut through and separated the building; which was done with great alacrity. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the artificers, soldiers, and sailors employed in extinguishing the flames. The seamen of the ships in the harbour behaved in a most exemplary manner, aided by their respective officers, amongst whom none appeared more conspicuous than our worthy admiral sir Edward Buller.

13. Eight rioters who were convicted at Lancaster, viz. J. Smith, T. Kerfoot, J. Fletcher, A. Charlson, J. Howarth, J. Lee, T. Hoyle; and Hannah Smith, for stealing potatoes!!!! underwent their sentence. While in confinement, they manifested the greatest indifference and unconcern, but were at length brought to a sense of their condition, and died penitent.—Two of the rioters convicted at Chester, viz. Thompson and Temple, were also executed on the same day.

REGULATION FOR GRANTING PENSIONS TO OFFICERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S LAND FORCES LOSING AN EYE OR A LIMB ON SERVICE.

If an officer shall be wounded in action, and it shall appear upon an inspection made of him by the army medical board, at any period not sooner than a year and a day after the time when he was wounded, that he has in consequence of his wound lost a limb or an eye, or has totally lost the use of a limb, or that his wound has been equally prejudicial to his habit of body with the loss of a limb; such officer shall be entitled to a pension, commencing from the expiration

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of

of a year and a day after the time when he was wounded, and depending as to its amount upon the rank he held at that period, according to the scale annexed. This pension, being granted as a compensation for the injury sustained, is to be held together with any other pay and allowances to which such officer may be otherwise entitled, without any deduction on account thereof.

Officers who shall have lost more than one limb or eye, shall be entitled to one pension for each eye or limb so lost.

And as the pension is not to commence till the expiration of a year and a day from the date of the wound, it is to be independent of the allowance of a year's pay, or the expenses attending the cure of wounds, granted under the existing regulations.

Applications for this pension are to be made in the same manner in which claims for the year's pay are now made to the secretary at war; and must always be accompanied by the certificate of the army medical board, if the officer applying is at home, and by that of the principal medical officer on the station where he is, if the officer is abroad.

In the latter case, however, the officer must, as soon as he returns home, be inspected by the army medical board, and transmit their certificate to the secretary at war.

All officers who may have sustained such an injury as would entitle to this pension, by any wounds received since the commencement of hostilities in the year 1793, will, upon the production of the proper certificate from the army medical board, be allowed a pension proportioned, according to the scale, to the rank they held at

the time when wounded, and commencing from the 25th Dec. 1811.

This allowance will be granted in general according to regimental rank; but in cases in which, in consequence of their brevet rank, officers shall have been employed at the time when they were wounded in discharge of duties superior to those attached to their regimental commissions, it will be given by brevet rank.

Given at the War-office, this 20th day of June 1812.

By command of his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

VOLCANO AT ST. VINCENT'S.

29. The eruption of the Soufrier mountain in St. Vincents, on the 30th of April, after a lapse of nearly a century, was preceded on the 27th at noon by a dreadful crash, with a severe concussion of the earth, a tremulous noise in the air, and a vast column of thick, black, ropy smoke, which mounting to the sky showered down sand, with gritty calcined particles of earth and favilla mixed, on all below. At night a very considerable degree of ignition was observed on the lips of the crater. The same awful scene presented itself on Tuesday the 28th; the fall of favilla and calcined pebbles still increasing, and the column from the crater rising perpendicularly to an immense height, with a noise at intervals like the muttering of distant thunder. On Wednesday the 29th, the column shot up with quicker motion, dilating as it rose like a balloon. At length, on Thursday the 30th in the afternoon the noise became incessant, and resembled the approach of thunder still nearer and nearer, with a vibration

bration that affected the feelings and hearing. The Charraibs settled at Morne Ronde, at the foot of the Souffrier, abandoned their houses, with their live stock and every thing they possessed, and fled precipitately towards town. The negroes became confused, forsook their work, looked up to the mountain, and, as it shook, trembled, with the dread of what they could neither understand or describe—the birds fell to the ground; overpowered with showers of favilla, unable to keep themselves on the wing—the cattle were starving for want of food, as not a blade of grass or a leaf was now to be found—the sea was much discoloured, but in no wise uncommonly agitated. About four o'clock *p. m.* the noise became more alarming, and just before sun-set the clouds reflected a bright copper colour, suffused with fire. Scarcely had the day closed, when the flame burst at length pyramidically from the crater, through the mass of smoke; the rolling of the thunder became more awful and deafening, electric flashes quickly succeeded, attended with loud claps and a great variety of lightning and electric flashes; some forked zigzag playing across the perpendicular column from the crater—others shooting upwards from the mouth like rockets of the most dazzling lustre—others like shells with their trailing fuses flying in different parabolas. Shortly after 7 *p. m.* the ebullition of lava broke out on the N. W. side. This immediately after boiling over the orifice, and flowing a short way, was opposed by the acclivity of a higher point of land, over which it was impelled by the immense tide of liquefied fire that drove it on, forming the figure V in grand illumination.

Sometimes, when the ebullition slackened, or was insufficient to urge it over the obstructing hill, it recoiled back, and then again rushed forward, impelled by fresh supplies, and scaling every obstacle, carrying rocks and woods together, in its course down the slope of the mountain, until it precipitated itself down a vast ravine.

Vast globular bodies of fire were seen projected from the fiery furnace, and hursting fell back into it, or over it, on the surrounding bushes, which were instantly set in flames. About four hours from the lava boiling over the crater, it reached the sea. About half past one, another stream of lava was seen descending to the eastward towards Rabacca. At this time the first earthquake was felt: this was followed by showers of cinders, that fell with the hissing noise of hail during two hours. At three o'clock a rolling on the roofs of the houses indicated a fall of stones, which soon thickened, and at length descended in a rain of intermingled fire—the miserable negroes flying from their huts were knocked down, or wounded, and many killed in the open air. Several houses were set on fire. Had the stones that fell been proportionably heavy to their size, not a living creature could have escaped without death: but having undergone a thorough fusion, they were divested of their natural gravity, and fell almost as light as pumex, though in some places as large as a man's head. This dreadful rain of stones and fire lasted upwards of an hour, and was again succeeded by cinders from three till six in the morning. Earthquake followed earthquake almost momentarily; or rather the whole of this part of the island was in a state of continued

(G 2) oscillation;

oscillation;—not agitated by shocks, vertical or horizontal, but undulated like water shaken in a bowl.

Darkness was only visible at eight o'clock in the morning: a chaotic gloom enveloped the mountain, and an impenetrable haze hung over the sea, with black slug-gish clouds of a sulphureous cast. The whole island was covered with favilla, cinders, scoria, and broken masses of volcanic matter. It was not until the afternoon that the muttering noise of the mountain sunk gradually into a solemn but suspicious silence.

30. As Mr. Burrows, a reputable farmer and hay-salesman, was coming to town, May 25, in a chaise from Harrow on the Hill, he was met about a quarter of a mile from his own house, by another farmer, named Bowler, with whom he was acquainted, who levelled a blunderbuss at him, and lodged five slugs in his head and body. Bowler then made off, and was not apprehended till June 6.—The following testimony of a blacksmith at Appleton gives the whole case: Bowler, who is 70 years of age, called at the smith's shop, on horseback, at five o'clock, on Saturday, May 30, accompanied by his grandson, and produced a blunderbuss, which he asked leave to make the lock secure to go off, as he wanted to shoot a mad dog. After he had done something to the lock, he left the piece in the shop, having described it as being loaded, and walked by the side of the canal, whilst his grandson led his horse about the road. After walking there nearly two hours, he returned to the smith's shop, when Burrows was approaching it, and having taken up the blunderbuss, he met him and presented it, when Burrows called out, "For God's sake don't

shoot me," and inclined his head upon his legs. The assassin, however, pulled the trigger, and Burrows fell, when the former mounted his horse and rode off. On his first examination at Marlborough-street office, he confessed having discharged the blunderbuss, but said he was mad at the time; and to strengthen the assertion, he asked if a man in his senses would do such a thing, to be obliged afterwards to skulk about in the fields, without food, and be necessitated to drink ditch water. Mr. Burrows is in a fair way of recovery. Bowler has since been fully committed to Cold Bath Fields prison. On the 25th instant, an inquisition was held before two commissioners of lunatics and a special jury; when after examining Dr. Ainslie, Mr. Hiatt, surgeon at Ealing, Mr. Warburton of Hackney, Mr. Webb, surgeon of the prison, Mr. Mitchell, neighbours of Bowler, and Elizabeth Haydon, his housekeeper, who all agreed in declaring him insane,—and after a personal examination of Bowler himself,—they returned a verdict of *Lunacy*, and that he had been so from March last.

JULY.

3. J. Bowler (who is a farmer of considerable property, at Alperton, near Harrow) was indicted at the Old Bailey, under lord Ellenborough's act, for maliciously discharging a loaded blunderbuss at Mr. Burrows, on the 30th of May last, and wounding him in the neck, at Alperton.—Mr. Pooley stated the case to the jury. He was taken on the 15th of June. The only motive assigned for the sanguinary purpose of the prisoner was some displeasure the prosecutor had given him, in March, by lopping some trees

trees which divided their respective premises. The prisoner was afterwards heard to use threatening expressions against Burrows in St. James's market, to a Mr. Shepherd. —In defence, a number of medical gentlemen, the same as were called under the commission of lunacy, gave their opinion, that the prisoner had been insane since July 1810, occasioned by the injury he received from a fall from his horse. The learned judge (sir Simon le Blanc) left it to the jury to say whether they thought the prisoner was in his right mind when he committed the act, or capable of distinguishing right from wrong. The jury retired about an hour and a half, and returned a verdict of Guilty.—The prisoner had a strong phalanx of legal assistance, five gentlemen being employed.—He made his will on the 27th May.

ADMIRALTY-OFFICE.

[Transmitted by lord Keith.]

Northumberland, off the Penmarks, wind S. S. W. light breezes, and fine weather, May 24.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, the object of the orders I received from you on the 19th instant, to proceed off L'Orient, for the purpose of intercepting two French frigates and a brig lately seen at sea, has been accomplished, by their total destruction at the entrance of that port, by his majesty's ship under my command (the Growler gun-brig being in company), under the circumstances I beg leave to relate to you.

On Friday the 22d inst. at a quarter after ten *a. m.* the N. W. point of the Isle Groa bearing from the Northumberland north by compass ten miles distant, and the wind very light from W. by N. they were discovered in the N. W. crowding

all possible sail before it for L'Orient. My first endeavour was to cut them off to windward of the island, and a signal was made to the Growler (seven miles off in the S. W.) to chase; but finding I could not effect it, the Northumberland was pushed by every exertion round the S. E. end of Groa, and by hauling to the wind as close as I could to leeward of it, I had the satisfaction of fetching to windward of the harbour's mouth before the enemy's ships reached it. Their commander, seeing himself thus cut off, made a signal to his consorts, and hauled to the wind on the larboard tack to windward of Point Taleet, and they appeared to speak each other. I continued beating to windward between Groa and the continent to close with them, exposed to the batteries on both sides when I stood within their reach, which was unavoidable. The wind had, by this time freshened considerably, and was about W. N. W. At 49 minutes after two *p. m.* the enemy (in force as above described) bore up in close line ahead, and under every sail that could be set, favoured by the fresh wind, made a bold and determined attempt to run between me and the shore, under cover of the numerous batteries with which it is lined in that part. I placed the Northumberland to meet them as close as I could to the Point de Pierre Laye, with her head to the shore, and the main-topsail shivering, and made dispositions for laying one of them alongside; but they hauled so very close round the point, following the direction of the coast to the eastward of it, that, in my ignorance of the depth of water so near the shore, I did not think it practicable, consistent with the safety of his majesty's ship (drawing near twenty-five feet) to prosecute

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that plan. I therefore bore up and steered parallel to them at the distance of about two cables' length, and opened the broadside on them, which was returned by a very animated and well-directed fire of round, grape, and other descriptions of shot, supported by three batteries. for the space of twenty-one minutes, and was very destructive to our sails and rigging. My object during that time was to prevent their hauling outside the dry rock, named LeGrand; but in steering sufficiently close to it to leave them no room to pass between me and it, and at the same time to avoid running on it myself, the utmost difficulty and anxiety were produced by the cloud of smoke which drifted ahead of the ship, and totally obscured it. However, by the care and attention of Mr. Hugh Stewart the master, the ship was carried within the distance of her own length on the south-west side, in quarter less seven fathoms, and the enemy were in consequence obliged, as their only alternative, to attempt passing within it, where there was not water enough, and they all grounded, under every sail, on the rocks between it and the shore.

The sails and rigging of the Northumberland were so much damaged, that I was obliged to leave the enemy to the effects of the falling tide, it being only one quarter ebb, while I repaired the rigging and shifted the foretop-sail, which was rendered entirely useless; working to windward during that time under what sail I could set, to prevent falling to leeward; in which interval, at five o'clock, the Growler joined and fired on the enemy occasionally. At 28 minutes after five, I anchored the Northumberland in six and a half fathoms water, Point de Pierre

Laye bearing N. W. half N. the citadel of Port Louis E. three quarters N. and the rock named Le Grand N. half E. two cables length distant, with her broadside bearing on the enemy's two frigates and brig, at point blank range, all of them having fallen over on their sides next the shore as the tide left them, and exposed their copper to us, and the main-masts of one frigate and the brig were gone: and from 34 minutes after five till 49 minutes past six (which was near the time of low water) a deliberate and careful fire was kept up on them; at which time, believing I had fully effected the object of my endeavours, the crews having quitted their vessels, all their bottoms being pierced by very many of our shot, so low down as to insure their filling on the rising tide, and the leading frigate being completely in flames, communicated to the hull from a fire which broke out in her foretop, I got under sail. Three batteries fired at the ship during the whole time she was at anchor; and although the position was so far well chosen that she was out of the range of two of them, the other (to which the enemy's vessels were nearest) reached her; and did as much execution in the hull as all the fire she had been exposed to before.—I directed the commander of the Growler to stand in and fire, to prevent the enemy from returning to their vessels after I had ceased.

At five minutes before eight, the frigate on fire blew up with an awful explosion, leaving no remains of her visible. At the close of day, I anchored for the night, out of the reach of the batteries on both sides, Point Taleet bearing N. N. W. half W. S. E. point of Groa S. S. S. half W. the enemy's vessels N. by E.

E. At ten, the other frigate appeared to be on fire also (some smoke having been seen on board her from the time the firing ceased), and at half-past eleven the flames burst forth from her ports and every part with unextinguishable fury; which unlooked-for event leaving me nothing more to attempt in the morning, the brig being quite on her beam ends, and very much damaged by our shot in every part of her bottom, even very near her keel, I weighed anchor at midnight, with a very light air from the northward, with the Growler in company, profiting by the brightness of the moon to get to sea: but it was so near calm that I made very little progress, and therefore saw the frigate burning from head to stern all night, and explode at 35 minutes after two in the morning of yesterday, leaving a portion of her after-part still burning till it was entirely consumed; and in the course of the day I had the satisfaction to see, from off the N. W. point of Groa, a third fire and explosion in the same spot, which could have been no other than the brig.

During the time of firing on the enemy's vessels, a seaman, who states himself to be a native of Portugal, captured in the ship *Harmony*, of Lisbon, by the frigates, on the 22d of February, swam from one of them to the *Northumberland*, by whom I am informed their names were *L'Arianne* and *L'Andromache*, of forty-four guns and four hundred and fifty men each, and the *Mameluke* brig, of eighteen guns and one hundred and fifty men; that they sailed from the Loire in the month of January, had been cruising in various parts of the Atlantic, and had destroyed

(Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English,) taking the most valuable parts of their cargoes on board the frigates (and they appeared very deep for ships so long at sea), and one vessel they sent as a cartel to England with about two hundred prisoners.—[The remainder of the letter bears testimony to the creditable conduct of every officer and man engaged on this occasion, especially of the senior lieutenant Mr. John Banks, Mr. Stewart the master, and the pilot. He adds, that it was not to be expected that a ship should have been so long at different periods under the fire of the enemy's various batteries and vessels without some loss, but he is thankful it is not greater than by the account subjoined. The ship is damaged little in the hull, but more in the masts, yards, and rigging. The officer wounded (lieutenant William Fletcher), he is glad to say, will soon be restored. The letter then concludes:]—A line of battle ship, with sails bent, and top-gallant-yards across, lay in the harbour of *L'Orient*, spectator of the operations of the day at the entrance of it; but the wind did not serve till night for her coming to the support of her friends: every assistance, however, was afforded them of boats, men, &c. from the port, directed, as I apprehend, by the admiral in person. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. HOTHAM, captain.
Rear-admiral sir H. Neale, bart. &c.

[Here follows a list of 4 seamen and 1 marine killed; and 1 officer (lieut. Fletcher), 3 petty officers, 19 seamen, and 5 marines wounded; 4 dangerously, 10 severely, and 14 slightly.]

AFRICA.

The doubts which may have existed

isted of the fate of Mungo Park are now removed, by the certain accounts lately received from Goree, of his having perished, through the hostility of the natives on one of the branches of the Niger. The particulars have been transmitted to sir Joseph Banks, by governor Maxwell, of Goree, who received them from Isaco, a Moor, sent in and by the governor for the purpose of inquiry. In a letter to Mr. Dickson of Covent-garden, brother-in-law to Mr. Park, sir Joseph writes thus :—

“ I have read Isaco's translated journal, from which it appears, that the numerous European retinue of Mungo Park quickly and miserably died, leaving at the last only himself and a Mr. Martyn. Proceeding on their route, they stopped at a settlement, from which, according to custom, they sent a present to the chief whose territory they were next to pass. This present having been treacherously withheld, the chief considered it, in the travellers, as a designed injury and neglect. On their approaching in a canoe, he assembled his people in a narrow channel of the rocks, and assailed them so violently with arrows, that some of the rowers were killed. This caused Mr. Park and Mr. Martyn to make an attempt by swimming to reach the shore, in which attempt they both were drowned. The canoe shortly afterwards sunk, and only one hired native escaped. Every appurtenance also of the travellers was lost or destroyed, except a sword-belt which had belonged to Mr. Martyn, and which Isaco redeemed, and brought with him to Goree.”

6 The village of New Town, near Plymouth, was thrown into consternation by the report of three pistols in succession, from the house

of Mr. Hine, a respectable corn-factor. On the neighbours rushing in, they found Mr. Hine lifeless on the kitchen floor, shot through the heart; his youngest child, with its throat cut, lying dead by his side; his other child, three years old, shot dead through the head. Going up stairs, they found Mrs. Hine in a dying state; her husband, as she was sitting up in bed, having fired a pistol diagonally through her left breast, which lodged in the opposite bone of the shoulder. Several surgeons were called in, and extracted the ball; but the vital parts are so lacerated, that it is doubtful whether she can long survive. No cause is assigned for this most horrible murder and suicide.—The coroner's inquest, after an investigation of twelve hours, returned a verdict—“ That Mr. Hine, being deranged in his mind, did, with a razor and two pistols, kill his two children and himself.”

9. A cause was tried at Winchester, wherein Anne Fallick was plaintiff, and William Barber, keeper of the Bridewell at Gosport, defendant. This was an action for the recovery of the reward of one hundred guineas, (or part thereof?) which was sent down to Gosport for the discovery and restoration of little Thomas Dellow, who was stolen from London on the 18th of November last, and found with Harriet Magnes at Gosport. Verdict, for the plaintiff, 30/.

10. At Winchester assizes, John James, 19 years of age, was indicted for the murder of his mistress, Elizabeth Hill, at Shalfeet, near Yarmouth. From the evidence it appeared that his master, a shoemaker, and his son were gone to church on the morning of June 21, leaving his wife and this lad at home. On their return, in company

pany with a neighbour, they discovered Mrs. Hill lying on the kitchen floor, with three deep wounds inflicted with a hatchet on her head and face, and her throat cut across. On interrogating the boy, who was deliberately walking before the house, he calmly confessed the murder, without assigning the most latent motive that could induce him to commit it. He stood at the bar, during the whole of the trial, with his eyes bent on the ground, in a kind of melancholic apathy. He viewed the dreadful instruments, produced in court, with unaltered aspect; he heard the sentence with indifference, and retired without having uttered a word, beyond a refusal to say any thing. He declares that he entertains no sorrow for the action; for had any one else come in his way, he should have done the same thing. His mistress, he says, was always too good to him. He feels no terror at his approaching fate, but expresses himself truly happy and content to die. When strongly interrogated as to the probable motive of his conduct, he referred the inquirers, without comment, to the third chapter of Job. He appears an enthusiast in the methodist persuasion. The judge (sir Alan Chambré) commented with much feeling and perspicuity on the dangerous effects of vulgar and literal conceptions of scriptural passages.

THE LATE OVERTURES FOR NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.

11. It appears that at the period when Bonaparte despaired of bending the emperor Alexander to his purposes, and was probably apprehensive of another coalition in the north, he made overtures for negotiating a peace with this country, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*.

In making this advance, he appears to have had two objects in view; first, to alarm the northern powers; and secondly, to entrap the English government, by subsequently explaining that by the present dynasty of Spain, he meant not the family of Charles IV. but his brother Joseph. Only two letters passed on this occasion,—the proposal, and reply by lord Castlereagh, who could obtain no explanation. The first letter, as extracted from the French journals, is written by the duke of Bassano, under date April 17, 1812, and addressed to lord Castlereagh, to be forwarded by the commandant on the Dover station. The French minister says:—

“The calamities under which Spain and the vast regions of Spanish America, suffer, should naturally excite the interest of all nations, and inspire them with an equal anxiety for their termination. —I will express myself, sir, in a manner which your excellency will find conformable to the sincerity of the step which I am authorised to take; and nothing will better evince the sincerity and sublimity of it than the precise terms of the language which I have been directed to use. What views and motives should induce me to envelop myself in formalities suitable to weakness, which alone can find its interest in deceit?—The affairs of the Peninsula, and the Two Sicilies, are the points of difference which appear least to admit of being adjusted. I am authorised to propose to you an arrangement of them on the following basis:—The integrity of Spain shall be guaranteed. France shall renounce all idea of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrennees. The present dynasty shall be declared independent, and

and Spain shall be governed by a national constitution of her cortes.—The independence and integrity of Portugal shall be also guaranteed, and the house of Braganza shall have the sovereign authority.—The kingdom of Naples shall remain in possession of the present monarch, and the kingdom of Sicily shall be guaranteed to the present family of Sicily.—As a consequence of these stipulations, Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, shall be evacuated by the French and English land and naval forces.—With respect to the other objects of discussion, they may be negotiated upon this basis, that each power shall retain that of which the other could not deprive it by war.

Lord Castlereagh, in his reply to the duke of Bassano, says:—"Your excellency's letter of the 17th of this month has been received, and laid before the prince regent.—His royal highness felt that he owed it to his honour, before he should authorise me to enter into any explanation upon the overture which your excellency has transmitted, to ascertain the precise meaning attached by the government of France to the following passage of your excellency's letter: 'the actual dynasty shall be declared independent, and Spain governed by the national constitution of the cortes.'—If, as his royal highness fears, the meaning of this proposition is, that the royal authority of Spain, and the government established by the cortes, shall be recognised as residing in the brother of the head of the French government, and the cortes formed under his authority, and not in the legitimate sovereign, Ferdinand the seventh, and his heirs, and the extraordinary assembly of the cortes,

now invested with the power of the government in that kingdom, in his name, and by his authority—I am commanded frankly and explicitly to declare to your excellency, that the obligations of good faith do not permit his royal highness to receive a proposition for peace founded on such a basis.—But if the expressions cited above apply to the actual government of Spain, which exercises the sovereign authority in the name of Ferdinand the VIIth,—upon an assurance of your excellency to that effect, the prince regent will feel himself disposed to enter into a full explanation upon the basis which has been transmitted, in order to be taken into consideration by his royal highness; it being his most earnest wish to contribute, in concert with his allies, to the repose of Europe, and to bring about a peace, which may be at once honourable not only for Great Britain and France, but also for those states which are in relations of amity with each of those powers."—To this note lord Castlereagh received no answer from the French government,

A few days ago was found in the farm of Braidfield, near Graham's Dyke, in the parish of Old Kilpatrick, North Britain, a stone in the highest state of preservation, upon which is the following inscription:

IMP. C. T. AELIO. HADR
IANO. ANTONINO. AVG

-P-P-VEX-LEG-VI-

VICTRICES-P-SSF.

OPVS.VALLI.F

XXX CXXL-F

There are four figures upon it: two males, and two females; one of whom is supporting the inscription

VIRT
AVG.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KING-
DOM OF POLAND.

The French papers contain a report from a committee appointed by the general diet assembled at Warsaw, addressed in fact to the Polish nation, reminding it of the insults and injuries it has suffered from Russia, who, they say, "has for a century past been advancing with the stride of a giant towards countries that had scarcely heard her very name; and when Pultowa seemed only to have decided between Charles and Peter, Europe was conquered almost at the same moment with Sweden—Poland has at length totally disappeared, without guilt as without revenge. People of Poland, force has enchained you; but force can break your chains, and they shall be broken; That prince whose calculations embrace the future with as much facility as the present, the founder of a vast empire, knows that there must be a barrier, eternal and impenetrable, against the invasion of ignorance and barbarism: he knows that there must be a frontier which shall separate polished nations from savage. New Sigismonds and new Sobieskis shall arise; and the world shall learn, that to produce the fruit of all the nobler virtues, the soil of Poland has only to be tilled by the hands of freemen. Your committee has the honour of presenting the following act of confederation;

"The diet constitutes itself a general confederation of Poland. The general confederation, exercising, in all their plenitude, the powers belonging to the general association of the nation, declares, that the Kingdom of Poland and the body of the Polish nation are re-established. A deputation shall be sent to

his majesty the emperor Napoleon, king of Italy, to present him the acts of the confederation, and to implore him to cover with his powerful protection the cradle of Polish regeneration."—There are fifteen more articles for carrying into effect the above object, and appointing a council to which the confederation delegates its powers. The council consist of Stanislaus count Zamoyski, senator, Palatine, and nine other members; five of whom are to be a quorum.

RUSSIA.

PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR
ALEXANDER.

"The French troops have passed the borders of our empire—a completely treacherous attack is the reward of the observance of our alliance. For the preservation of peace I have exhausted every possible means, consistently with the honour of my throne and the advantage of my people. All my endeavours have been in vain. The emperor Napoleon has fully resolved in his own mind to ruin Russia. The most moderate proposals on our parts have remained without an answer. This sudden surprise has shown in an unequivocal manner the groundlessness of his pacific promises, which he lately repeated. There therefore remain no further steps for me to take, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people and in the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the middle of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy. Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country,

country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

ITALY.

Vesuvius, which had been quiet for several years, has suddenly broken out. At nine a.m. of the 12th of June loud reports proceeded from the mountain, which were followed by an eruption of cinders and smoke. At eleven two fresh reports were heard, when the crater vomited forth fire and smoke, which completely covered the horizon. On the 13th and 14th the mountain was calm; but on the 15th its crater was covered with an immense column of smoke.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

The new cortes are to be assembled on the 1st of October, 1813. The duke del Infantado had been formally introduced to the cortes, and had taken the chair of the regency in that assembly. In the speech which he addressed to the president on the occasion, he observed, that the conduct of the Spaniards had every where in this country excited esteem and enthusiasm; and that the last words of the prince regent to him were, that he would never enter into a negotiation with the enemy, in which the interests of the Spanish nation and those of their unfortunate monarch Ferdinand VII. were not duly appreciated.

INTERCEPTED LETTERS.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE TO HIS BROTHER NAPOLEON.

Madrid, March 23.—"A year will now soon have elapsed since I

asked your majesty's opinion relative to my return to Spain: your majesty wished me to return, and here I am. Your majesty had the goodness to say, that it would always be time enough to leave it, if the hopes I had conceived should not be realized, and in that case your majesty would secure me an asylum in the south of the empire, where I might pass my days in tranquillity.

"Sire,—Events have not corresponded to my hopes. I have done no good, nor do I hope to do any; I therefore entreat your majesty to permit me to deposit in your hands the rights which you designed to bestow on me with the crown of Spain four years ago. I never had any other object in accepting the crown of this country, but the happiness of this vast empire. It is not in my power to realize my hopes. I entreat his majesty to receive me benignly into the number of his vassals, and to be assured, that he never had a more faithful servant than the friend which nature gave him.—Your imperial and royal majesty's most affectionate brother,

"JOSEPH."

The preceding is followed by three letters from Joseph to his wife, in which he expresses his uneasiness in his present situation from not receiving the supplies promised him.

22. The old established banking-house of Kensington and Co. of Lombard-street stopped payment, an event which excited great alarm in the city; and, as it happened after the receipt of the dividends, is likely to occasion considerable inconvenience. The failure is attributed to the house having taken, to a large amount, the acceptances of an eminent distiller.

ALARMING RELAPSE OF HIS
MAJESTY.

Our venerable sovereign has recently had a most violent attack of his disorder, owing, probably, to the sudden change of weather, which for some time threatened to be fatal. During the last fortnight of the month of June his majesty suffered a high degree of agitation; but was rather better on the 4th of July, when the lords of the queen's privy council held their quarterly meeting to make their report. In the afternoon of that day, however, the paroxysm increased to a degree of violence, such as his majesty has not experienced since December twelvemonth. The paroxysm lasted, without abatement, between 50 and 60 hours; and on the 6th he became a few minutes speechless.—These paroxysms are always viewed by the regular physicians with serious apprehensions, as it is with too much reason believed, that they have their source from a suffusion on the brain, that most probably will at some time be fatal. When this alarming symptom came on, expresses were sent for sir H. Halford and Dr. Heberden, who immediately went to Windsor. The interruption of speech, however, lasted only a few minutes, and the habitual course of rapid and inarticulate speaking returned till nine in the evening, when his majesty fell asleep, and had between four and five hours of quiet rest. He waked very composed; and on the 7th he took several dishes of tea, and slept again for near an hour. His majesty afterwards continued tranquil, and the paroxysm has quite subsided.

The declaration of her majesty's council respecting the state of his majesty's health, for the last two quarters, represents, "that his ma-

jesty's bodily health is as good as at any of the periods of the former reports; that his majesty's mental health is as disordered as formerly; and the hope of ultimate and complete recovery is diminished since April; but that such recovery is not absolutely despaired of."

MURDER OF THE COUNT AND THE
COUNTESS D'ANTRAIGUES.

22. The count and countess D'Antraigues, French noblesse, and distantly related to the unfortunate family of the Bourbons, resided on Barnes-terrace, on the banks of the Thames. They lived in a style which though far from what they had formerly moved in, yet was rather bordering on high life than the contrary. They kept a carriage, coachman, footman, and a servant out of livery. The latter was an Italian, or Piedmontese, named Lawrence; and it is of this wretch we have to relate the following particulars. The count and countess intending to visit London this day, ordered the carriage to be at the door by eight in the morning, which it accordingly was; and soon after that hour they were in the act of leaving the house to get into it, the countess being at the door, and the count coming down stairs, when the report of a pistol was heard in the passage, which it has since appeared took no effect, nor was it then ascertained by whom it was fired. Lawrence was at this time in the passage, and, on the smoke subsiding, was seen to rush past the count, and proceed with great speed up stairs. He almost instantly returned with a dirk in his hand, and plunged it up to the hilt in the count's left shoulder; he continued his course, and made for the street-door, where stood the countess, whom

whom he instantly dispatched by plunging the same dirk into her left breast. This last act had scarcely been completed, when the count appeared also at the door, bleeding and following the assassin, who made for the house and ran up stairs. The count, though extremely weak and faint, continued to follow him: but so great was the terror occasioned, that no one else had the same resolution. The assassin and the count had not been up stairs more than a minute, when the report of another pistol was heard, which satisfied those below that Lawrence had finally put an end to the existence of his master. The alarm was now given, and the cry of Murder! resounded from every mouth. The countess was still lying at the front door by which the turnpike-road runs, and at length men of sufficient resolution were found to venture up stairs; and, horrible to relate, they found the count lying across his own bed, groaning heavily, and nearly dead, and the blood-thirsty villain lying by his side, a corpse. He had put a period to his own existence, by placing a pistol, that he found in the room, in his mouth, and discharging its contents through his head. The count only survived about twenty-five minutes after the fatal blow, and died without being able to utter a word.

The countess had by this time been brought into the house; the wound was directly on her left breast, extremely large, and she died about five minutes before her husband, also without uttering a single word. The servants of the house were all collected at night, but no cause for so horrid an act was at that time known; all was conjecture.

following circumstances, in

so extraordinary a case, may be, however, worth relating. The count, it appears, always kept a brace of pistols hanging loaded in his bed-room, and a small dirk. About a month ago, the countess and the servants heard the report of a pistol up stairs, and were in consequence greatly alarmed; when one of the latter, a female, went up and looked into her master's room—it was full of smoke, and she screamed out: on its clearing away she saw Lawrence standing, who told her nothing was the matter, he had only fired off one of his master's pistols. It afterwards appeared, he had fired it into the wainscot: it was loaded with ball, and the bullet from the pistol is yet to be seen.

The count and countess were about 60 years of age. The latter was highly accomplished, a great proficient in music, and highly admired for her singing, in fashionable parties. There is no reason whatever to believe that Lawrence was insane. Only about ten minutes previous to his committing this deed of blood, he went over to an adjoining public-house and took a glass of gin; he had lived only three months in the family; and, report says, was to be discharged in a few days. An inquest will be held on the bodies to-morrow; but from what we could learn, nothing further was expected to transpire that could throw any new light on the mysterious but shocking catastrophe.

The count and countess had resided in their house at Barnes for four or five years, and have left an only son; who, we understand, is at present in this country studying the law.

23. The coroner's inquest was taken this day on the view of the bodies

bodies of the count and countess, and of their assassin. The examinations lasted the whole day: from the evidence given the following appeared to be the facts of the horrible atrocity.

It appears that while the count and countess, and both the maids, were in the passage at the foot of the staircase, Lawrence, the Italian servant, came in from the terrace and fired a pistol at the count. It seems to have slightly grazed his hair.

Lawrence then rushed up stairs.

The count appears to have been confounded for a few seconds, and then to have walked up a few steps. Lawrence ran down, with a pistol in one hand and a dagger in the other. He plunged the dagger in the breast of the count, who walked out of the door and made a few steps on the terrace, during which time Lawrence stabbed the countess: she staggered a few steps, and then fell down at the threshold of the door; cried out "'Tis Lawrence! 'tis Lawrence!" and then expired.

The count returned into the house, and then walked up stairs to his bedchamber. Before he reached it a second pistol was heard to go off. The coachman and a man who was passing by rushed into the room, and found both the count and Lawrence dead.

What was Lawrence's motive for this action is not even conjectured. He does not appear to have had the least thought of escaping. There is no account of any quarrel between his master and him. All his servants agree that he was very sober. One of the maids said she had recently observed he was passionate.

The dagger was the count's, and it was probably to fetch it that

Lawrence ran up stairs the first time.

The jury returned their verdict, —that Lawrence had murdered the count and countess, and afterwards committed suicide, being in his senses.

POISONING RACE HORSES.

Trial and conviction of Dawson at Cambridge assizes.

23. This trial, which excited so much interest in the sporting world, came on yesterday.

The prisoner was arraigned on four indictments, with numerous counts, viz. for poisoning a horse belonging to Mr. Adams, of Royston, Herts, and a blood mare belonging to Mr. Northey at Newmarket, in 1809; and also for poisoning a horse belonging to Mr. F. Standish, and another belonging to Lord Foley, in 1811, at the same place. He was tried and convicted on the first case only.

Serjeant Sellon opened the case, and detailed the nature of the evidence.

The principal witness, as on the former trial, was Cecil Bishop, an accomplice with the prisoner. He proved having been for some time acquainted with Dawson, and that, on application to him, he had furnished him with corrosive sublimate to sicken horses, as a friend of his had been tricked by physicking his horse which was about to run a match. He went on to prove that he and Dawson had become gradually acquainted, and that on the prisoner complaining the stuff was not strong enough, he prepared him a solution of arsenic. Witness described this as not offensive in smell, the prisoner having informed him that the horses had thrown up their heads, and refused to partake of the water into which the corrosive sublimate

sublimate had been infused. The prisoner complained the stuff was not strong enough, and on being informed that if it was made stronger it would kill the horses, he replied, he did not mind that;—the Newmarket frequenters were rogues, and if he (meaning witness) had a fortune to lose, they would plunder him of it. The prisoner afterwards informed witness he used the stuff, which was then strong enough, as it had killed a hackney and two brood mares. The other part of Bishop's testimony went to prove the case against the prisoner.

Mrs. Tillbrook, a respectable housekeeper at Newmarket, where the prisoner lodged, proved having found a bottle of liquid concealed under Dawson's bed, previous to the horses having been poisoned, and that Dawson was out late on the Saturday and Sunday evenings previous to that event, which took place on the Monday. After Dawson had left the house, she found the bottle, which she identified as having contained the said liquid, and which a chemist proved to have contained poison. Witness also proved that Dawson had cautioned her that he had poison in the house for some dogs, lest any one should have the curiosity to taste it. Other witnesses proved a chain of circumstances which left no doubt of the prisoner's guilt.

Mr. King, for the prisoner, took a legal objection, that no criminal offence had been committed, and that the subject was a matter of trespass. He contended, that the indictment must fall, as it was necessary to prove that the prisoner had malice against the owner of the horse, to impoverish him, and not against the animal. He also contended, that the object of the prisoner was to injure, and not to

kill. The objections, however, were over-ruled without reply, and the prisoner was convicted.

The judge pronounced sentence of Death on the prisoner, and informed him, in strong language, he could not expect mercy to be extended to him.

AUGUST.

1. At a meeting of the queen's council, the physicians laid before their lordships the state of his majesty; and on the following day the subjoined bulletin was shown at St. James's palace:

"Windsor-castle, Aug. 1. Soon after the last monthly report his majesty had a severe accession of his disorder, which quickly subsided, and his majesty has since continued as well as before that attack.

H. HALFORD, M. BAILLIE,
W. HEBERDEN, R. & J. WILLIS."

4. Government, in order to check the escape of French prisoners, as also the guinea and smuggling system, gave orders a few days since for the seizure of all galleys of a certain description carrying eight oars: 17 were seized at Deal, 10 at Folkestone, Sandgate, &c. They are a beautiful description of boats, about 40 feet long, painted on the outside so as to elude the sight at sea in the night; so neatly and lightly constructed that nothing can catch them, and in calm weather they can row over to the French shore in two hours.

5. At York assizes, Eliz. Woodger and Susannah Lyall were charged with the wilful murder of a newborn male infant. It appears that the wife of G. Needham, of Blackburn, was delivered of two children, a girl and a boy; the former perfectly formed, but in the boy there was a deficiency in the superior part of the head. Woodger, a midwife, conceiving

conceiving that it was not likely to live, formed the design of putting a period to its existence, which was accomplished by drowning it. It was then buried, but was taken up again for the coroner's inquest. The surgeon who examined the body stated, that the child was perfectly formed, except his head, which was deficient in the superior part an inch and an half. Any pressure upon it must have produced dangerous consequences; and he did not think it possible that the child could have survived more than a few hours. The prisoners used no concealment; and it was clear that they acted under mistaken apprehensions as to the law, and thought they were justified in what they did. The judge, in his address to the jury, said, "I think this prosecution may be of great use to the public in removing an erroneous opinion, that the law allows the right of deliberately taking away the life of a human being under any circumstances whatever. It is therefore highly necessary that the contrary should be known." The jury found the prisoners Guilty; but recommended them to mercy, on account of the mistaken notion under which they acted.

6. A very numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, &c. of the city of London took place at the Egyptian-hall, in the Mansion-house, by permission of the lord mayor, who presided, for the purpose of forming an auxiliary bible society in the city. The hall was completely filled, and among many leading characters present was the chancellor of the exchequer, who spoke with much energy and effect. A subscription was entered into, to which the company very liberally contributed. The rev. Mr. Owen paid a high compliment to the pro-
1812.

moters of the meeting; and, in an energetic address to the lord mayor and aldermen, pointed out the usefulness of the institution, and the happy reflections attendant on such laudable proceedings for the benefit of mankind.

At six o'clock in the morning, two houses at the top of Little Russell-street fell to the ground with a most tremendous crash. Unfortunately the workmen employed in repairing the premises had just entered them, and twelve men were buried in the ruins. By eight o'clock six were got out, little bruised; four others were afterwards taken to the Middlesex hospital; and two carpenters were discovered dead on Friday evening. There was much questioning at the coroner's inquest as to the real cause of the accident. The new repairs were stated to have been well executed by Mr. Braham; and that the fall of the buildings was owing to the failure of an old party-wall.

11. At a general meeting of the deputies appointed for the protection of the civil rights of the three denominations of protestant dissenters, the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—
"That it is the natural right of all men to worship God agreeably to the dictates of their own consciences—That all human laws which restrict them in the exercise of this right are unjust in their principle, and in their tendency and operation highly injurious to the best interests of religion—That we regard, with deep concern, the existence of several laws of this description, but trust that the time is not distant when laws so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, and so hostile to the welfare of society, will be completely abrogated, and toleration be super-
(H) seded

seded by religious liberty—That we receive the act which has lately passed, entitled ‘An act to repeal certain acts and amend other acts relating to religious worship and assemblies, and persons preaching or teaching therein,’ with feelings of pleasure and gratitude, as an instance of increasing liberality in the legislature, and of just confidence in the protestant dissenters, as an important amelioration of their condition, and as an advance towards the repeal of all penal laws which infringe on religious freedom—That the thanks of this deputation be presented to the right hon. the earl of Liverpool, first lord of the treasury, for the politeness and attention which their committee experienced in the communications with which he honoured them, for the kindness and conciliation which he manifested in all the intercourses that took place, and for the effectual support which he gave to the said act—That the thanks of this deputation be presented to the right hon. lord Castlereagh, the right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, and the other members of administration, for the support which they gave to the said act—That the thanks of this deputation be presented to the most noble the marquis of Lansdowne, the right hon. earl Grey, the right hon. lord Holland, and the right hon. lord Erskine, for the essential services which they have rendered on this and on every occasion to the cause of religious liberty—That the thanks of this deputation be given to Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. for the able support which he gave to the said act, and particularly for the promptness and zeal with which he stood forward, unsolicited, to relieve the protestant dissenters, when the security, which they had long enjoyed under former

acts of toleration, was endangered by novel and injurious constructions—That our chairman, Wm. Smith, esq. M. P. by the ardent zeal for and indefatigable attention to the interest of religious liberty which he has manifested in the various communications which have taken place with his majesty’s ministers relative to the repeal of the five-mile and conventicle acts, and the amendment of the toleration laws; by his able support in parliament of the act which has lately passed, and by his unremitting attention to the affairs of this deputation, has entitled himself to the warmest gratitude of the protestant dissenters.” Thanks were also voted to John Gurney, esq. deputy chairman, to Joseph Gutteridge, esq. treasurer, and other members of the sub-committee, and to Ebenezer Matland, esq. chairman of the meeting.

12. This day being the anniversary of the prince regent’s birthday, it was celebrated by a general ringing of bells, and the display of flags and standards from the churches and public buildings. The king’s guard was mounted by the brigade of grenadiers in white gaiters, and the officers on duty were regaled with a turtle feast. In the course of the morning several hundreds of the nobility and gentry called at Carleton-house to pay their respects. At one o’clock the great guns discharged a double royal salute, for the first time since his royal highness’s regency, being the same observance as on the king’s birth-day. A barrel of porter was distributed among the populace at the gates of St. James’s palace. In the evening, the theatres, public buildings, with the houses of the king’s tradesmen, were illuminated. The prince regent, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, went to Frogmore, where the

the day was celebrated by the queen and princesses, and a party of the nobility.

16. The arrival of lord Clinton in town with the intelligence of the victory at Salamanca was hailed by the public with great demonstrations of joy. The chaise and four which conveyed his lordship was decorated with laurel, and the French eagles and flags displayed out of the windows. The illuminations were very general in all the principal streets of the metropolis on Monday and two following nights. Though the Admiralty, Horse-guards, Somerset, Mansion, and East-India houses, all the theatres, and other public buildings, were most splendid, yet those of private individuals vied with them very successfully. The marquis Wellesley, in returning on Monday night from viewing the illuminations in the city, was recognised in the Strand by the populace, who took out the horses, and dragged the carriage to Apsley-house.

Downing-street, Aug. 16.

Lord Clinton, aide-de-camp to the earl of Wellington, arrived this morning at the War department with dispatches, addressed by his lordship to earl Bathurst, dated the 21st, 24th, and 28th, ult. of which the following are extracts :

Cabreros, near Salamanca, July 21.

In the course of the 15th and 16th, the enemy moved all their troops to the right of their position on the Douro, and their army was concentrated between Toro and San Roman. A considerable body passed the Douro at Toro on the evening of the 16th, and I moved the allied army to their left on that night, with an intention to concentrate on the Guarena.—It was totally out of my power to prevent the

enemy from passing the Douro at any point he might think expedient, as he had in his possession all the bridges over that river, and many of the fords; but he re-crossed that river at Toro in the night of the 16th, moved his whole army to Tordesillas, where he again crossed the Douro on the morning of the 17th, and assembled his army on that day at La Neva del Rey, having marched not less than ten leagues in the course of the 17th.

[Lord Wellington here states that the 4th and light divisions of infantry, and major-gen. Anson's brigade of cavalry, having been marched to Castrejon, on the night of the 16th, with a view to the assembly of the army on the Guarena, were on the 18th attacked by the enemy; but sir Stapleton Cotton maintained the post without suffering any loss, until joined by major-gens. Le Marchant, Alten, and Bock's brigades of cavalry, which had been sent to favour his retreat and junction. The troops then retired, in order, to Tordesillas de la Orden, where the 5th division of infantry had been stationed, having the enemy's whole army on their flank, or in their rear, and thence to the Guarena, which river they passed, and effected their junction with the army. The dispatch then proceeds:]

The enemy, in pursuance of his attempt to cut off the communication of the allies with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, crossed the Guarena, at Cartello, below the junction of the four streams, and manifested an intention to press upon our left, and to enter the valley of Canizal.—Major-gen. Alten's brigade of cavalry was already engaged with the enemy's cavalry, and had taken among other prisoners the French general Car-

rier, when lieut.-gen. Cole was ordered to attack with major-gen. W. Anson's and brig.-gen. Harvey's brigades of infantry (the latter under the command of col. Stubbs) the enemy's infantry, which were supporting their cavalry. He immediately attacked and defeated them with the 27th and 40th regiments, which advanced to the charge with bayonets, col. Stubbs's Portuguese brigade supporting, and the enemy gave way; many were killed and wounded; and major-gen. Alten's brigade of cavalry having pursued the fugitives, 240 prisoners were taken. In these affairs, lieut.-gen. Cole, major-gens. Alten, and W. Anson, and lieut.-cols. Arenschildt of the 1st hussars, and Hervey of the 14th light drag. Macbean of the 27th, and Anderson commanding the 11th, majors Archdall of the 40th, and De Azeredo commanding the 23d Portuguese regiment, distinguished themselves.—The enemy did not make any further attempt on our left; but, having reinforced their troops on that side, and withdrawn those which had moved to their left, I brought back ours from Vallesa.

In the afternoon of the 19th the enemy withdrew all their troops from their right, and marched to their left by Tarragona, apparently with an intention of turning our right. I crossed the upper Guarena at Valesa and El Olmo, with the whole of the allied army, in the course of that evening and night; and every preparation was made for the action, which was expected on the plain of Vallesa on the morning of the 20th. But shortly after day-light the enemy made another movement to his left, in several columns, along the heights of the Guarena, which river he

crossed below Cantala Piedra, and encamped last night at Babilafuente and Villamela; and the allied army made a correspondent movement to its right by Cantalpino, and encamped last night at Cabesa Velloso, the 6th division and major-gen. Alten's brigade of cavalry being upon the Tormes at Aldea Lingua.—During these movements there have been occasional cannonades, but without loss on our side. I have this morning moved the left of the army to the Tormes, where the whole are now concentrated; and I observe the enemy have also moved towards the same river near Huerta. The enemy's object hitherto has been to cut off my communication with Salamanca and also with Ciudad Rodrigo.

Flores de Avila, July 24.

My aide-de-camp, capt. lord Clinton, will present to your lordship this account of a victory which the allied troops under my command gained in a general action, fought near Salamanca, on the evening of the 22d inst. which I have been under the necessity of delaying to send till now, having been engaged ever since the action in the pursuit of the enemy's flying troops.—In my letter of the 21st I informed your lordship that both armies were near the Tormes; and the enemy crossed that river with the greatest part of his troops in the afternoon by the fords between Alba de Tormes and Huerta, and moved by their left towards the road leading to Ciudad Rodrigo.—The allied army, with the exception of the 3d division and gen. D'Urban's cavalry, likewise crossed the Tormes in the evening by the bridge of Salamanca and the fords in the neighbourhood; and I placed the troops in a position of
which

which the right was upon one of the two heights called Dos Arapiles, and the left on the Tormes, below the ford of Santa Martha.---The 3d division and brig.-gen. D'Urban's cavalry were left at Cabrerizos, on the right of the Tormes, as the enemy had still a large corps on the heights above Babilafuente, on the same side of the river; and I considered it not improbable, that finding our army prepared for them in the morning, on the left of the Tormes, they would alter their plan, and manœuvre by the other bank.---In the course of the night of the 21st I received information, of the truth of which I could not doubt, that gen. Chauvel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th, with the cavalry and horse artillery of the army of the north, to join marshal Marmont; and I was quite certain that these troops would join him on the 22d or 23d at the latest.

During the night of the 21st, the enemy had taken possession of the village of Calvaroso de Ariba, and of the height near it, called Nuestra Senora de la Pena, our cavalry being in possession of Calvaroso de Abaxo; and shortly after day-light detachments from both armies attempted to obtain possession of the more distant from our right of the two hills called Dos Arapiles.---The enemy, however, succeeded, their detachment being the strongest, and having been concealed in the woods nearer the hill than we were; by which success they materially strengthened their own position, and had in their power increased means of annoying ours. In the morning the light troops of the 7th division, and the 4th cazadores, belonging to gen. Pack's brigade, were engaged with the enemy on the

height called Nuestra Senora de la Pena; on which height they maintained themselves with the enemy throughout the day. The possession by the enemy, however, of the more distant of the Arapiles, rendered it necessary for me to extend the right of the army en potence to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry; and here I placed the 4th division under the command of the hon. lieut.-gen. Cole. And although, from the variety of the enemy's movements, it was difficult to form a satisfactory judgement of his intentions, I considered that, upon the whole, his objects were upon the left of the Tormes: I therefore ordered the hon. major-gen. Pakenham, who commanded the 3d division in the absence of lieut.-gen. Picton on account of ill-health, to move across the Tormes with the troops under his command, including brig.-gen. D'Urban's cavalry, and to place himself behind Aldea Tejada, brig.-gen. Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry and Don Carlos D'Espana's infantry having been moved up likewise to the neighbourhood of Las Torres, between the 3d and 4th divisions.

After a variety of evolutions and movements, the enemy appears to have determined upon his plan about two in the afternoon; and under cover of a very heavy cannonade, which, however, did us but very little damage, he extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops and by his fire, our post on that of the two Arapiles which we possessed, and from thence to attack and break our line; or, at all events, to render difficult any movement of ours to

our right. The extension of his line to his left, however, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious. I reinforced our right with the 5th division, under lieutenant-gen. Leith, which I placed behind the village of Arapiles, on the right of the 4th division; and with the 6th and 7th divisions in reserve; and as soon as these troops had taken their stations, I ordered the hon. major-gen. Pakenham to move forward with the 3d division, and gen. D'Urban's cavalry and two squadrons of the 14th light dragoons under lieutenant-col. Hervey, in four columns, to turn the enemy's left on the heights, while brig-gen. Bradford's brigade, the 5th division under lieutenant-gen. Leith, the 4th division under the hon. lieutenant-gen. Cole, and the cavalry under lieutenant-gen. sir Stapleton Cotton, should attack them in front, supported in reserve by the 6th under major-gen. Clinton, the 7th under major-gen. Hope, and Don Carlos D'España's Spanish division, and brig-gen. Pack should support the left of the 4th division by attacking that of Dos Arapiles, which the enemy held. The 1st and light divisions occupied the ground on the left, and were in reserve. The attack upon the enemy's left was made in the manner above described, and completely succeeded. Major-general the hon. E. Pakenham formed the 3d division across the enemy's flank, and overthrew every thing opposed to him. These troops were supported in the most gallant style by the Portuguese cavalry under brig-gen.

D'Urban, and lieutenant-col. Hervey's squadrons of the 14th, who successfully defeated every attempt made by the enemy on the flank of the 3d division. Brig-gen. Bradford's brigade, the 5th and 4th divisions, and the cavalry under lieutenant-gen. sir S. Cotton, attacked the enemy in front, and drove his troops before them, from one height to another, bringing forward their right so as to acquire strength upon the enemy's flank in proportion to the advance. Brig-gen. Pack made a very gallant attack upon the Arapiles, in which however he did not succeed, except in diverting the attention of the enemy's corps placed upon it from the troops under the command of lieutenant-gen. Cole in his advance. The cavalry under lieutenant-gen. sir S. Cotton made a most gallant and successful charge against a body of the enemy's infantry, which they overthrew and cut to pieces. In this charge, major-gen. Le Marchant was killed at the head of his brigade; and I have to regret the loss of a most able officer. After the crest of the height was carried, one division of the enemy's infantry made a stand against the 4th division, which after a severe contest was obliged to give way, in consequence of the enemy having thrown some troops on the left of the 4th division, after the failure of brig-gen. Pack's attack upon the Arapiles, and the hon. lieutenant-gen. Cole having been wounded. Marshal sir W. Beresford, who happened to be on the spot, directed brig-gen. Spry's brigade of the 5th division, which was in the second line, to change its front, and to bring its fire on the flank of the enemy's division; and I am sorry to add, that while engaged in this service, he received a wound,

a wound, which I am apprehensive will deprive me of the benefit of his counsel and assistance for some time. Nearly about the same time lieut.-gen. Leith received a wound, which unfortunately obliged him to quit the field. I ordered up the 6th division under major-gen. Clinton to relieve the 4th, and the battle was very soon restored to its former success.

The enemy's right, however, reinforced by the troops which had fled from his left, and by those which had now retired from the Arapiles, still continued to resist; and I ordered the 1st and light divisions, and col. Stubbs's Portuguese brigade of the 4th division, (which had been re-formed,) and major-gen. W. Anson's brigade, likewise of the 4th division, to turn the right, while the 6th division supported by the 3d and 5th attacked the front. It was dark before this point was carried by the 6th division, and the enemy fled through the woods towards the Tormes. I pursued them with the 1st and light divisions, and major-gen. W. Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and some squadrons of cavalry under lieut.-gen. sir S. Cotton, as long as we could find any of them together, directing our march upon Huerta and the fords of the Tormes, by which the enemy had passed on their advance; but the darkness of the night was highly advantageous to the enemy, many of whom escaped under its cover, who must otherwise have been in our hands.—I am sorry to report, that owing to this same cause lieut.-gen. sir S. Cotton was unfortunately wounded by one of our own sentinels, after he had halted.

We renewed the pursuit at break of day, with the same troops, and

major-gen. Bock and major-gen. Anson's brigades of cavalry, which joined during the night; and having crossed the Tormes, we came up with the enemy's rear guard of cavalry and infantry near La Serena: they were immediately attacked by the two brigades of dragoons, when the cavalry fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. I have never witnessed a more gallant charge than was made on the enemy's infantry by the heavy brigade of the king's German legion, under major-gen. Bock, which was completely successful, and the whole body of the enemy's infantry, consisting of three battalions of the enemy's first division, were made prisoners.—The pursuit was afterwards continued as far as Penaranda last night, and our troops are still following the flying enemy. Their head quarters were in this town, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle, for a few hours last night; and they are now considerably advanced on the road to Valladolid by Arevalo. They were joined yesterday on their retreat by the cavalry and artillery of the army of the north, which have arrived at too late a period, it is to be hoped, to be of much use to them.

It is impossible to form a conjecture of the amount of the enemy's loss in this action; but from all reports it is very considerable. We have taken from them 11 pieces of cannon, several ammunition-wagons, two eagles, and six colours; and one general, 3 cols., 3 lieut.-cols., 150 officers of inferior rank, and between 6 and 7000 men are prisoners, and our detachment are sending in more every minute. The number of dead on the field is very large.—I am informed that marshal Marmont is badly wound-

ed, and has lost one of his arms : and that four general officers have been killed, and several wounded. Such an advantage could not have been acquired without material loss on our side ; but it certainly has not been of a magnitude to distress the army, or to cripple its operations.—I have great pleasure in reporting to your lordship, that, throughout this trying day, of which I have related the events, I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the general officers and troops.—The relation which I have written of its events will give a general idea of the share each individual had in them ; and I cannot say too much in praise of the conduct of every individual in his station.

[His lordship here expresses his satisfaction at the conduct of the general officers and troops, and observes that, where the conduct of all has been conspicuously good, it must be matter of regret that the necessary limits of a dispatch prevent his drawing lord Bathurst's attention to the conduct of a large number of individuals. He then enumerates the following, to whose services, valour, and zeal, he is particularly indebted. Marshal Beresford (for friendly counsel and assistance), lieutenant-generals sir S. Cotton, Leith, and Cole ; major-generals Clinton, E. Pakenham, W. Anson, Hulse, G. Anson, and Pringle (who commanded the division after Gen. Leith was wounded) ; colonels. Hinde, Stubbs, Ponsonby (who commanded major-gen. Marchant's brigade after the fall of that officer), and Douglas, 8th Port. reg. ; brig.-generals Bradford, Spry, Pack, Power, (Portuguese service) ; and Conde de Rezendi ; lieutenant-colonels. Campbell 94th, Williams 60th, Wallace 88th, Ellis 23d, Greville

38th, all commanding brigades ; likewise lieutenant-col. Bingham 53d, brig.-gen. D'Urban, lieutenant-col. Hervey, 14th light dragoons ; colonel E. Somerset, 4th drag. ; and lieutenant-col. F. Ponsonby, 12th light drag.—Lieut.-colonel Woodford, commanding the light batt. of the brigade of the guards, supported by two companies of the fusiliers under the command of capt. Crowther, maintained the village of Arapiles against all the efforts of the enemy, previous to the attack upon their position by our troops. The royal and German artillery, under lieutenant-col. Framingham, distinguished themselves by the accuracy of their fire. Lieutenant-col. De Lancy, deputy quarter-master gen. and to the officers of that department and of the staff corps, for the assistance received, particularly lieutenant-colonels Dundas and Sturgeon of the latter, and major Scovell of the former ; to lieutenant-col. Waters, head of the adjutant-general's department, as well at head-quarters as with the several divisions of the army ; and lieutenant-col. lord F. Somerset, with the officers of his lordship's personal staff. Among the latter, the conduct of the hereditary prince of Orange, which has acquired for him the respect and regard of the whole army, is recommended particularly to the prince-regent's attention. Of the Spaniards, Don Carlos D'Espagna, brig. Don J. Sanchez, with their respective troops ; also Don M. Alaga and brig. Don J. O'Lawlor, from whom, and from the Spanish authorities, his lordship received every assistance. His lordship praises also the merits of the civil officers of the army, and observes that, notwithstanding the distance from the magazines, and the country being exhausted, nothing had been wanted,

wanted, owing to the diligence and attention of the commissary general Mr. Bissett.—By the attention and ability of Dr. Macgregor, and of the officers of the department under his charge, the wounded of the allies, as well as those of the enemy, have been well taken care of, and many will be saved to the service.—Capt. lord Clinton had the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness the prince regent the eagles and colours taken from the enemy in the action near Salamanca.]

Olmedo, July 28, 1812.

The army have continued their march in pursuit of the enemy since I addressed you on the 24th inst. and we have continued to take many prisoners. A part of the enemy's army crossed the Douro yesterday near Puente de Douro, and the remainder, their left wing, were in march towards the bridge of Tudela this morning at nine o'clock, when I last heard from our advanced posts.—The main body of our allied army is this day on the Adaja and Zapardiel rivers in this neighbourhood; the light cavalry being in front in pursuit of the enemy.—It appears that Joseph Bonaparte left Madrid on the 21st with the army of the centre, supposed to consist of from 10 to 12,000 infantry, and from 2 to 3000 cavalry, and he directed his march by the Escorial upon Alba de Tormes. He arrived at Blasco Sancho, between Avila and Arevalo, on the 25th, where he heard of the defeat of marshal Marmont, and he retired in the evening, and between that time and the evening of the 26th he marched through Villa Castin to Espinor. A non-commissioned officer's patrol of the 14th light dragoons and 1st Hussars, from Arevalo, took in Blas-

co Sancho on the evening of the 25th, shortly after Joseph Bonaparte had left the place, 2 officers and 27 men of his own cavalry, who had been left there to follow his rear guard. I have reason to believe that Joseph Bonaparte had no regular account of the action of the 22d till he passed the Puerta Guadarrama yesterday; but he then returned, and was directing his march upon Segovia. I have not yet heard how far he had advanced. All accounts concur in the great loss sustained by the army of Portugal.—By accounts from lieut.-gen. sir R. Hill to the 24th inst. it appears that the enemy had in some degree reinforced their troops in Estramadura. The lieut.-gen. had removed to Zafra. It is reported that gen. Ballasteros had marched on another expedition towards Malaga, and that he was opposed by a division of the army of the south under gen. Laval. I have not received detailed accounts of comm. sir Home Popham's operations on the coast since the capture of Sequeito; but I understand that he has taken Castro Urdiales. [Here follow the names of the officers killed and wounded of the army under lord Wellington, near Castragon, 18th July, 1812.]

21. Circulars have been issued by the secretary at war, announcing, that the rates of pensions for disabled soldiers, as fixed by his majesty's warrant of the 7th of October, 1806, are to be extended in the following proportion, viz. To every serjeant who shall have lost more than one limb, or who shall have received such other bodily injury as to render him totally incapable of earning a livelihood, or to subject him to the necessity of requiring personal assistance, a rate of pension, not exceeding *per diem* 3s. 6d.;

6d. ; to every corporal, ditto, *per diem*, 3s. ; to every private, ditto, *per diem*, 2s. 6d. The commissioners of Chelsea hospital have been instructed to govern themselves by those rules in admitting claims of the description referred to.

It appears, from the official account presented to the house of commons, that the net produce of duties arising from stamps, in England, on newspapers and almanacks, together with the produce of duties on advertisements, for the year ending Jan. 5 last, was 415,000*l*. The number of newspapers printed in London is about 54, and in the rest of England about 114.

A memorial from some merchants interested in the trade of New South Wales, praying for leave to import direct from thence a considerable quantity of mother of pearl, and pearl shells, the produce of a new fishery contiguous to Otaheite, was lately referred from the board of trade to the East India company, who have refused their permission, unless the pearl shall be laden on board vessels chartered by the company from Botany Bay to China, and from thence to England, with tea. The company's charter, it seems, warrants this dictation, or prohibition.

SEPTEMBER.

GERMANY.

The king of Prussia has been for some time considered a prisoner in his own capital (Berlin), and may now be said to be virtually deposed : he is gone to the waters of Toplitz, leaving baron Hardenberg to act in his name ; as he "does not desire to be troubled with business while taking the baths."—The government of Ber-

lin is under the sole direction of the French.

SICILY.

The parliament of Sicily has consented to abolish vassalage, villeinage, and all feudal rights on that island, and to form a new constitution on the model of the British. This determination has diffused general joy among the natives of Sicily, who look forward with eager hope to the benefits to be derived from these measures, under the protection of the British government.

SPAIN.

The Regency gazette of the 8th of August contains a decree of the cortes for the erection, in the fields of Salamanca, of "a grateful monument," which shall constantly call to the recollection of latest generations the memorable and glorious battle of the 22d of July, and of the union and valour of the allied army under the duke of Ciudad Rodrigo.

The insignia of the order of the golden fleece have been sent by the Spanish regency to the marquis of Wellington : it is magnificently set with brilliants, and is the same as had belonged to the infant don Louis.

According to the enemy's account of the battle of Salamanca, Marmont forced the allies to Salamanca ; when being resolved on battle, and occupied in the final arrangements, he was struck by a shell, which broke his right arm. Clauzel, who succeeded him, it is said, had determined on retreating when this accident took place, which he effected after some hours' fighting, followed by the English cavalry. This is certainly "lying like truth." The unofficial account of this battle in the French papers says,

says, that "the wound the duke of Ragusa received on the field of battle caused a moment of indecision, which alone saved the enemy from a total defeat. The English sustained too great a loss to pursue; and the French regained their former position, with all their artillery and baggage, where they are awaiting reinforcements."

The siege of Cadiz by the French commenced on the 6th of February, 1810, and was raised on the 25th of last month; a period of two years six months and 19 days of attack and resistance.

ASIA.

The occupation of the fortress of Kallinjur, in Pandelcund, by col. Martindell's force, is now confirmed; the assault was made on the 2d Feb. The three columns employed were led by lieutenant-col. Mawbey, lieutenant-col. R. Fraser, and major Cumberlege. On arriving under the walls, the party was surprised to find the ascent impracticable: a precipice 20 feet high, and for the last six feet nearly perpendicular, was to be surmounted before they could gain the breach. After an ineffectual struggle of two hours, the retreat was sounded. Our loss was considerable. The killed and wounded of the 53d regiment, we understand, to 122 men; among whom are included all the officers present, except col. Mawbey and another. This loss fell principally on the grenadier company, who led the storm, and who are said to have been 70 strong when they advanced to the breach, having returned only 17. The native part of the columns suffered comparatively little, having only 58 killed and wounded in all. Capt. J. Fraser and lieutenant and adjutant Nice, of the 53d, lost their lives by

musket shots. Capt. Cuppage, of that corps, is mentioned as dangerously wounded; as were also capt. Courtman and Andrews, and lieutenants Stuart, Stone, Young, Booth, Davies, and Cruice. The only officer of the company's service who is said to have suffered is lieutenant R. C. Faithful, of the pioneers, who received a severe contusion from a stone in the side.—The kelledar of the fort then renewed his negotiations, and surrendered by capitulation.

A letter from Serampore, dated March the 12th, gives an account of a fire which broke out in the printing-office at the Mission-house, on the evening of the 11th March, destroying 2000 reams of English paper, worth 5000*l.* and founts of type in 14 languages, besides English. The loss could not be less than 12,000*l.* and all the literary labours of the missionaries were interrupted at once.

Accounts have lately been received by government, announcing that a definitive treaty of alliance has been concluded between this country and Persia, by sir Gore Ouseley. The terms of the treaty are represented as highly favourable to British interests, and as well calculated to unite the two countries in the bonds of a lasting and advantageous connection.

AFRICA.

Letters from Gibraltar of the 5th ult. notice the arrival, in the bay, of colonel Lear, United States consul at Algiers, in the Allegany. The dey, it appears, refused to receive the cargo of naval and military stores sent him by the United States, as different in quantity and quality from what he expected, and ordered all Americans to leave Algiers in the Allegany. This conduct of the dey is equivalent to a declaration

declaration of war, and it is supposed that his squadron has orders to capture all American vessels they may meet with.

AMERICA.

From the short period of the declaration of war, the Americans have fitted out 220 privateers, which have been very successful in capturing English vessels. Most of their merchantmen will be converted into this species of force.

Hostilities have already commenced on the borders of Canada; and an American force, composed of 2000 of the neighbouring militia, passed the river on the night of the 11th of July, and took possession of the town of Sandwich, two miles below Detroit. On the 13th, the standard of the United States was erected in Canada, and a proclamation published, inviting the Canadian militia to retire to their homes, and promising peaceable and friendly treatment to the inhabitants on condition of neutrality. Considerable fear seems to be entertained of the junction of the Indians with the British; and the proclamation declares, that if they are once brought forward, no quarter is to be given. The next operation was to be an attack on Fort Malden, a work represented as of considerable strength.

A meeting of the inhabitants of Boston was held on the 18th ult.; at which a number of resolutions were unanimously agreed to, stigmatizing "the late unnecessary and ruinous declaration of war against Great Britain, and the consequent connection with France, as fatal to the American union, and destructive of the independence and liberty of the American people."

In Edenton, a district of North Carolina, U. S. a hail-storm was experienced in June, which extend-

ed its ravages to the distance of four miles, destroying the crops, leveling the houses, and killing some hundreds of cattle. The ordinary size of some of the hail-stones was a turkey's egg; but one was taken up which measured 11 inches in circumference. Two days subsequently, a whirlwind attacked the woods in the neighbourhood, and destroyed what had escaped the ravages of the hail-storm. Next day the inhabitants of a district, about 25 miles distant, were surprised by the appearance of a cloud, from which descended a quantity of bushes, large branches of trees, and other vegetable matter, which was, no doubt, a part of the foliage from the woods at Edenton.

DREADFUL RIOT IN BALTIMORE.

The Federal Republican, a journal of some celebrity, published in Baltimore, had rendered itself noxious by its opposition to the war measures of the popular party. Summary extinction was the only expedient that suggested itself to the mob of Baltimore; and an attack was made on the house of Mr. Hanson, the editor, in South Charles-street. The attack began at midnight of the 27th of July, and was resisted from the inside by a number of his friends, who had assembled with fire-arms. Each time the mob attempted to break in they were repulsed, and driven back. In this contest, a Dr. Gale was shot, and three or four others wounded. The mob at length planted a field-piece against the house; when about 60 of the military, with the mayor at their head, interposed. In the morning the house was evacuated, and its defenders consented to go into the town gaol for security, under the guarantee of a general Striker and the mayor.

In

In the afternoon the mob, on the suggestion of a public journal, which declared that "every man who was in Hanson's house ought to be put to death by the people," re-assembled, attacked the gaol, and fell upon the prisoners with clubs and knives. Some of them rushed out and escaped; the others were wounded, and left for dead outside the prison. Gen. Lingan, a man 70 years old, was killed on the spot; general Lee, the celebrated partisan in the American war, was stabbed, and had his skull fractured: he was not expected to survive. Mr. J. Thompson was beaten with clubs, and afterwards tarred and feathered. The civil authority, though apprized of the outrage, stood aloof. The mayor, it is believed, purposely absented himself. The militia refused to turn out, and the mob were left to execute the full measure of their premeditated vengeance. So much for the freedom of the press, and of public opinion, in the United States!—The sufferers were mostly volunteers from Alexandria and Montgomery county to defend the Federal Republican.

The war has created the greatest possible irritation and animosity in the United States; and part of the militia of the latter, it is said, has refused to march. Gen. Lingan's murder at Baltimore has excited a universal cry of disgust and indignation against the French party. The general was formerly collector of the customs at George-town, and was a great favourite of general Washington, to whom he owed his appointment.

WEST-INDIES.

Another revolution has taken place in St. Domingo. Petion, after his late advantage over Chris-

tophe, obtained possession of St. Mark's, Cape Nicholas Mole, and Gonaives, and was advancing to take possession of Cape François, Fort Dauphin, and all the north. Christophe himself fled into the mountains with only a handful of men,—his staff-officers had abandoned him to join Petion.

HIGH TIDE.

A remarkable circumstance took place at Folkstone: after the tide had ebbed in the usual way for three hours, it suddenly rose three feet perpendicular, and as suddenly ebbed, which was repeated three times in less than a quarter of an hour. This phenomenon is generally thought to have been caused by some great convulsion of nature.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, Sept. 4. Major Burgh, aide-de-camp to the marquis of Wellington, has arrived at lord Bathurst's office with dispatches from lord Wellington, dated Madrid, the 13th and 15th ult. of which the following are extracts:

Madrid, Aug. 13.

Having found that the army under marshal Marmont continued their retreat upon Burgos, in a state not likely to take the field again for some time, I determined to bring Joseph Bonaparte to a general action, or force him to quit Madrid. Accordingly I moved from Cuellar on the 6th inst. We arrived at Segovia on the 7th, and at St. Ildefonso on the 8th, where I halted one day, to allow the right of the army more time to come up.—No opposition was made to the passage of the troops through the mountains; and brig.-general D'Urban, with the Portuguese cavalry and 1st light battalion of the king's German legion, and capt.

capt. Macdonald's troop of horse artillery, had been through the Guadarama-pass since the 9th. He moved forward on the morning of the 11th from the neighbourhood of Galapagas, and, supported by the heavy cavalry of the king's German legion from Torrelodones, he drove in the French cavalry, about 2000 in number, and placed himself at Majalahonda, with the Portuguese cavalry and capt. Macdonald's troop, and the cavalry and light infantry of the king's German legion at Las Royas, about three-quarters of a mile distant.—The enemy's cavalry, which had been driven off in the morning, and had moved towards Naval Carnero, returned about five in the afternoon, and brig.-general D'Urban having formed the Portuguese cavalry in front of Majalahonda, supported by the horse artillery, ordered the cavalry to charge the enemy's leading squadrons, which appeared too far advanced to be supported by their main body. The Portuguese cavalry advanced to the attack, but unfortunately turned about before they reached the enemy; and they fled through the village of Majalahonda, and back again upon the German dragoons, leaving behind them, unprotected and unsupported, those guns of capt. Macdonald's troop, which had been moved forward to co-operate with the cavalry. By the activity of the officers and soldiers of capt. Macdonald's troop, the guns were, however, moved off; but, owing to the unfavourable nature of the ground over which they were moved, the carriage of one was broken, and the two others were overturned; and these three guns fell into the enemy's hands.—The Portuguese dragoons having fled through Majalahonda, were

rallied and re-formed upon the heavy dragoons of the king's German legion, which were formed between that village and Las Royas. The German cavalry charged the enemy, although under many disadvantages, and stopped their further progress; but, I am sorry to say, they suffered considerable loss, and that colonel Jonquieres, who commanded the brigade, was taken prisoner. The left of the army was about two miles and a half distant, at the Puente de Ratamar, on the Guadarama river; and colonel Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry and a brigade of infantry of the 7th division having moved forward to the support of the troops in advance, the enemy retired upon Majalahonda as soon as they observed these troops; and night having come on, they retired upon Alcorcon, leaving our guns at Majalahonda.—I am happy to report that the officers of the Portuguese cavalry behaved remarkably well, and showed a good example to their men, particularly the visconde de Barbacena, who was taken prisoner. The conduct of the brave German cavalry was, I understand, excellent; as was that of captain Macdonald's troop of horse artillery. The light infantry battalion was not engaged.—The army moved forward yesterday morning, and its left took possession of the city of Madrid, Joseph Bonaparte having retired with the army of the centre by the roads of Toledo and Aranjuez, leaving a garrison in the Retiro.—It is impossible to describe the joy manifested by the inhabitants of Madrid on our arrival; and I hope that the prevalence of the same sentiments of detestation of the French yoke, and of a strong desire to secure the independence of their country, which first induced them

them to set the example of resistance to the usurper, will induce them to make exertions in the cause of their country, which will be more efficacious than those formerly made.—I have not yet heard that Astorga has fallen; but the garrison which the enemy left in Tordesillas, about 260 in number, surrendered to general Santocildes on the 5th inst. I have no further reports of the situation of general Ballasteros since the 21st of July. I have letters from gen. J. O'Donnell and gen. Roche of the 26th of July; and the army of Murcia, under the command of the former, was defeated by gen. D'Harispe on the 21st of July. It appears that the Spanish troops moved forward to attack gen. D'Harispe's posts at Castilla and at Ybi: those which attacked the former were repulsed with the loss of 2000 men and two pieces of cannon; those who attacked the latter, under the command of gen. Roche, conducted themselves remarkably well, and covered the retreat of the troops under gen. O'Donnell, and afterwards effected their own retreat, in good order, to Alicante.

Madrid, August 15.

I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, that the garrison of the Retiro surrendered by capitulation yesterday; and I have now the honour to inclose a translation of the capitulation.—We invested the place completely on the evening of the 13th; and in the night detachments of the 7th division of infantry, under the command of major-gen. Hope, and of the third division of infantry, under general the hon. E. Pakenham, drove in the enemy's posts from the Prado and the Botanical Garden, and the works

which they had constructed outside of the park-wall; and having broken through the wall in different places, they were established in the palace of the Retiro, and close to the exterior of the enemy's works, inclosing the building called La China.—The troops were preparing in the morning to attack those works, preparatory to the arrangements to be adopted for the attack of the interior line and building, when the governor sent out an officer to desire to capitulate, and I granted him the honours of war, the baggage of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, &c. as specified in the inclosed agreement.—I inclose a return of the strength of the garrison, which marched out yesterday at four o'clock, on their road to Ciudad Rodrigo. We have found in this place 189 pieces of brass ordnance, in excellent condition; 900 barrels of powder; 20,000 stand of arms; and considerable magazines of clothing, provisions, and ammunition.—We have likewise found the eagles of the 13th and 51st regiments, which I forward to England, to be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, by my aide-de-camp major Burgh.—I see, by a letter from gen. Ballasteros to lieutenant-gen. sir R. Hill, of the 29th of July, that he had been in Malaga on the 14th of that month, after an engagement with gen. Laval, near Coin. Gen. Ballasteros was at Grazelena on the 29th. I have a letter from lieutenant-gen. sir R. Hill, of the 8th inst.; and although gen. Drouot had been in movement for three days, it does not appear that his movements were of any importance.—I inclose returns of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the affair at Majalahonda, on the 11th inst.

and

and of the loss in the attack of the works of the Retiro.—This dispatch will be delivered by my aide-de-camp major Burgh, who will be able to explain any further circumstances relating to our situation; and I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.—P. S. Since writing this dispatch, I have received a letter of the 10th inst. from gen. Maitland, from Alicante, in which that officer informs me that he had on that day landed at that place.

Capitulation proposed by gen. the earl of Wellington, commander in chief of the allied army, and accepted by col. La Fond, commandant of the Fort of La China, August 14, 1812.

Art. I. The garrison shall march out of the fort with the honours of war, and shall lay down their arms on the glacis.—II. The garrison, and persons of every description in the fort, shall be prisoners of war.—III. The officers shall be allowed to retain their swords, their baggage, and their horses, according to the number allowed them by the regulations of the French army; and the soldiers shall keep their knapsacks.—IV. The magazines of the fort of every description shall be delivered to the officers of the respective departments; and the French commandants of artillery and of engineers shall furnish lists of the contents of each dépôt. The plans of the fort shall also be delivered to the commanding officer of the British engineers.—V. This capitulation shall take place at four o'clock in the afternoon, and the gates of the fort shall be occupied by the troops of the allied army as soon as this capitulation is ratified.

Signed on the part of general the earl of Wellington,

FITZROY SOMERSET, lieut.-col. and mil. sec.

Ratified, WELLINGTON.

Signed on the part of col. La Fond, R. DE LA BRUNE.

This capitulation is ratified by the colonel commanding the fort of La China,

(Signed) LA FOND.

8. This night, at Margate, a most extraordinary phenomenon appeared in the heavens. A large ball of fire made its appearance from the south, and flew towards the north: it had a long tail, and Margate was as light as if the sun had shone during the time it passed over it, which was about half a minute, when it fell towards the sea.

18. Church advowsons.—The rev. Mr. Helps, rector of Wharton, Notts, worth 900*l.* a year, was opposed in his intention of taking the benefit of the insolvent act, at the Surrey sessions, on the ground of fraud, in not inserting in his schedule the living, for the benefit of his creditors, and the furnished house he lived in at Bath at the time of his arrest. Mr. Barrow argued, that such livings were by law liable to debts, after the bishop had, as in this instance, carved out a provision for the curate of 80*l.* per ann. Mr. Nolan, for the prisoner, contended, that only in cases of bonds, or judgements recovered in the bishop's own court, could he sue out his writ of *levari facias*, and that there was no power under acts of insolvency to touch this church living; for nothing should be inserted in a schedule but what could pass, and by the present schedule all the right of the prisoner in this living will pass without any insertion.

insertion, since the law did not require it; he should, even in respect for the prisoner's cloth, forbid his drawing such a cloak over himself as such an insertion in the schedule. The living is under sequestration, except the 80*l.* a year for the curate; for a debt of 3,000*l.* and the prisoner, by good advice, refuses to insert it in his schedule.

21. The trial of J. Lomas, aged 20, for the murder of his master, G. Morrey, farmer, and Edith Morrey, wife of the deceased, for aiding and assisting him in the said murder, came on at the Chester assizes. There had been a criminal correspondence between Lomas and his mistress, which induced the latter to urge him to kill her husband. The deceased, while asleep in bed, was attacked by Lomas, who fractured his skull with an axe, and afterwards cut his throat: his mistress then gave an alarm, pretending that the deed had been perpetrated by ruffians who had broken into the house. Lomas feigned to be asleep in bed when informed of what had happened, but his guilt was manifest from his shirt, coat, &c. being bathed in blood: he confessed his guilt. Edith Morrey, when apprehended, cut her throat with a razor, but the wound was sewed, and she recovered: she has several children. After a long trial, both were found guilty. Lomas was executed, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence; but Edith Morrey pleading pregnancy, her execution was deferred. But it has since taken place.

24. A late gazette announced that the prince regent had granted to the marquis of Wellington a royal augmentation in the dexter quarter of the arms of Wellesley, to consist of an escutcheon charged with the crosses of St. George, St.

Andrew, and St. Patrick, being the union badge of the united kingdom.

30. The French eagles captured at Salamanca were deposited, with military and appropriate ceremony, in the royal chapel at Whitehall.

A handsome provision has been made for the family of the gallant general Le Marchant, who died with 36 balls in his body, while advancing and cheering at the head of his men. To the eldest son a pension is given of 300*l.* a year, to each of the five daughters 120*l.* a year, and to each of the three younger sons 100*l.*—making in all 1200*l.* a year.

By order of the lords of the admiralty, a distribution of the Scriptures is immediately to take place in the royal navy, as follows: one copy of the New Testament, two Common Prayers, with two Psalters, for every eight men, and one Bible to every two messes.

The scaffolding before Drury-lane theatre has been taken down, and the public have now a full view of the principal front. The architecture is simple and elegant, and its uniformity must strike every beholder. The front in Brydges-street is the only part which is stuccoed at present; but it is intended that the whole shall be done as soon as the finances will allow. The house was lighted up on Thursday night, to judge of the effect. The audience part of the house forms three-fourths of a circle, which, making some little allowance for the deviation in the drop within the proscenium, may be said to be completed by the circular sweep which connects the outer wall of the boxes with the proscenium. The view of the stage is relieved by the appearance on either side of two magnificent Herculean columns, re-

presenting verde antique marble. Columns of a similar description ornament the grand saloon. The lustres by which the house is to be lighted are made from designs formed by the architect. On the staircases at each pillar are to be placed antique lamps. Melpomene and Thalia are to be placed in the niches on either side of the proscenium, above the cornice; and the royal arms are to be painted on the semicircular pannel formed by the arch which appears to surmount the two pillars over the proscenium. The uniform shape of the back wall of the boxes gives an unobstructed range to the sound, at the same time that its thickness (three feet) is an effectual security against the spreading of flames. In the corridors which surround and lead to the boxes, the floors are formed of stone, and rest upon brick arches without any intermixture of timber. Another wall, three feet thick, surrounds these corridors. By an invention of colonel Congreve, water is laid on to all parts of the building, and the reservoir will contain 200 hogsheads, which will supply the pipes for half an hour; and the directors of the York-buildings waterworks are engaged, by means of steam engines, to replenish the reservoir. The scenes will move on an iron railway. The whole building will be completed for 112,000*l.* The expense, including lamps, lustres, stoves, grates, furniture of the most tasteful and costly description, and architect's commission, will not exceed 125,000*l.*; and the whole amount of expenditure, including scenery, wardrobe, and all the other property necessary to be provided for opening the theatre for theatrical performances, will not exceed 150,000*l.*

OCTOBER.

ASIA.

1. A dangerous mutiny has been detected at Travancore. It appears that two of the native corps, making part of the subsidiary force of that kingdom, had meditated the butchery of their European officers, at an entertainment given by lieutenant-col. Munro, the British resident. The object of the conspirators was, after the massacre, to assist the Pychee rajah, a refractory and deposed prince on the Malabar, in recovering his lost musnud. Owing to the absence of some of the principals, the execution of their design was postponed, and, soon after, a sepoy to the adjutant of the 14th native battalion made a full confession of the treason. Two of the native officers, a jemidar and havildar, who were the ringleaders, were, by order of lieutenant-col. Hall commanding the subsidiary force, blown from a gun in front of the troops drawn up to witness their sentence. Several nairs and faquirs were subsequently hung, and these seasonable punishments are said to have suppressed the mutiny.

AMERICA.

The tone of the prints in the interest of the government is hostile in the extreme; and it is openly avowed, that the repeal of the orders in council will not be regarded as sufficient to produce conciliation.

Dispatches from sir G. Prevost, governor in chief of the British provinces in North America, announce the surrender of gen. Hull, with his whole army, as prisoners of war, together with the capture of Fort Detroit and 33 pieces of cannon, on the 16th of August. As a counterpoise to the above agree-

agreeable intelligence, we are concerned to state, that the *Guerriere* frigate, capt. Dacres, has been captured by the *Constitution* American frigate.

It appears from general Hull's dispatch, that he had not a single cannon or mortar fit for battering, and only one engineer, who fell sick. When he capitulated, he had powder for only one day, and provisions for a very few more. Gen. Hull trusted solely to treachery, and to the disaffection which he foolishly thought himself able to create in Canada. Of this base and despicable policy he was the willing tool, and is now become the sacrifice.

According to the latest American papers, the British army was advancing against Plattsburgh, Sackett's harbour, and other stations on the banks of Lake Champlain. Plattsburgh was garrisoned by 2000 men: it was a grand dépôt for stores, and would, if taken, be another dreadful blow to the war party. The Americans begin to be dissatisfied with the inactivity of general Dearborn, whose head-quarters have been removed from Albany and Greenbush to Cumberland, without his undertaking any military operation of moment.

The St. Vincent's journal states, that on the 1st July the Wallibow river, which had been prevented flowing by the masses of ignited substances ejected into it during the late eruption, and near the mouth of which a vast lake of four acres extent had been formed, suddenly overflowed, in consequence of the heavy fall of rain, when the flood burst through the barriers of volcanic combustibles with irresistible fury: such was its destructive impetuosity, that it completely inundated the adjacent valley, and be-

sides its ravages in bearing down a number of negro houses, several lives were lost, and others so dreadfully scalded from the river of liquid fire which overwhelmed them, that their lives are despaired of. The mountain, too, during the dreadful scene, had a return of one of its terrific fever fits; its roarings caused a general consternation; and the following night, about 11 o'clock, a most violent concussion of the earth, such as the oldest inhabitants never experienced, was felt all over the island.

A letter from New Orleans, dated August 21, says, "On Wednesday night last, about ten o'clock, a gale commenced, occasionally accompanied with rain and hail, and which continued with dreadful violence for four hours. The market-house, a large and solid building, was entirely demolished; its brick columns, of two feet diameter, swept down as though their weighty construction presented no obstacle whatever to the elements. The roof was carried off from the church of the convent; the fence surrounding which, as also the trees in the garden, many whereof are remarkably large, were levelled to the ground. The tin covering of the theatres, nailed on in such a manner as would certainly have resisted any ordinary force, was twisted and torn off as though it were mere paper. A great part of the brick wall surrounding the garrison was beat down. But the scene presented to us on visiting the shore who shall attempt to describe? The level almost entirely destroyed—the beach covered with fragments of 60 vessels, merchandize, trunks, &c. and here and there the eye falling upon a mangled corpse. All the shipping below town high and dry in the woods. All the river-craft,

barges, market-boats, &c. were entirely broken to pieces. As far as we have heard from the country, the ravages have been terrible—the planters' dwellings, sugar-houses, &c. demolished; and we have reason to fear that nearly the whole crop of sugar will be lost. On the day previous to the hurricane it was discovered that an insurrection among the negroes was intended."

A counter-revolution has taken place in Venezuela, South America. The city of Caraccas capitulated to the royalist army, under general Monteverde, on the 28th July, and La Guira surrendered at discretion on the 31st. The well-known Miranda attempted to escape from La Guira on board an English schooner for Curaçoa, but the captain delivered him up. This counter-revolution, according to the American papers, was owing to the influence of the ecclesiastics, who impressed upon the minds of the weak and superstitious inhabitants, that the late earthquake was a visitation from heaven, in consequence of their defection from Ferdinand VII.

Buenos Ayres gazettes have been received to the 19th of August, and private letters to the 20th of the same month. This unhappy colony is still destined to be the scene of anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. From about the 2d of July to the beginning of August, the city of Buenos Ayres was in a state of the utmost commotion. The cause of this is said to have been the dissatisfaction which the European Spaniards had conceived, on account of the abject condition in which they were held by the junta of Buenos Ayres. Hence they are said to have conceived the idea of overturning the existing government, with the view of taking into their own hands the supreme au-

thority. They failed in their project, and upwards of 200 of the conspirators (comprising the first class of merchants) were made prisoners, of whom 25 were shot.

BALLOON.

4. Mr. Sadler ascended in his balloon from Belvedere-house, near Dublin, at one o'clock in the afternoon, with the wind at south-west, and in 35 minutes had sight of the mountains in Wales; he continued in the same direction till three o'clock; when being nearly over the Isle of Man, the wind blowing fresh, he found himself fast approaching the Welsh coast; and at four o'clock he had a distinct view of the Skerry light-house, and the prospect of consummating his ardent hopes of a speedy arrival in Liverpool. The wind shifting, he was unfortunately driven back; and night coming on, and perceiving five vessels, he precipitated himself into the sea. Notwithstanding his perilous situation, the fear of getting entangled deterred the men of the nearest vessel from coming to him, until he begged they would run their bowsprit through the balloon, which was dragging his car rapidly through the water. The men having done as he desired, the gas of the balloon escaped; and having thrown out a line which he wound round his arm, he was taken on board quite exhausted. In this situation he was conveyed to Liverpool, after being provided with clothes, and returned to Dublin by the way of Holyhead.

DREADFUL ACCIDENTS.

Fourteen men, belonging to Conway, went out in a small boat to finish the loading of a flat lying near Ormshead, bound with pavement flags for Liverpool. They left the vessel about ten at night. Their cries were heard as if in great danger, but no assistance could be rendered

rendered to them. One loud yell was heard, after which there was universal silence. Next morning the boat was found full of water, and drifted up the river. Ten of the men have left large families. Eleven widows were made, and thirty-five children left fatherless. None of the bodies have been found.

Three families, consisting of Mrs. Shute, wife of R. Shute, esq. of Sydenham, Kent, and sister to Mrs. Langley, of Water-house, near Bath; her daughters, Mary, Margaret, Eliza, and Anne; Miss Fisher, also sister to Mrs. Langley; Mr. Mrs. and Miss Rothery, of Bath; accompanied by a man-servant, arrived at Chepstow in two chaises, and after proceeding to view Tintern-abbey on the Wye, returned with the tide in a pleasure boat. They were already within sight of Chepstow, and were preparing to land before the bridge about eight in the evening, when, on coming through the centre arch, where a brig was moored across, the rope taking the bottom of the boat upset it. Every exertion was made to render assistance; but out of ten persons seven perished, including the footman. The survivors are Misses A. and E. Shute, Mr. Rothery, and two boatmen. Mr. Rothery made three attempts to save his wife; and succeeded each time, but was as often obliged to relinquish his hold by his struggling friends clinging to him. The pilot who so reprehensibly moored the vessel across is J. Halford, of Bristol; and a fine of 100*l.* has been levied on him by the magistrates.

Downing-street, Oct. 5. Extract of a dispatch from general the marquis of Wellington, k. b.

Villa de Toro, near Burgos, Sep. 21.

I continued to follow the enemy

with the troops under my command till the 16th, when I was joined at Pampliega by three divisions of infantry, and a small body of cavalry, of the army of Galicia; his excellency the captain-general Castanos having arrived at head-quarters on the 14th. The enemy had on the 16th taken a strong position on the heights behind Celada de Camino, and arrangements were made to attack them on the morning of the 17th; but the enemy retired in the night, and they were driven on the 17th to the heights close to Burgos. They retired through the town in the night, leaving behind them some clothing and other stores, and a large quantity of wheat and barley; and they have since continued their retreat to Briviesca, where, it is reported, they have been joined by 7000 conscripts. It is likewise reported that the prince of Esling has been ordered by the local government of France to come and take the command of the army. The castle of Burgos commands the passages of the river Arlanzon in the neighbourhood, and the roads communicating with them, so completely, that we could not pass the river till the 19th, when we effected that operation in two columns, the 5th division and brig.-gen. Bradford's brigade above, and the 1st division and brig.-gen. Pack's brigade, and major-general Anson's cavalry, below the town. Burgos is situated in that division of Spain allotted to the army of the north; and general Caffarelli, who had been here on the 17th, had placed in the castle a garrison of the troops of that army, consisting, as is reported, of 2500 men. The enemy had taken considerable pains to fortify the castle of Burgos, and had occupied with a hornwork

the hill of St. Michael's, which has a considerable command over some of the works of the castle, at the distance of 300 yards. They had likewise occupied other parts of that hill with fleches and other works for the protection of their picquets and out-posts.—As soon as the 1st division crossed the Arlanzon on the 19th, the enemy's out-posts were driven in by the light infantry battalion of col. Sterling's brigade, under the command of the honourable major Cocks, supported by brigadier-general Pack's brigade; and the enemy's outworks on the hill of St. Michael's, with the exception of the horn-work, were occupied by our troops, which were posted close to the hornwork. As soon as it was dark, the same troops, with the addition of the 42d regiment, attacked and carried by assault the hornwork which the enemy had occupied in strength. In this operation brigadier-gen. Pack, lieutenant-colonel Hill of the 1st Portuguese regiment, col. Campbell of the 16th, major Williams of the 4th caçadores, major Dick of the 42d regiment, and the honourable major Cocks of the 79th regiment, commanding the light infantry battalion, distinguished themselves; the latter, in particular, led the attack of the enemy's posts in the morning, and entered the hornwork by its gorge at night. We took three pieces of cannon and one captain, and 62 prisoners; but I am sorry to add that our own loss was severe, as appears by the inclosed return. It was impossible to ascertain the exact state of the works of the castle of Burgos, till we had obtained possession of the hill of St. Michael's. Since the 19th we have been employed in establishing ourselves on the hill of St. Michael's, and in constructing those works

which are best calculated to forward our future operations. The whole of the army have crossed the Arlanzon, with the exception of the 6th division, and one division of Spanish infantry.

I have accounts from sir Rowland Hill of the 14th; he was then at Truxillo, and had received my orders, and was to be at Oropesa on the 18th.—I have not heard that marshal Soult has yet left Granada; he was still there on the 8th. Gen. Ballasteros had followed the enemy's movements from the Guadalete, and had been very successful; he was at Loxa on the 6th. The enemy had abandoned Andujar and Jaén.—The last accounts I have from Alicant are of the 10th instant. Joseph Bonaparte's army and that of Suchet were still in Valencia. I have no late accounts from Cadiz.

[Here follows a return of killed, wounded, and missing.—Total loss; Killed; 1 major, 3 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 staff, 5 serjeants, 60 rank and file.—Wounded; 5 captains, 7 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 21 serjeants, and 297 rank and file.—Missing; 16 rank and file.]

Downing-street, Oct. 6, Capt. Coore, aide-de-camp to sir G. Prevost, arrived this morning with dispatches, of which the following is an extract, and a copy,

[General Prevost's dispatch is dated Montreal, August 16, and gives a summary of the invasion of Upper Canada by the United States' troops, under general Hull. After the latter had been defeated three times in his attempt to cross the Canard, and form the siege of Amherstburg (Fort Malden), by colonel St. George, its commandant, his supplies from the opposite side of the Detroit were cut off, his dispatches intercepted, and

and both flanks menaced by parties of Indians of the Wyandot tribe, under captain Chambers. The situation of the Americans, the losses they had sustained, and the harassing mode of warfare the Indians had adopted, induced a spirit of despondency throughout their army, which was increased by the conviction that without great reinforcements, and a battering train, no attempt could be made upon Fort Malden or Amherstburg. At this period, when the enemy were beginning to entrench themselves, general Brock, whose conduct and services are praised in the highest terms by general Prevost, entered Amherstburg with a reinforcement, and took those measures which finally led to the surrender of Fort Detroit, and the whole of general Hull's army, amounting to 2500 men, as prisoners of war, and 33 pieces of ordnance, "without the sacrifice of a drop of British blood." General Brock says that his good fortune will astonish! And well it may, when it is considered that his force, to which the American general surrendered, consisted of only 700 men, including militia, and about 600 Indians.]

Head Quarter, Detroit, Aug. 17.

I have had the honour of informing your excellency, that the enemy effected his passage across the Detroit river on the 12th ult. without opposition, and that after establishing himself at Sandwich, he had ravaged the country as far as the Moravia town. Some skirmishes occurred between the troops under lieutenant-colonel St. George and the enemy, upon the river Canard, which uniformly terminated in his being repulsed with loss. I judged it proper to detach a force down the river Thames, capable of acting in

conjunction with the garrison of Amherstburg offensively; but captain Chambers, whom I had appointed to direct this detachment, experienced difficulties that frustrated my intentions. The intelligence received from that quarter admitting of no delay, colonel Proctor was directed to assume the command, and his force was soon after increased with 60 rank and file of the 41st regiment. In the mean time, the most strenuous measures were adopted to counteract the machinations of the evil-disposed, and I soon experienced the gratification of receiving voluntary offers of service from that portion of the embodied militia the most easily collected. In the attainment of this important point, gentlemen of the first character and influence showed an example highly creditable to them; and I cannot on this occasion avoid mentioning the essential assistance I derived from J. M'Donnell, esq. his majesty's attorney-general, who, from the beginning of the war, has honoured me with his services as my provincial aide-de-camp. A sufficiency of boats being collected at Long Point for the conveyance of 300 men, the embarkation took place on the 8th instant, and in five days arrived in safety at Amherstburg. I found that the judicious arrangement which had been adopted immediately upon the arrival of colonel Proctor, had compelled the enemy to retreat, and take shelter under the guns of his fort: that officer commenced operations by sending strong detachments across the river, with a view of cutting off the enemy's communication with his reserve. This produced two smart skirmishes on the 5th and the 9th instant, in both of which the enemy's loss was very considerable, (14) whilst

whilst ours amounted to three killed and 13 wounded; amongst the latter I have particularly to regret captain Muir and lieut. Sutherland, of the 41st regiment, the former an officer of great experience, and both ardent in his majesty's service. Batteries had likewise been commenced opposite Fort Detroit for one 18 pounder, two 12 pounders, and two five-and-a-half-inch mortars, all of which opened on the evening of the 15th (having previously summoned brigadier-general Hull to surrender); and although opposed by a well-directed fire from seven 24 pounders, such was their construction, under the able directions of captain Dixon of the royal engineers, that no injury was sustained from its effect. The force at my disposal being collected in the course of the 15th, in the neighbourhood of Sandwich, the embarkation took place a little after day-light on the following morning, and by the able arrangements of lieutenant Dewar, of the quarter-master general's department, the whole was in a short time landed, without the smallest confusion, at Spring Well, a good position three miles west of Detroit. The Indians, who had in the mean time effected their landing two miles below, moved forward, and occupied the woods about a mile and a half on our left. The force which I instantly directed to march against the enemy consisted of 30 royal artillery, 250 of the 41st regiment, 50 royal Newfoundland regiment, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, to which were attached three 6 pounders and two 3 pounders. The services of lieutenant Troughton, commanding the royal artillery, an active and intelligent officer, being required in the field, the direction of the batteries was in-

trusted to captain Hall and the marine department, and I cannot withhold my entire approbation of their conduct on this occasion. I crossed the river, with an intention of waiting in a strong position the effect of our force upon the enemy's camp, and in the hope of compelling him to meet us in the field; but receiving information upon landing, that colonel M'Arthur, an officer of high reputation, had left the garrison three days before with a detachment of 500 men, and hearing soon afterwards that his cavalry had been seen that morning three miles in our rear, I decided on an immediate attack. Accordingly, the troops advanced to within one mile of the fort; and having ascertained that the enemy had taken little or no precaution towards the land side, I resolved on an assault, whilst the Indians penetrated his camp. Brigadier-general Hull, however, prevented this movement, by proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of preparing terms of capitulation. Lieutenant-colonel John M'Donnell and capt. Glegg were accordingly deputed by me on this mission, and returned within an hour with the conditions which I have the honour herewith to transmit. Certain considerations afterwards induced me to agree to the two supplementary articles.—The force thus surrendered to his majesty's arms cannot be estimated at less than 2500 men. In this estimate colonel M'Arthur's detachment is included, as he surrendered, agreeably to the terms of capitulation, in the course of the evening, with the exception of 200 men, whom he left escorting a valuable convoy at some distance in his rear; but there can be no doubt the officer commanding will consider

der himself equally bound by the capitulation. The enemy's aggregate force was divided into two troops of cavalry; one company of artillery, regulars; the 4th United States regiment; detachments of the first and third United States regiments, volunteers; three regiments of the Ohio militia; one regiment of the Michigan territory; 33 pieces of brass and iron ordnance have already been secured. When this contest commenced, many of the Indian nations were engaged in active warfare with the United States, notwithstanding the constant endeavours of this government to dissuade them from it. Some of the principal chiefs happened to be at Amherstburg, trying to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, which for years had been withheld, agreeably to the instructions of sir J. Craig, and since repeated by your excellency. From that moment they took a most active part, and appeared foremost on every occasion: they were led yesterday by colonel Elliott and capt. M'Kee, and nothing could exceed their order and steadiness. A few prisoners were taken by them during the advance, whom they treated with every humanity; and it affords me much pleasure in assuring your excellency, that such was their forbearance, and attention to what was required of them, that the enemy sustained no other loss in men than what was occasioned by the fire of our batteries. The high sense I entertain of the abilities and judgement of lieutenant-col. Myers induced me to appoint him to the important command at Niagara; it was with reluctance I deprived myself of his assistance, but had no other expedient; his duties as head of the quarter-master-general's department were performed to my

satisfaction by lieutenant-col. Nicholls, quarter-master-general of the militia.—Captain Glegg, my aide-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch to your excellency: he is charged with the colours taken at the capture of Fort Detroit, and those of the 4th United States regiment. Capt. Glegg is capable of giving your excellency every information respecting the state of this province, and I shall esteem myself highly indebted to your excellency to afford him that protection to which his merit and length of service give him a powerful claim.

ISAAC BROCK, major-gen.

[By the articles of capitulation, the American army surrender prisoners of war, and the territory of Michigan is ceded to his Britannic majesty, without any other condition than the protection of private property. Public property to be given up. The Michigan and Ohio militias, who have not joined the army, to be permitted to return home, but not to serve during the war. A ship called the Adams was taken on the lake.]

SWITZERLAND.

7. An avalanche occurred on the 4th Sept. in the neighbourhood of Villeneuve, Switzerland. A part of the eastern chain of the Fourches, which had been sapped by a stream that ran at its base, suddenly fell with a terrific noise. About thirty cottages were buried beneath the ruins, and twelve of their inmates killed. The noise of the avalanche was heard at the distance of six miles.

GERMANY.

9. The following curious phenomena were witnessed at Giessen, in the circle of the Upper Rhine:—On the 18th August, after con-

tinued

tinued sultry weather, a piece of woody ground, comprising 12 English acres, suddenly sunk about five feet; on the 20th it fell two feet more; on the 24th it sunk another foot, and continued giving way almost imperceptibly, until, by the 4th September, it had sunk 15 feet. This frightful chasm remained near a week, and was visited by thousands. On the 12th the surface of the land became marshy; since which water was observed to rise, and by the 19th it had entirely filled the vacuity, and presented a level sheet of water.

11. Robert Armstrong, a joiner, residing at Cleveland, got a man to let him down into a well 60 feet deep, but containing only two feet of water, to bring up two small dishes which had been left there several months. He had not been lowered 33 feet before he fell out of the bucket into the well; and James Ingledew of Martin, and Joseph Tenison of the same place, on being lowered to assist, fell in the same manner. It was now evident that the cause must be attributed to foul air in the well; and William Hardwick, a labourer, was let down with a rope tied round him; but he had not gone down more than 12 feet before he became senseless, and fell, but, being immediately hauled up, presently recovered. The three bodies were at length got out, but were found dead.

FRENCH BULLETINS.

We shall in this place give a few extracts from the most important French bulletins, respecting the war in Russia, beginning with the eighteenth, descriptive of the battle of Borodino. On the 5th of September the army put itself in motion at six o'clock; and at two in the afternoon the Russians were

perceived, with their right upon Moskwa, and their left upon the heights on the left bank of the Kollogha. A fortified height, between two woods, which greatly strengthened the main position of the Russians, was, after being reconnoitred by the emperor, immediately attacked and carried, after an obstinate contest of one hour, in which the Russians lost one-third of their numbers, and their artillery. During the whole of the next day (the 6th) Bonaparte was engaged in reconnoitring the position of the Russians, which he found backed by a large wood, supported by heights on their right and left; these were crowned with redoubts, and fortified with batteries. "This position," says the bulletin, "appeared strong and favourable. It was easy to manœuvre, and to oblige the enemy to evacuate it; but that would have been renouncing our object, and the position was not judged sufficiently strong to render it necessary to avoid fighting." The forces on both sides were considered as nearly equal, namely, at about 130,000 men each. On the 7th Sept. at two in the morning, Bonaparte assembled with his marshals; and his first act was to inflame the ardour of his soldiers by publishing the following order of the day:

"Soldiers! behold the field of battle you have so much desired! henceforth victory depends on you: it is necessary to us; it will give us plenty, good quarters for the winter, and a speedy return to your country. Behave yourselves as you did at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Vitepsk, at Smolensk; that the latest posterity may speak of your conduct this day with pride—that it may say of you, 'He was at that great battle under the walls of Moscow.'

At six o'clock the battle commenced; a thousand pieces of cannon, it is said, spread death on all sides; and at eight o'clock the positions of the Russians were carried, their redoubts taken, and the French artillery crowned their heights. "The advantage of position (continues the bulletin) which the enemy's batteries had enjoyed for two hours, now belonged to us. The parapets which had been occupied against us during the attack, were now to our advantage. The enemy saw the battle lost, which he thought had only commenced. A part of his artillery was taken; the rest was withdrawn to his lines in the rear. In this extremity he attempted to restore the combat, and to attack, with all his masses, those strong positions which he was unable to protect. Three hundred pieces of French cannon placed on these heights, thundered upon his masses, and his soldiers died at the foot of those parapets which they had raised with so much labour, and as a protecting shelter. There still remained to the enemy his redoubts to the right. General count Morand marched thither, and carried them; but at nine in the morning, attacked on all sides, he could not maintain himself there. The enemy, encouraged by this advantage, made his reserve and his last troops advance to try his fortune again. The imperial guards formed a part of them. He attacked our centre, which formed the pivot to our right. For a moment it was feared that he might carry a village which was burnt; the division Friant advanced thither; eighty pieces of French cannon immediately arrested, and then annihilate, the enemy's columns, which stood for two hours in close order, under the chain shot, not daring to advance, unwilling to

retire, and renouncing the hope of victory. The king of Naples decided their uncertainty by a charge of cavalry, after which they dispersed on all sides. It was now two in the afternoon; the enemy had lost all hope; the battle was ended; the cannonade still continued; the enemy fought for retreat and safety, but no longer for victory. The loss of the enemy is enormous; from 12 to 13,000 men, and from 8 to 9000 Russian horses, have been counted on the field of battle; 60 pieces of cannon and 5000 prisoners have remained in our power. We have had 2500 killed, and thrice that number wounded. Our total loss may be estimated at 10,000 men; that of the enemy at from 40 to 50,000."

The Nineteenth Bulletin, dated Moscow, Sept. 16, says: "After the battle of the Moskwa, the French army pursued the enemy upon Moscow, by the three routes, Mojaïsk, Svenigorôd, and Kalouga.

On the 14th, at mid-day, we entered Moscow. The enemy had raised, on the Sparrow mountain, two works from the city, some redoubts, which he abandoned.—The city of Moscow is as large as Paris; it is an extremely rich city, full of palaces of all the nobles of the empire. The Russian governor Rostopchin wished to ruin this fine city, when he saw it abandoned by the Russian army. He had armed 3000 malefactors whom he had taken from the dungeons; he also summoned together 6000 satellites, and distributed arms among them from the arsenal.—Our advanced guard, arrived in the centre of the city, was received by a fire of musquetry, which issued from the Kremlin. The king of Naples ordered a battery of a few pieces of cannon to be opened, dispersed this rabble, and took

took possession of the Kremlin. We have found in the arsenal 60,000 new muskets, and 120 pieces of cannon, on their carriages. The most complete anarchy reigned in the city; some drunken madmen ran through its different quarters, and every where set fire to them. The governor Rostopchin had caused all the merchants and shopkeepers to be carried off, through whose instrumentality order might have been re-established. More than 400 French and Germans were arrested by his orders; in fine, he had taken the precaution of carrying off the firemen with the fire-engines; so that the most complete anarchy has desolated this great and fine city, and the flames are devouring it. We have found in it considerable resources of every kind.—The emperor is lodged in the Kremlin, which is in the centre of the city, like a kind of citadel, surrounded by high walls. Thirty thousand wounded or sick Russians are in the hospitals, abandoned, without succour, and without nourishment.”

The Twentieth Bulletin is as follows:—“Moscow, Sept. 17. The Russians have celebrated *Te Deum* for the battle of Polotzk. *Te Deums* have been sung for the battles of Riga, for the battle of Ostrowno, and for that of Smolensk. According to the Russian accounts they were every where conquerors, and they drove the French to a great distance from the field of battle. It was then amidst the strains of the Russian *Te Deums* that the army arrived at Moscow. There they thought themselves conquerors, at least the populace thought so, for well-informed persons knew what was passing.—Moscow is the *entre-pôt* of Asia and of Europe. Its warehouses were immense; every house was provided for eight months

with necessaries of every description. It was only the evening before, and the day of our entrance, that the danger became known. We found in the house of the miserable Rostopchin some papers, and a letter half written; he fled without finishing it.—Moscow, one of the finest and richest cities in the world, is no more. On the 14th the Russians set fire to the exchange, to the bazar, and the hospital. On the 16th a violent wind arose. Three or four hundred ruffians set fire to the city in 500 different places at the same moment, by order of the governor Rostopchin. Five-sixths of the houses were built of wood; the fire spread with a prodigious rapidity; it was an ocean of flame. Churches, of which there were 1600, above 1000 palaces, immense magazines, nearly all have fallen a prey to the flames. The Kremlin has been preserved. Their loss in incalculable for Russia, for her commerce, and for her nobility, who had left all there. It is not over-rating its value to state it at many milliards. About 100 of these incendiaries have been apprehended and shot; all of them declared that they acted under the orders of Rostopchin and the director of the police.—Thirty thousand sick and wounded Russians have been burnt. The clothing, the magazines, and the equipments of the Russian army have been consumed. They have thus lost every thing; they would remove nothing, because they always thought it impossible for us to reach Moscow, and because they were willing to deceive the people. When they saw all in the hands of the French, they conceived the horrible project of destroying by fire this first capital, this holy city, the centre of the empire;

empire; and they have reduced to beggary 200,000 inhabitants. This is the crime of Rostopchin, executed by felons liberated from the prisons.—The resources which the army had found are consequently much diminished: however, we have collected, and are still collecting, a number of necessaries.”

The Twenty-first Bulletin, dated Moscow, Sept. 20, says:—“Three hundred incendiaries have been arrested and shot; they were provided with fuses six inches long, which they had between two pieces of wood; they had also squibs, which they threw upon the roofs of the houses. The wretch Rostopchin had these prepared, on the pretence that he wished to send a balloon full of combustible matter amidst the French army. He thus got together the squibs and other materials necessary for the execution of his project. The fires subsided on the 19th and 20th; three quarters of the city are burned; among other palaces, that beautiful one of Catharine, which had been newly furnished; not above a quarter of the houses remain. While Rostopchin was taking away the fire-engines of the city, he left behind him 60,000 muskets, 150 pieces of cannon, more than 100,000 balls and shells, 1,500,000 cartridges, 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder, 400,000 lbs. of saltpetre and sulphur.”

The Twenty-ninth Bulletin, dated Molodetschno, Dec. 3, says:—“To the 6th of November the weather was fine, and the movements of the army executed with the greatest success. The cold weather began on the 7th; from that moment we every night lost several hundred horses, that died in consequence of bivouaching. Arrived at Smolensk, we had already lost many cavalry

and artillery horses. The Russian army from Volhynia was opposed to our right. Our right left the Minsk line of operations, and took for the pivot of its operations the Warsaw line. On the 9th, the emperor was informed at Smolensk of this change in the line of operations, and conceived what the enemy would do. However hard it appeared to him to put himself in movement during so cruel a season, the new state of things demanded it. He expected to arrive at Minsk, or at least upon the Beresina, before the enemy. On the 13th he quitted Smolensk. On the 16th he slept at Krasnoi. The cold which began on the 7th suddenly increased, and on the 14th, 15th, and 16th, the thermometer was 16 and 18 degrees below the freezing point. The roads were covered with ice; the cavalry, artillery, and baggage horses perished every night, not only by hundreds but by thousands, particularly the German and French horses. In a few days more than 30,000 horses perished; our cavalry were on foot; our artillery and our baggage were without conveyance. It was necessary to abandon and destroy a good part of our cannon, ammunition, and provisions. This army so fine on the 6th was very different on the 14th, almost without cavalry, without artillery, without transports. Without cavalry, we could not reconnoitre a quarter of a league distance; without artillery we could not risk a battle, and firmly await it: it was requisite to march in order not to be constrained to a battle, which the want of ammunition prevented us from desiring; it was requisite to occupy a certain space not to be turned, and that too without cavalry, which led and con-

connected the columns. This difficulty, joined to a cold which suddenly came on, rendered our situation miserable. Those men whom nature had not sufficiently formed to be above all the chances of fate and fortune, appeared shook, lost their gaiety, their good humour, and dreamed but of misfortunes and catastrophes; those whom she has created superior to every thing, preserved their gaiety and their ordinary manners, and saw fresh glory in the different difficulties to be surmounted. The enemy who saw upon the roads traces of that frightful calamity which had overtaken the French army, endeavoured to take advantage of it. He surrounded all the columns with his Cossacks, who carried off, like the Arabs in the deserts, the trains and carriages which separated. This contemptible cavalry, which only makes a noise, and is not capable of penetrating through a company of voltigeurs, rendered themselves formidable by favour of circumstances. Nevertheless the enemy had to repent of all the serious attempts which he wished to undertake; they were overthrown by the viceroy, before whom they were placed, and lost many men. The duke of Elchingen with 3000 then had blown up the ramparts of Smolensk. He was surrounded, and found himself in a critical position, but he extricated himself from it with that intrepidity for which he is distinguished. After having kept the enemy at a distance from him during the whole day of the 18th, and constantly repulsed him, at night he made a movement on the right, passed the Borysthènes, and deceived all the calculations of the enemy. On the 19th the army passed the Borysthènes at Orza;

and the Russian army being fatigued, and having lost a great number of men, ceased from its attempts.

“ The army of Volhynia had inclined on the 16th upon Minsk, and marched upon Borisow. Gen. Dombrowski defended the bridgehead of Borisow with 3000 men. On the 23d he was forced, and obliged to evacuate this position. The enemy then passed the Beresina, marching upon Boar; the division Lambert formed the advanced guard.—The second corps, commanded by the duke of Reggio, which was at Tachercin, had received orders to march upon Borisow, to secure to the army the passage of the Beresina. On the 24th the duke of Reggio met the division Lambert four leagues from Borisow, attacked and defeated it, took 2,000 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, 500 baggage-waggons of the army of Volhynia, and overthrew the enemy. On the right bank of the Beresina, general Birkeim with the 4th cuirassiers distinguished himself by a fine charge. The enemy could only secure his safety by burning the bridge, which is more than 300 toises in length. Nevertheless the enemy occupied all the passages of the Beresina; this river is 40 toises wide, it had much floating ice on it, but its banks are covered with marshes 300 toises long, which present great obstacles in clearing it. The enemy's general had placed his four divisions at the different debouches where he presumed the French army would attempt to pass. On the 26th at break of day the emperor, after having deceived the enemy by different movements made during the day of the 25th, marched upon the village of Studzianca, and

and caused, in spite of an enemy's division and in its presence, two bridges to be thrown over the river. The duke of Reggio passed, attacked the enemy, and led him fighting two hours; the enemy retired upon the tête-du-pont of Borisow. General Legrand, an officer of the first-rate merit, was badly but not dangerously wounded.— During the whole days of the 26th and 27th the army passed. The duke of Belluno, commanding the 9th corps, had received orders to follow the movement of the duke of Reggio, to form the rear-guard, and keep in check the Russian army from the Dwina which followed him. Partaunaur's division formed the rear-guard of this corps. On the 27th at noon the duke of Belluno arrived with two divisions at the bridge of Studzianca. Partaunaur's division set out at night from Borisow. A brigade of this division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was charged with burning the bridges, marched at seven in the evening; it arrived between ten and eleven o'clock; it sought its first brigade and its general, who had departed two hours before, and which it had not met with in its route. Its researches were in vain; some uneasiness was then conceived. All we have since been able to learn is, that this first brigade set out at five o'clock, missed its way at six, went to the right in place of the left, and marched two or three leagues in this direction; that during the night, and benumbed with cold, it rallied at seeing the enemy's fires, which it mistook for those of the French army. Thus surrounded it was taken. This cruel mistake must have cost us a loss of 2000 infantry, 300 cavalry, and

three pieces of artillery. Reports state that the general of division was not with his column, and had marched alone. All the army having passed, on the morning of the 28th the duke of Belluno guarded the tête-du-pont upon the left bank; the duke of Reggio, and behind him all the army, was upon the right bank. Borisow having been evacuated, the armies of the Dwina and Volhynia communicated; they planned an attack on the 28th at break of day. The duke of Reggio caused the emperor to be informed that he was attacked. Half an hour afterwards the duke of Belluno was soon on the left bank; the duke of Belluno immediately followed the duke of Reggio, the duke of Treviso, and the duke of Elchingen. The battle became warm. The enemy wishing to turn our right, general Doumère, commanding the fifth division of cuirassiers which made part of the second corps that remained on the Dwina, ordered a charge of cavalry by the 4th and 5th regiments of cuirassiers, at the moment when the legion of the Vistula was engaged in the woods, to pierce the centre of the enemy, who was defeated and put to the rout. With the enemy's cavalry, which came to the assistance of its infantry, 6000 prisoners, two standards, and six pieces of cannon fell into our hands. On his side the duke of Belluno vigorously charged the enemy, defeated him, took from 5 to 600 prisoners, and did not suffer him to advance within the reach of the cannon of the bridge. General Fournur made a fine charge of cavalry. In the battle of Beresina the army of Volhynia suffered much. The duke of Reggio was wounded, but his wound is not dangerous; he received

ceived a ball in his side. The next day, the 29th, we remained on the field of battle. We had to make our choice between two routes, that to Minsk and that to Wilna. The road to Minsk led through the middle of a forest, and of uncultivated marshes, where it was impossible for the army to subsist itself. On the contrary the road to Wilna leads through a very fine country. The army being without cavalry, deficient of ammunition, and horribly fatigued by 50 days march, carrying in its train all the sick and wounded of so many battles, stood greatly in need of getting to its magazines. On the 30th the headquarters were at Plechnitsi; on the first of December at Slaiki, and on the third at Molodetschno, where the army received the first convoys from Wilna. All the wounded officers, soldiers, and whatever else could be of embarrassment, with the baggage, &c. were sent off to Wilna. To say that the army stands in need of re-establishing its discipline, of refreshing itself, of remounting its cavalry, completing its artillery and its materials—this is the result of the exposé which has just been made. Its repose is of the first necessity. The materials and the horses are coming in. Gen. Bourcier has already more than 20,000 remount horses in different dépôts. The artillery has already repaired its losses. The generals, officers, and soldiers, have suffered greatly from want. Numbers have lost their baggage by the loss of their horses, and several by the effect of the Cossack ambushes. The Cossacks have taken numbers of isolated persons, of geographical engineers who were taking positions, and of wounded officers who were marching without precaution,

preferring running the risk, to marching slowly and going with the convoys. The reports of the general officers commanding the different corps will make known what officers and soldiers have chiefly distinguished themselves, and the details of their memorable events. In all these movements the emperor has continually marched in the middle of his guards, the cavalry commanded by marshal duke of Istria, and the infantry commanded by the duke of Dantzic. His majesty has been well satisfied with the fine spirit shown by his guards, they have always been ready to show themselves every where that their presence was needful; but circumstances have always been such, that their appearance alone was sufficient, and that they never were in a case which required them to charge. The prince of Neufchatel, the grand marshal, the grand equerry, and all the aides-de-camp and military officers of the household, have always accompanied his majesty. Our cavalry was dismounted to such a degree, that it was necessary to collect the officers who had still a horse remaining, in order to form four companies of 150 men each. The generals there performed the functions of captains, and the colonels those of subalterns. This sacred squadron commanded by gen. Grouchy, under the orders of the king of Naples, did not lose sight of the emperor in all these movements. The health of his majesty was never better."

13. The prisoners at the dépôt at Perth had employed themselves three days in excavating a mine from under the privy of the prison, with a view to escape, and had carried it as far as the outer wall, on the inside of which the earth gave

gave way, and detected the stratagem.

Sarah Ford, the wife of a farmer of North Huish, Devon, was found murdered in her kitchen. The murderer, T. Liscombe, a labourer, had left his own clothes, and put on those of the master of the house. He was apprehended in the passage-house at Tor-point on the 19th, preparing to go into Cornwall, and confessed the fact. He likewise confessed having murdered Sarah Huxtable, a child, of Dacbrook, on the 20th of January last; for the discovery of which 200 guineas were offered in the Gazette.

14. The ceremony of putting the first spade into the ground of the intended line of the regent's canal took place this day. A branch of the canal is projected to extend to certain places already marked out on the eastern side of the regent's park, close to the new road, for the site of three new markets, for meat, vegetables, and hay. The act directs, that the part of the canal extending through the regent's park shall be executed in twelve months. The company have purchased 120 acres of Finchley common, for the purpose of forming a head of water which is to feed the canal.

18. This night, and the following, a dreadful hurricane was experienced at Plymouth, and most of the out-ports. The merchant shipping sustained much injury, several small vessels having been wrecked.

19 and 20. The heavy gales did considerable damage in Kent. At Folkstone, the quay at the eastern part of the town burst in several places. Six houses, with Mr. Farley's storehouse, fell into the sea with a tremendous crash; and the next day Mr. Farley's dwelling-

house was also swept away. The loss to individuals, whose houses were destroyed, is estimated at upwards of 2000*l*.

The county of Perth lately voted an address to marquis Wellington and his army, for their bravery at Salamanca. The address was seconded by general Graham, the hero of Barrosa, who pronounced the campaign of 1812 in Spain to be a miracle in military annals; his lordship, at the commencement, having two armies to contend with, each superior to his own.

21. This afternoon, about three o'clock, the inhabitants of Palace-yard were thrown into confusion, from the Thames overflowing its banks. The houses of the Speaker, Mr. Warren, Mr. Rickman, Westminster-hall, and every dwelling-house contiguous, were completely inundated. Three boats were brought into Westminster-hall to convey the passengers out at one shilling per fare. At Millbank, Chelsea, and several other places up the river, great damage was sustained by the high tide washing away the fences of several shrubberies; and at one time the water was so high as to cover the top of the first arch of Westminster-bridge. The warehouses below London-bridge were also inundated, and many articles washed away. The tide was equally high the next day.

26. The Leeds mail, in coming to London, was robbed of 16 letter-bags between Burton and Higham Ferrers. The guard rode from Kettering to Burton with the coachman, there being no outside passenger; during which time, it is supposed, the robbery was committed. Kendall, a farmer of tolls, who rented the gate at Bythorn bar, on the road from Huntingdon to Kettering, has been committed for

trial as a principal in committing the robbery; and his sister, who kept the Bythorn bar-gate on the evening of the robbery, as an accessory after the fact. The property inclosed in the letters in the different bags is supposed to amount to 15,000*l.* (chiefly country bills), none of which has been discovered.

The tessellated pavement discovered last year at Bognor, in Sussex, was covered with earth, to preserve it during the winter. It has been lately opened again, and the surrounding land dug up, for the purpose of further discovery. A series of apartments are now exposed, all paved with beautiful mosaic, the most part of it in the highest state of preservation, and exhibiting, perhaps, the best specimen of the kind in this country. The various figures are well defined and delineated; some of them very beautiful, particularly an eagle with a Ganymede, a pheasant, a dolphin, and some others. Walls are erecting on the ancient foundations, the ruins furnishing materials, so that the plan of the building may be tolerably traced. It, no doubt, has been the villa of some of the Roman generals, the chief city of the Regni, Chichester, where Vespasian fixed his head-quarters, being within a few miles, and the ancient Roman road thence to London crossing the South Downs directly in front of the edifice. The surrounding scenery is very romantic, and must have been always interesting. The destruction may, in all probability, be dated with that of many other monuments of the power and splendour of the Romans at one time in the same county, from the barbarous invasion of the Saxons under the ferocious Ella, who, irritated with the formidable opposition he met with at Chichester, ravaged it

and the surrounding country, with fire and sword, with the most unrelenting fury. So completely had time effaced all appearance of former habitation, that the same family have ploughed the field every year for thirty years past, without the remotest suspicion of the treasure it contained, till last autumn the ploughshare came in contact with one of the large stones of the building.

A case of considerable importance to the agricultural interest was decided at Marlborough-street. It was brought by Mr. Shephard, a farmer in Hertfordshire, against Ramsden, a farmer of toll at Whetstone-gate, who had exacted 27*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* for over-weight in a waggon-load of dung, and detained two horses until the money was paid. The plaintiff pleaded that a clause 14 Geo. III. exempted dung from being weighed. For the defendant it was contended, that it was enacted, by the act of last session, that no waggon with wheels six inches in breadth should be allowed to carry more than three tons weight in the summer, and two and a half in the winter. Another objection was taken, that no other load but dung could be considered exempt, when, in this instance, a basket was part of the carriage. Mr. Byng, M.P. and the other magistrates, reprobated the act of the last session, which they were of opinion was neglectfully framed, and thought that dung was exempt from toll; but allowed the objection, as a basket did form a part of the load.

27. One of the Hampstead stages was overset by a gust of wind, and a gentleman riding on the outside had his leg broken. Three unfinished houses at Somers-town were blown down. In town several buildings sustained material damage.

mage. Seven persons were killed in the metropolis by tiles falling, &c. A lamplighter named Burke, while lighting the lamps on the east side of Blackfriars bridge, was by a sudden gust blown into the river, in presence of his son, a child of ten years old, and sunk before assistance could be procured. Part of the roof of a villa at Putney, inhabited by Mad. Chery, was unroofed by the wind. Several persons were in the ruins, but no lives were lost.

30. On Friday, J. S. Winter, B. Allen, and W. Taylor, were indicted for stealing on the 18th July, from out of a hoy on the river Thames, ten bales of silk and two cases of ostrich feathers, valued at 2000*l.*; and G. Harris (clerk to an attorney) and R. Cooper were indicted for receiving the same, knowing it to have been stolen. J. Knox and J. Ivey were also indicted as accessories before the fact. The cause occupied the attention of the court till the following Monday. At eleven o'clock on Friday night, not one quarter of the witnesses being examined, Mr. baron Thompson informed the jury that as they had now been sitting twelve hours, and as there was no probability of finishing the evidence (there being still 40 witnesses) if they were to sit through the night till the middle of to-morrow, he thought it better to adjourn the trial; since it would be utterly impossible, after an attention of so many hours, to give the proper consideration to the question; their faculties both of mind and body would be too much impaired to admit of steady deliberation. Every possible accommodation would be afforded them; but they could not be allowed to separate. A room was prepared for them, where they might all pass the

night together. One of the jury asked if they could not be allowed to go to their families. The judge said the law was imperative: it could not be granted. The evidence against the prisoners concluded on Monday afternoon, when the prisoners were called on for their defence. They all declared their innocence. Mr. baron Thompson's charge to the jury occupied four hours.—The jury withdrew about twenty minutes past nine, and remained inclosed till past twelve. They then returned a verdict of *Guilty* against J. Winter, B. Allen, and W. Taylor.—J. Ivey, of being accessory, and R. Cooper of receiving. J. Knox and G. Harris were found *Not Guilty*.

NOVEMBER.

FRANCE.

2. An extensive conspiracy has lately given considerable alarm to the governing powers in Paris. It resulted, however, in an abortive ebullition which agitated Paris on the 22d and 23d of October. Three ex-generals, Mallet, Lahourie, and Guidal, were at the head of the affair. Lahourie was a general of division; and had been cashiered in consequence of his attachment to Moreau, whom he attended constantly during his trial. A military commission was appointed to try the conspirators (24 in number). General Mallet was charged, as the leader, with having been guilty of a crime against the internal safety of the state; the object of which was to destroy the government and the order of succession to the throne, and to excite the citizens or inhabitants to take up arms against the imperial authority. The rest were accused of being his accomplices. Mallet was convicted and sentenced

to death; as were also ex-generals Lahourie and Guidal, and eleven others, including Boccheicampe, a Corsican, who is described as having been a prisoner of state for ten years. The rest were acquitted. The whole of them, with the exception of the ex-generals and Boccheicampe, either belonged to the regiment of the guard of Paris, or were officers of the national guards stationed at Paris. Twelve of those condemned suffered the punishment of death on the 29th ult. and two were respited.—No particulars of the conspiracy are given; but private letters from the French coast state, that the three generals who were shot had gained over two regiments of the national guards, with their officers, amounting to 2000 men, who were to have put into execution the project of attacking the hotels of the minister of the police, of the prefect of Paris, and of the commandant of the garrison, at two in the morning; but, owing to some unforeseen circumstance, the troops did not commence their march till four in the morning; when they first repaired to the dwelling of the minister of the police, where they arrested several of the officers of that department, and conducted them to prison. The next movement of the insurgents was an attempt to obtain possession of the citadel of Paris, for the purpose of seizing the arms in that *dépot*; but, as their first proceedings had been delayed too long, this attempt unfortunately failed, as day began to dawn, and the objects of their movements were disclosed, which is stated to have been owing to treachery. One Philippon, a younger brother of the renegade who broke his parole here, is said to have communicated to Savary the information which enabled him to defeat

the objects of the conspiracy. About 12,000 soldiers and gens d'armes were hastily collected together, and stationed at different points, to resist the attacks of the insurgents, who consisted chiefly of the national guards, and who were not overcome till after long and bloody conflicts. At the execution of the conspirators, none but the military were present. Mallet is said to have exclaimed a few moments before his death, "We are not the last of the Romans!" The Journal de Paris says, that the police account of the suppression of the conspiracy was read by torch-light, in all the squares and public places where several streets meet, in Paris, and that it was saluted by general exclamations of "Long live the emperor!"

ITALY.

The affairs of Sicily are said to continue in an unsettled condition. Letters from Messina of the 22d Oct. state, that the hereditary prince of Sicily was so extremely ill, that all hopes of his recovery were doubtful; that the physicians had given it as their opinion that he had been poisoned; and the author of his illness was of course to be found in one near his person, if not allied in blood. It is added, that the command of the Sicilian army was given up to lord W. Bentinck, but not until the subsidy had been withheld some time, and apprehensions were entertained that the army would mutiny for want of pay.

SWEDEN.

Previous to sir James Saumarez leaving Sweden, he received a superb sword, accompanied by a most flattering letter from his royal highness the crown prince. The hilt is elegantly set with brilliants, of exquisite workmanship, and of great value.

20. Court of king's bench.—The king and the university of Cambridge *v.* Bryer. This was an action brought by the university of Cambridge against the defendant, for having published a book without sending a copy for the aforementioned university, agreeably to the provisions of the 8th Anne. The plaintiffs obtained a verdict for 6*l.* 5*s.* that is, 5*l.* penalty, and 1*l.* 5*s.* the value of the book. The action was, in fact, brought to try the right of the several universities and public libraries (11 in number) to a copy of every book that comes from the press, whether entered at Stationers'-hall or not; for the publication in question had not been entered at Stationers'-hall, and on that ground the defendant contended that he had no right to give a copy, as by the non-entrance of the work he did not take the benefits of the several acts for the protection of literary property. The verdict, however, was entered for the plaintiffs; but the judge who presided at the trial suffered this point to be reserved for argument before the court, and it was this day argued, and the verdict confirmed.

23. Lieutenant Gamage, for the murder of a serjeant of marines, on board the Griffin sloop of war, whose insolence and disobedience to his orders had irritated him, was executed, pursuant to the sentence of a court martial, on board that ship, in the Downs. He acknowledged the justice of his sentence, spoke shortly to the crew, warning them to beware of giving way to sudden passion, and was run up to the yard-arm amidst repeated exclamations from the seamen of "God bless and receive him!" Previously to the execution, a circular address, written in a very impressive manner, was sent by admi-

ral Foley to every ship in his fleet. It is a dissuasion against passion and using insolent language, and adverts to the melancholy scene, as "a lesson to all who are to command—to all who are to obey."

27. An extraordinary gazette, published this day, announced the defeat of the American forces in a second attempt to invade Upper Canada. This brilliant victory, we regret to observe, was clouded by the death of maj.-general sir Isaac Brock, who fell gloriously in the field of battle. Nine hundred of the American army, and their commander brig.-general Wadsworth, surrendered themselves to maj.-gen. Sheaffe.

The commissioners for his majesty's land revenue have at length given notice of their intention to apply to parliament this session for an act to enable them to make the new street from Carlton-house to Portland-place. The street is to be 100 feet wide, and its middle in a right line from the entrance to the grand hall of Carlton-house to Piccadilly, where there is to be a small circus; from thence it goes northward into a square on the side of Mary-le-bone-street, Brewer-street, &c.; it then leads on north-westward to the top of King-street and Swallow-street, and then in a right line to Portland-place. The improvement likewise embraces a street from the east end of Pall-mall to St. Martin's church, a square in the King's mews, the opening of Jermyn-street at each end, Charles-street into the Haymarket, and King-street into St. James's-street.

The twelfth report of the committee of public expenditure presents no new peculation or default of enormous amount, but it explains the existing conditions of some of the old ones.—It appears that there

remains due on Goldsmid's account 233,329*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*; on Mr. Barrow's, 5000*l.*; on Mr. Hunt's, 89,877*l.*; and on Mr. Chinnery's, nearly 80,000*l.*; Mr. Steelé's remains as before.

—In the outstanding accounts of the barracks and board of works in Ireland, under the direction of lord Tyrawley, there is a deficiency of 1,835,234*l.* from 1796 to 1803; since which period, notwithstanding the most urgent representations, his lordship had not brought the account to audit. It was however promised by the 1st of July, 1812.

TURKEY.

A fire broke out on the 2d September in the wealthy and commercial city of Salonichi, in Turkey; 400 houses were destroyed, besides warehouses filled with silks, drugs, &c. to an immense amount.

ASIA.

By the Doris frigate, captain Lye, arrived from India, we learn that she spoke H. M. S. Malacca, captain Butterfield, ten days from Java, bound to Madras; and from her learnt that the expedition fitted out from Batavia, against Palambang, had been completely successful; and that the army on its return to Java had again been employed against the rajah or prince of Jaccattrra, who had shown symptoms of disaffection to the British government during the absence of the troops. This force was commanded by colonel Gillespie, who stormed the fortress and town in which the rajah had taken post, and succeeded in gaining a complete victory. The rajah was taken prisoner, and the whole of his property captured. The rajah had 10,000 men in arms, and his loss in killed and wounded is said to have been very great. Colonel Gillespie was wounded in the arm, but was getting better. Our loss

was inconsiderable. Palambang is the capital of a country of the same name, on the east part of the island of Java.

The Dutch islands of Macassar and Timour are also said to have been captured by the same force, consisting of the Bucephalus, Cornelia, and Procris frigates; the East India company's cruisers Teignmouth and Mary Ann, and five transports. The 59th and 84th regiments were the land forces employed on this expedition. The resources of the colony at Java not only enable government to provide for its own security, but were considered sufficiently ample to contribute to the general defence of the British empire.

VACCINATION IN CHINA.

Extract of a letter from Canton.

I am happy to inform you that my labours of vaccination have now terminated; the general report being, that it is now universally known and confided in; and that the Chinese value it so much as to give money for it. There are, therefore, abundance of practitioners among their own countrymen, and no danger of its being lost.

AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES.

A court martial held at Halifax, vice-admiral Sawyer president, after mature consideration, came to the following opinion: "That the surrender of the Guerriere was proper, in order to preserve the lives of her remaining crew; and that her being in that lamentable situation was from the accident of her masts going, which was occasioned more by their defective state than from the fire of the enemy, though so greatly superior in guns and men. The court do, therefore, unanimously and honourably acquit the said captain Dacres, the officers, and crew of his majesty's late

late ship *La Guerriere*, and they are hereby honourably acquitted accordingly."

A letter from Barbadoes, dated September 20, says, "This island never saw so disastrous a year as the present. The volcanic powder which fell on us on the 1st of May is supposed, in conjunction with the long drought, to have generated swarms of worms, which have spread devastation over the face of the island. In some parishes they have not left a vestige of the corn, nor a blade on the cane. Famine stares us in the face; and without speedy relief great numbers must perish. Flour is not to be had at any price. We import from the Dutch settlements in South America plantains in small craft, on which the garrison is chiefly fed. It has rained for two or three days; we therefore expect a favourable change; but the island will not make one-third of its usual crop of sugar."

The slave-trade has been prohibited at Buenos Ayres, by an order of the government of that place.

A newly discovered island in the latitude of about $54^{\circ} 8'$, named *Macquarie* island, in compliment to the governor of the British possessions of Austral Asia, has opened an additional fruitful field to adventurers in the seal fishery; and the enterprise of those individuals who prosecuted the fishing at *Macquarie* island has been abundantly rewarded.—Upwards of 80,000 seals had been caught at that island in four months.

IRELAND.

Government having ordered a light-house to be erected on *Tuscar* rock near *Wexford*, Mr. *Needham*, an eminent architect, was sent thither in the course of the summer, with about 25 persons experienced

in such works. For their accommodation they constructed near the place three small wooden houses: these habitations were at high water 40 feet above the level of the sea. On the morning of Oct. 19 it blew a perfect hurricane; the waves broke over them, and the unhappy inhabitants were obliged to leave their huts, of which in two minutes not a vestige remained, and fasten themselves by ropes to large stones, preparing for the building, and weighing a ton or a ton and a half each; which ponderous stones were nevertheless dashed about by the waves like so many pebbles. Some of the persons who had fastened themselves to the stones were killed, and others forced from their hold into the ocean. The survivors, after continuing in this perilous situation during two tides, were at length discovered (the weather having become more mild) by the boat employed to attend the rock. They had remained from Sunday noon till Wednesday without any sustenance.

DECEMBER.

3. This evening, Mr. *Wiggin*, a respectable miller, who resided about two miles from *Bridgnorth*, was murdered on his return from *Wolverhampton* market by a footpad about a mile from home. It is supposed that, on making resistance, the villain shot him through the body. It seems, however, that the assassin was alarmed by his cries, as he made off without taking any of his property. The unfortunate man pursued his murderer for about 100 yards, and was found by some persons from a turnpike house, exhausted from the loss of blood, at a stile which he had in vain endeavoured to get over. He

was carried to the house, where he expired in a few minutes.

6. Between nine and ten o'clock at night a meteor appeared in the air in a northern direction from Exeter, which created considerable alarm to numerous spectators, and was perceptible for nearly two minutes: to the eye it was apparently as large as a full moon, and very brilliant, resembling a ball of clear fire, and diffused a light that illumined the earth to a great distance, and emitted a sulphureous heat. At Newton St. Cyre the inhabitants feared it would burst on them, as it seemed to incline downwards; but it afterwards took its course upwards, and retired into a cloud.

9. Messieurs Leigh Hunt and John Hunt, proprietors of The Examiner newspaper, were tried in the court of king's bench for a libel on the prince regent, which purported to be a reply to some fulsome praises of his royal highness that appeared in The Morning Post, in doggerel verse. Mr. Brougham urged in defence, that no reflection was intended on the prince by his client, who wrote the article in reply to some extravagant praises which covered the object of them with ridicule. The jury, after retiring a quarter of an hour, found the defendants Guilty.—Judgement deferred till next term.

CROCODILE.

12. After the late high tide, was discovered, under the cliffs, between Lyme Regis and Charmouth, the complete petrification of a crocodile, 17 feet in length, in an imperfect state. It was dug out of the cliffs, nearly on a level with the sea, about 100 feet below the surface of the earth.

Bonar bridge, built at the joint expense of government and the land-owners of the county of Su-

therland, over the Dornoch Firth, on the great road through the northern counties to Wick and Thurso, at the extremity of our island, has been officially reported to the bridge-committee assembled at Dornoch on the 12th current, "finished and complete," and the bridge open for travellers. The bridge consists of one stupendous arch, constructed of cast iron, of 150 feet span, bending over the rapid and deepest part of the gulf, and two handsome stone arches at the south end, where the stream is not so rapid and deep. The small arches span one 60 and the other 50 feet. The road-way on the bridge is 15 feet wide, and its whole length is exactly 440 feet; the parapets are composed of cast iron balustrades along the whole length of the bridge, with the hand-rail fixed into eight handsome stone pedestals erected for that purpose. The embankment on the low shore at the south end of the bridge is 15 feet high, and declines with a gentle slope to the level ground, where a fine piece of new road, a mile in length, has been opened to join that now making from Dingwall to Kincardine. Bonar bridge was built under very difficult circumstances, the whole of the foundations, except the north abutment, being sunk in caissons, in a rapid tide, 21 feet deep.

RUSSIA.

16. A meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern to consider of affording relief to the suffering Russians, the duke of York in the chair. After some humane and powerful observations by Mr. S. Thornton, Mr. serjeant Peel, Mr. Wilberforce, and others, a committee was appointed to manage the subscriptions, and transmit them to Russia. The duke of York stated that he was authorized by the prince

prince regent to put his name at the head of the subscription for 2000/.

OLD BAILEY.

The marquis of Sligo was tried at the Old Bailey, on the charge of having seduced some seamen from his majesty's ships in the Mediterranean, to navigate his yacht to England. This trial was considered of so much importance, that lord Ellenborough and baron Thompson were called to the assistance of sir William Scott, the admiralty judge. The trial lasted from eleven in the forenoon till two o'clock in the morning of the following day, when the marquis was found Guilty. On Thursday he was brought up for judgement, and sentenced to pay a fine of 5000/ and to be imprisoned in Newgate four months.

19. Mr. Woodley, a farmer at Loynton, having purchased a quantity of gunpowder at Ashburton, took it in a bag to the shop of Mr. Chalk, a blacksmith, and while waiting for his horse, untied the mouth of the bag to put in a stone for the purpose of balancing the weight, when a spark of fire from the anvil communicating with the powder, it blew up the house and another adjoining. Chalk, his apprentice, and three children, were buried in the ruins, but were dug out without sustaining any material injury. Woodley had an arm broken. The shock was felt throughout the town.

SHOCKING MURDER.

28. This evening Mr. Webb, a respectable farmer at Roddenbury-hill, near Frome, Somersetshire, was murdered whilst sitting in his chair. The dreadful deed was not discovered till the following morning, when a young woman called on her sister, who lived in the farmer's service: her repeated knocks

at the door being unnoticed, she opened it, and found Mr. Webb on the floor by the side of his chair, weltering in his blood, having been shot through the arm, and his head dreadfully shattered. On her alarming the neighbourhood, a further search was made, when the body of the female servant was discovered in a bucket-well, with her throat cut! It is supposed that she was endeavouring to escape from the scene of horror, when the villains overtook her, and deprived her of existence. The house is quite detached from any other, and the farmer and his servants were the only inhabitants. His dog having been heard barking loudly about six o'clock on Monday evening, leads to the conclusion that the tragical event was then being perpetrated. If booty was the object of the assassins, they were disappointed, as Mr. Webb, though in opulence, was generally known to keep very little cash in the house. The drawers, boxes, &c. had been ransacked.

EXPLOSION.

30. This afternoon, a machine used in Mr. Lukin's drying-house, at Woolwich, for the purpose of bending and seasoning ship-timber, unfortunately burst, in consequence of being overcharged, by which eight individuals lost their lives, and fourteen were dangerously hurt, several having their legs and thighs broken. The premises on which the machine stood were destroyed by the explosion, which is represented as having been most terrific. Several of the men have left large families.

The miners employed in excavating the tunnel under the river Severn, at Newnham, discovered a small breach through which the water issued. This for a moment they conceived

conceived was occasioned by a spring; but the aperture increasing, they were instantly aware of their danger, and had barely time to be drawn up before the water filled the tunnel. This public-spirited undertaking was completed to the

extent of 226 yards, of the breadth of 12 feet, and 13 feet high: the present accident will be productive of no other ill consequence than a temporary suspension of the work.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 10, 1814, to December 15, 1812.

Christened { Males 10388 } In all, { Buried { Males 9396 } In all, } Increased in
 { Females 10016 } 20,404 { { Females 8899 } 18,295 } Burials 1252,

Died under 2 years	5636	20 and 30 -	1226	60 and 70 -	1425	100 - 0	104 - 0
Between 2 and 5	1907	30 and 40 -	1685	70 and 80 -	1193	101 - 0	105 - 0
5 and 10	655	40 and 50 -	1841	80 and 90 -	492	102 - 1	110 - 0
10 and 20	620	50 and 60 -	1543	90 and 100 -	71	103 - 0	115 - 0

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
Abortive, Still born	665	Diabetes	1
Abscess	45	Miscarriage	1
Aged	1550	Mortification	197
Ague	2	Palpitation of the	
Apoplexy and sud		Heart	2
denly	242	Palsy	152
Asthma	659	Pleurisy	11
Bedridden	1	Piles	1
Bile	8	Quinsy	8
Bleeding	27	Rheumatism	10
Bursten & Rupture	17	Scurvy	3
Cancer	69	Spleen	1
Canker	1	Small Pox	1287
Childbed	152	Sore Throat	6
Cold	10	Sores and Ulcers	9
Colick, Gripes, &c.	17	Spasm	24
Consumption	4942	St. Anthony's Fire	6
Convulsions	353	Stoppage in the Sto-	
Cough, and Hooping-		mach	20
Cough	508	St. Vitus's Dance	1
Cow Pox	2	Teeth	324
Cramp	4	Thrush	38
Croup	102	Water in the Chest	15
		Worms	3
			Total 336

* There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 20; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

BIRTHS

BIRTHS in the year 1812.

Jan. 19. Mrs. Southall, wife of a working shoe-maker in Kennington-lane, of three boys.

— Lady Mary Ross of a son and heir.

— The lady of sir Robert Graham of a daughter.

— Lady Kenyon of a son.

21. Lady Lucy Anne Cassan of a son.

Feb. 11. Lady Ellenborough of a son.

17. The lady of sir, Thomas Tancred, bart. of a daughter.

18. Lady Twisden of a son, who died soon after his birth.

25. The countess of Loudon and Moira of a daughter.

28. The countess of Cork of a son.

— The lady of the rev. Dr. Clarke of a son.

Mar. 6. Lady Elizabeth Talbot of a son, being her 13th child.

12. The lady of Robert Foster Grant, esq. of a son and heir.

15. The wife of Wm. Edw. Tomline, esq. of a daughter.

31. The lady of lord St. Asaph of a daughter.

— Countess Hamilton of a daughter.

— Viscountess Grimstone of a son.

— Viscountess Duncan of a son and heir.

April 3. The lady of Benjamin Pead, esq. of a daughter.

20. The lady of the hon. C. Anderson Pelham of a son.

22. The countess of Dalhousie of a son.

23. Viscountess Primrose of a daughter.

31. The lady of the rev. C. P. Burney of a daughter.

May 6. The duchess of Leeds of a son.

11. The lady of sir Edward Knatchbull, bart. of a son.

16. The lady of George Gipps, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

17. The lady of T. G. Estcourt, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

— The widow of major-gen. Mackinnon, who was killed at Ciudad Rodrigo, of a son.

— The countess Lindsey of a daughter.

June 2. The hon. Mrs. Barnard of a son.

4. The lady of lieut.-col. Hugh Halkett of a son.

15. The lady of Dr. Yelloly of a son.

27. Lady W. Beauclerk of a son.

— Lady Holland of a daughter.

— The lady of the right hon. Reginald Pole Carew of a daughter.

— The lady of J. Ireland Blackburn, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

— The countess of Chichester of a daughter.

July 8. The duchess of Bedford of a daughter.

15. The lady of the hon. Alex. Hope, M. P. of a son.

31. The lady of N. A. Austen, esq. of a son and heir.

— The countess of Caledon of a son and heir.

— The viscountess Ikerrin of a daughter.

Aug. 3. The lady of the rev. C. M. Babington of two boys, being the third time of her having twins.

6. The marchioness of Downshire of a son and heir.

8. The lady of sir Edwin Bayntun Sandys, bart. of a son.

12. The lady of Henry Frederic Compton Cavendish, esq. of a daughter.

19. The lady of Wm. Astell, esq. of a daughter.

25. Lady Elizabeth Montgomery of a daughter.

26. The

26. The lady of Samuel Sheen, esq. of a son.

28. Lady Frances Ley of a son.

Sept. 2. The lady of col. H. E. Banbury of a son.

7. Lady Dynevor of a son.

12. The lady of sir H. Fitzherbert, bart. of a son.

15. Lady Amelia Sophia Drummond of a son.

26. The countess of Galway of a daughter.

— The lady of lord Granville Levegh of a daughter.

— Lady Foley of a daughter.

— The duchess of Newcastle of a daughter.

Oct. 6. Lady Hope of a son.

13. The lady of earl Talbot of a son.

16. Lady Lindsay of a son.

29. The lady of Edward Harbott of a son.

— The lady of M. White, esq. M.P. of a son, being her fifteenth child.

— The lady of sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, bart. of a son.

— The countess of Shannon of a daughter.

Nov. 6. The countess of Clonmel of a daughter.

8. The lady of the hon. Robert Curzon of a son.

13. The lady of John Thornton, esq. of a daughter.

23. The lady of sir H. C. Montgomery, bart. of a daughter.

— Viscountess Hawarden of a daughter.

Dec. 2. The lady of J. M. Raikes, esq. of a son.

10. The lady of the rev. R. Marriott of three children, who all died the same day.

15. The lady of the right hon. G. Canning of a son.

— The lady of Edw. Thornton, esq. envoy to the court of Sweden, of a son.

30. The lady of Thomas Cadell, esq. of a daughter.

MARRIAGES in the year 1812.

Jan. 1. C. T. Wood, esq. of Thoresby, Lincolnshire, to Jane, the only daughter of sir John Thorsold.

6. Capt. Cochrane, to miss Ross, eldest daughter of lieut.-gen. sir Charles Ross, bart.

20. Sir C. T. Morgan, to miss Orenson, author of "The Wild Irish Girl," &c.

— At Gretna Green, the hon. W. H. Lambton, to miss Cholmondeley.

Feb. 6. The earl of Ilchester, to Caroline, the second daughter of the late lord George Murray, bishop of St. David's.

7. R. A. Slaney, esq. to miss Muckleston, daughter of the late Dr. M.

13. — Macdonald, esq. to lady Caroline Edgecumbe, second daughter of the earl of M. E.

18. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, to miss Geddes Mackenzie.

25. E. Whitmore, esq. to Frances, eldest daughter of J. P. Kensington, esq.

March 5. Charles Putland, esq. to Constance, eldest daughter of the hon. George Massey.

14. W. W. Pole, esq. to miss Tilney Long, eldest daughter of the late sir T. Long, bart.

— Major Wm. Napier, to Caroline, youngest daughter of the late gen. Fox.

18. J. H. Holder, esq. to Ann, youngest daughter of the late rev. Jeffrey Ekins, dean of Carlisle.

24. Lord Charles Townshend, to the daughter of general Loftus.

— The eldest son of sir T. Whichcote,

12. Gen. sir James Henry Craig, K. B.

15. Col. Wm. Cavendish, M. P. cousin to the duke of Devonshire.

20. Mrs. Jebb, widow of the late justly celebrated Dr. John Jebb.

24. Isabella Susanna, countess of Beverley.

— Major-gen. Crauford, in consequence of the wounds he received at Ciudad Rodrigo.

31. Lady Charles Spencer, aunt to the present duke of St. Albans.

Feb. 5. Wm. Field, esq. of Canonbury.

7. The dowager lady Scarsdale, daughter of the second earl of Portmore.

17. Sir William Maxwell, bart.

19. The hon. Mary Talbot, mother to the earl of Shrewsbury.

23. Sir J. Astley, bart. M. P.

— Sir Charles Cotton, commander in chief of the Channel fleet.

March 1. Dr. Maxwell Garthshore, F. R. S.

3. Sir Wm. Langham, bart.

9. Rev. Dr. Andrew Burnaby, and on the 16th Mrs. Burnaby, his widow.

13. The earl of Uxbridge.

19. John Horne Tooke, esq.

26. The hon. lady Julia Percy.

— Lady Eleanor Cavendish, sister to the earl of Arran.

28. Mrs. Elizabeth Branscombe, sister of sir Isaac Heard.

April 1. Sir Frederick Evelyn, bart.

2. Sir John Callender, bart.

— Dr. Robert Willan, celebrated for his work on cutaneous diseases.

8. The earl of Ashburnham.

11. The most noble Jane, duchess of Gordon.

12. Sir Wm. Plomer, alderman of London.

15. Mrs. Bligh, lady of rear admiral Bligh.

17. Dr. Annesley, master of Downing college.

20. The dowager lady Onslow, relict of the late Richard lord Onslow.

24. Viscountess Downe.

27. Rev. Dr. Samuel Glasse.

May 6. Captain H. Whilby.

8. Alexander Hume, esq.

9. Edward Kemble, esq. deputy of Cordwainers ward.

10. John Clark, esq. author of A new system of naval tactics.

11. The right hon. Spencer Perceval, esq. shot as entering the house of commons.

13. The right rev. Thomas Dampier, lord bishop of Ely.

16. Sir Frederick Standish, bart.

18. Sir Edward Littleton, bart.

20. Mary, countess dowager of Macclesfield.

23. Rev. Louis Dutens, historiographer to the king.

25. Edw. Malone, esq. the well known commentator on Shakespear.

26. The right hon. Anne, lady Fortescue, mother of the present earl.

31. The lady of Dr. Richard Powell.

June 1. Rev. C. Baker, one of the chaplains to the prince regent.

2. Lady Glynne, relict of sir Stephen Glynne.

— Vice admiral De Winter.

9. Sir Francis Molyneux, bart. gentleman usher of the black rod.

13. The hon. E. Lambert, youngest son of the earl of Cavan.

19. Edward, youngest son of Raymond Barker, esq.

22. Richard Kirwan, esq. president of the royal Irish academy.

25. The dowager lady Harrington.

26. Philip Mallet, esq. editor of several valuable works.

27. Mrs. Ramsden, relict of the rev. Dr. R. late master of the Charterhouse.

- July 1. John Brent, esq.
 9. Abraham Goldsmid, esq.
 13. Wm. Henry, eldest son of Wm. Manning, esq. M. P.
 16. John Broadwood, esq. aged 102.
 18. Dr. David Morton.
 21. Dr. Joseph Denman, author of an essay on the waters of Buxton.
 Lady De Crespigny, author of "Letters" to her son.
 31. Robert, eldest son of lord Robert Fitzgerald.
 —. Christian Gottlieb Heyne, a celebrated Greek scholar.
 Aug. 3. James Ricards, esq. of Gray's Inn.
 10. Hon. Frances Elizabeth Domville, daughter of the bishop of Kildare.
 11. Rev. John Vodin Walters.
 14. S. R. Gaussen, esq. of Brookman's Park, Herts.
 16. Mr. Page, vicar-choral of St. Paul's cathedral.
 24. Mrs. Griffiths, widow of the late Dr. G.
 27. Lord De Blaquiére.
 Sept. 1. R. Shepherd, esq. son of the late archdeacon of Bedford.
 6. Lieut.-col. George William-son.
 9. Harriet, countess of Romney.
 21. Mrs. Peach, widow of the rev. S. P. and daughter of the rev. Dr. James Bradley, formerly astronomer royal.
 24. Lady Harriet Jane Hay, fourth daughter of James earl of Errol, and sister to the present earl.
 30. Elizabeth, eldest daughter of lord Sinclair.
 Oct. 3. Valentine Browne, earl of Kenmare.
 4. Rev. Anth. Hamilton, D. D. vicar of St. Martin's in the fields.
 5. Rev. John Dewhurst, a man of very eminent attainments in science and classical literature.

5. Michael Wodhull, esq. the translator of Euripides.
 6 William Keith, earl of Kintore.
 10. J. William, youngest son of viscount Dillon.
 17. Dr. James Lind, F. R. S.
 20. The earl of Aylesford.
 Nov. 3. Sir Charles Talbot, bart.
 4. His excellency Philip St. Martin, count De Front, who had been ambassador from the court of Sardinia.
 9. Mr. William Otridge, many years a bookseller in the Strand.
 13. Mrs. Brown, widow of Dr. B. author of the Elements of Medicine.
 16. John Walter, esq. late principal proprietor of "The Times" newspaper.
 19. Nich. Wanostrocht, L. L. D. author of many school books.
 27. Rev. Dr. Geo. Wm. Lukin, dean of the cathedral of Wells.
 29. Mrs. Scott, of Bradninch, Devon, in her 104th year.
 Dec. 6. James Chetham, esq.
 8. Rev. J. Cecil Tattersall, of Christ church.
 11. George Goldsmid, esq.
 —. Lady Elizabeth Spencer, second daughter of the duke of Marlborough.
 14. Edward Simeon, esq. one of the directors of the bank of England.
 16. Rev. Dr. Gosset, a celebrated book collector.
 —. His excellency Gustavus Adam Baron Nolcken.
 19. The lady of Francis Freehing, esq. of the Post-office.
 22. Joseph Jeffries Evans, esq. son of the late Dr. Caleb Evans.
 25. E. Willes, esq. eldest son of the late bishop of Bath and Wells.
 31. Gen. ^{sr} Thomas Musgrave, bart.

PROMOTIONS in the year 1812.

Downing-street, Feb. 21.—Major-gen. Charles Wale, governor and commander in chief of Martinique. —Major-gen. the hon. Robert Meade, lieut.-governor of Cape of Good Hope.—Lieut.-col. Charles Napier, lieut.-governor of the Virgin Islands.—Lieut.-col. Thomas Davey, lieut.-governor of Van Diemen's Land.

Whitehall, Feb. 22. His r. h. the prince regent has been pleased to grant the dignity of an earl of the united kingdom unto the right hon. Arthur viscount Wellington, K. B. by the title of earl of Wellington in the county of Somerset.—Lieut.-gen. Thomas Graham, lieut.-gen. sir Rowland Hill, and major-gen. sir James Auchmuty, knights of the Bath.

Carlton-house, March 5. Earl Cholmondeley, lord steward of his majesty's household.—Marquis of Hertford, lord chamberlain.

Carlton-house, March 7. Marquis of Winchester, groom of the stole to his majesty.

Her majesty and the prince regent have appointed John Simeon, esq. (master in chancery), count Munster, and col. Herbert Taylor, commissioners for the protection, care, and management of his majesty's property during his indisposition.

Whitehall, March 7. Adam Gillies, esq. one of the lords justiciary in Scotland, vice Craig resigned.

Carlton-house, March 10. The prince regent has made the following appointments:

Vice chamberlain,—earl of Yar-mouth.

Lords of his majesty's bedchamber,—marquis of Headfort, viscount Melbourn, lord Heathfield,

1812.

lord James Murray, and viscount Petersham.

First groom and master of the robes,—Nassau Thomas, esq.

Grooms of the bed-chamber,—gen. Chas. Leigh, gen. E. Stephens, gen. T. Slaughter Stanwix, hon. Henry Stanhope, lieut.-gen. sir J. Cradock, lieut.-gen. Wm. Keppel, col. Wilson Bradyll.

Clerk marshal and chief equerry,—col. Benj. Bloomfield.

Equerries,—major-general Hammond, lieut.-col. W. Congreve, major-gen. Bayley, hon. F. Howard, col. Vivian.

Whitehall, March 10. Right hon. H. Wellesley (ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Spain) one of the knights companions of the order of the bath.

Carlton-house, March 13. Frederick Wm. Turner, Charles George J. Arbuthnot, Frederick Wm. Culling Smith, and John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield, esq. pages of honour to his majesty.

Whitehall, March 17. Right hon. gen. Charles earl of Harrington, governor, captain, constable, and lieutenant of Windsor Castle, vice earl of Cardigan deceased.

Carlton-house, March 17. Right hon. the earl of Ormond, one of the lords of his majesty's bedchamber.

John Mac Mahon, esq. keeper of the privy purse, and private secretary to the prince regent.

Whitehall, March 17. Right hon. Hugh Percy (commonly called earl Percy) summoned to the house of peers by the style and title of baron Percy.

Whitehall, March 24. Visc. Melville, William Domett, esq. vice admiral, sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, knt. rear-admiral, hon. Frederick John Robinson, lord Walpole, right hon. William Dundas, and George Johnstone Hope, esq. rear-admiral.

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commis-

commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral.

Carlton-house, March 31. His royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, sovereign of the most noble order of the garter, has been graciously pleased, by letters patent under the sign manual of his royal highness and the great seal of the order, to dispense with all the statutes and regulations usually observed in regard to installation; and to give and grant unto George Granville marquis of Stafford, Francis marquis of Hertford, William earl of Lonsdale, Richard marquis Wellesley, Charles duke of Richmond, and James duke of Montrose, knights elect of the said most noble order, respectively, full power and authority to exercise all rights and privileges belonging to knights companions of the most noble order of the garter, as if they had been formally installed; any decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

Whitehall, April 4. Earl of Buckinghamshire, earl of Liverpool, visc. Castlereagh, and right hon. Richard Ryder, his majesty's three principal secretaries of state:—right hon. Spencer Perceval, chancellor and under treasurer of his majesty's exchequer:—lord Louvaine, lord Teignmouth, right hon. Thomas Wallace, visc. Lowther, and right. hon. John Sullivan, his majesty's commissioners for affairs of India.

Whitehall, April 4. Lord Napier, his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.—Duke of Newcastle, steward of the forest of Sherwood and park of Folewood, co. Notts.

Carlton-house, April 4. Hon. major Lumley, one of the grooms of his majesty's bedchamber.

Carlton-house, April 8. Visc. Sidmouth, lord president of the privy council.—Earl Talbot, lord lieutenant of the county of Stafford.

Foreign-office, April 10. Mr. Joaquim Andrade, consul-assistant for the prince regent of Portugal at London.

Whitehall, April 11. Earl of Courtown, captain of his majesty's band of pensioners.

Downing-street, April 22. A. Anstruther, esq. recorder of Bombay.

Carlton-house, April 27. Lieutenant. Mellish, one of the equerries to the prince regent.

Whitehall, April 28. Georgiana Charlotte, daughter of Thomas Onslow, esq. commonly called lord viscount Cranley, son and heir apparent of George earl of Onslow, to have precedence, &c. as the daughter of an earl of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, May 2. Duke of Beaufort, constable of his majesty's castle of St. Briavels, and warden of the forest of Dean, co. Gloucester.

May 2. The prince regent has permitted lieutenant. gen. Paget, sir B. Spencer, and sir Rowland Hill, to accept the rank, and wear the insignia, of a knight of the grand cross of the royal Portuguese military order of the sword and tower.

Whitehall, May 23. Right rev. Dr. Bowyer Edw. Spark, recommended to be elected bishop of Ely, vice Dampier deceased.

Duchy of Lancaster, Somerset-place, May 23. The earl of Buckinghamshire, chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

Foreign-office, May 25. P. C. Tupper, esq. his majesty's consul in Valencia.—Gilbert Stuart Bruce, esq. consul at the Canary Islands.

Downing-street, June 1. Major. gen. P. Bonham, governor and commander

commander in chief of Surinam.—Col. G. R. Ainslie, governor and commander in chief of Dominica.

Carlton-house, June 5. Rev. J. S. Clarke, F. R. S. chaplain to the household, and librarian to the prince regent, historiographer to his majesty, vice Dutens deceased.

Whitehall, June 9. Earl of Liverpool, right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, Snowden Barne, esq. and the hon. Berkeley Paget, commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.—Right hon. Nich. Vansittart, chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer.

Carlton-house, June 11. Earl of Harrowby, lord president of the council.—Earl Bathurst and viscount Sidmouth, two of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Carlton-house, June 11. Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, knight, one of his majesty's gentlemen ushers daily waiters.

Carlton-house, June 13. Earl Mordaunt, a knight of the garter.

Whitehall, June 20. Rev. George Henry Law, D. D. recommended to be elected bishop of Chester, vice Dr. Sparke translated.

CIVIL PROMOTIONS.

Sir Vicary Gibbs, late attorney-general, one of the judges of the court of common pleas, vice Mr. justice Lawrence retired, from ill health.

Carlton-house, July 1. The prince of Wales has appointed Joseph Jekyll, esq. his royal highness's attorney-general, and Samuel Shepherd, esq. his solicitor-general.

Foreign-office, July 2. Right hon. gen. viscount Cathcart, K. T. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of Russia.

Whitehall, July 29. The prince regent has granted to Richard marquess Wellesley, K. G. license to accept the insignia of the Persian

order of the sun and lion, conferred upon him by the king of Persia.

Downing street, Aug. 4. Lord Walpole, secretary of embassy at the court of St. Petersburg.

Foreign-office, Aug. 8. Edward Thornton, esq. envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Sweden.—George Sholto Douglas, esq. secretary of legation at that court.

Aug. 12. Naval promotions, in honour of the prince regent's birthday:

Admirals of the white—Robert Mann, esq. and John Henry, esq.—to be admirals of the red.

Admirals of the blue—sir Charles H. Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, and James Hawkins Whitshed, esquires—admirals of the white.

Vice-admirals of the red—Edw. Tyrrel Smith, esq. sir Thomas Graves, K. B. Thomas M'Namara Russell, esq. sir Henry Trollope, knight, and sir Hen. Edwyn Stanhope, bart.—admirals of the blue.

Vice-admirals of the white—sir Isaac Coffin Greenly, bart. John Aylmer, Sam. Osborn, Richard Boger, John Child Purvis, and Theophilus Jones, esquires—to be vice-admirals of the red.

Vice-admirals of the blue—John M'Dougall, James Alms, and Eliab Harvey, esquires, sir Edmund Nagle, knight, John Wells, Richard Grindall, and George Martin, esquires, sir Richard John Strachan, bart. K. B. sir William Sidney Smith, knight, and Thomas Sotheby, esq.—to be vice-admirals of the white.

Rear-admirals of the red—Robert Devereux Fancourt, esq. sir Edward Buller, bart. hon. Robert Stopford, Mark Robinson, Thomas Revell Shivers, Francis Pickmore, John Stephens Hall, John

Dilkes, William Lechmere, and Thomas Foley, esquires—to be *vice-admirals of the blue*.

Rear-admirals of the white—Rowley Bulteel, Wm. Luke, Isaac George Manley, John Osborn, Edmund Crawley, Charles Boyles, esquires, sir T. Williams, knight, Thomas Hamilton, esq. sir T. B. Thompson, bart. John Laugharne, Wm. Hargood, George Gregory, John Ferrier, Richard Incedon Bury, Rob. Moorsom, esquires—*Rear-admirals of the red*.

Rear-admirals of the blue—Wm. Bligh, Lawrence Wm. Halstead, Edward Oliver Osborn, esquires, sir Harry B. Neale, bart. sir Joseph S. Yorke, knight, hon. Arthur K. Legge, Francis Faverman, esq. earl of Galloway, Thomas F. Freemantle, esq. sir Francis Laforey, bart. Philip Charles Durham, Isaac Israel Pellew, Alex. Fraser, Benjamin Hallowell, George Johnstone Hope, esquires, lord Amelius Beauclerk, Wm. Taylor, James Nicoll Morris, George Burdon, William Brown, Thomas Byam Martin, esquires—to be *rear-admirals of the white*.

The following post-captains were promoted to the rank of *rear-admirals of the blue*.—William Johnstone Hope, esq. lord Henry Pawlett, Charles Wm. Patterson, George Cockburn, Thomas Surridge, Samuel Hood Linzee, Jas. Carpenter, Robert Barton, Graham Moore, Matthew H. Scott, Jos. Hanwell, Henry Wm. Bayntun, esqs. hon. Francis F. Gardner, sir Richard King, bart. Edward Griffith, Edw. James Foote, Richard Lee, Wm. Pierrepont, Peter Halket, Wm. Bedford, esquires.

Captains Pulteney Malcolm, C. V. Penrose, James Bissett, and the hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming, to be *colonels of the royal marines*,

in the room of admirals William Johnstone Hope, lord Henry Pawlett, George Cockburn, and Samuel Hood Linzee.

Whitball, Aug. 18. The prince has granted the dignity of a marquis of Great Britain and Ireland to the right hon. Arthur earl of Wellington, K. B. and his heirs male, by the name, &c. of marquis Wellington, of Wellington.

Carlton-house, Aug. 13. Lord Charles Bentinck, treasurer of his majesty's household; lord George Beresford, comptroller of his majesty's household; right hon. Frederick John Robinson; right hon. William Fitzgerald, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland; and the right hon. Robert Peel, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

Aug. 15. Viscount Jocelyn, vice-chamberlain to his majesty's household; lord Charles Bentinck, treasurer of his majesty's household; lord George Beresford, comptroller of his majesty's household; general Samuel Hulse, master of his majesty's household; major-gen. the hon. Charles Stuart, hon. Augustus Cavendish Bradshaw, and major-gen. T. H. Turner, grooms of his majesty's bedchamber. And the earl of Yarmouth, lord warden of the stannaries in Cornwall and Devon.

The gazette announces the elevation of the earl of Northampton to the rank of marquis of the united kingdom, by the titles of baron Wilmington, earl Compton, marquis of Northampton; likewise of earl Camden to the rank of marquis of the united kingdom, by the titles of earl Brecknock, marquis of Camden; of lord Mulgrave, to the rank and titles of viscount Normanby, and earl of Mulgrave; and also of the elevation of lord Harewood to the rank

rank of earl, by the title of viscount Lascelles, and earl of Harewood.

Whitehall, Aug. 21. Lieut.-gen. sir S. Cotton, bart. extra knight of the bath.

Whitehall, Sept. 1. Earl of Buckinghamshire. viscount Castlereagh, earl Bathurst, and viscount Sidmouth, (his majesty's three principal secretaries of state); the earl of Liverpool; right hon. N. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, baron Teignmouth, viscount Lowther, right hon. J. Sullivan, and lord Apsley, commissioners for affairs of India.

War office, Sept. 8. His serene highness William Frederick Henry, hereditary prince of Orange, aide-de-camp to the prince regent.

Sir Thomas Plomer, knt. his majesty's attorney-general.

Wm. Garrow, esq. his majesty's solicitor-general; since knighted.

Downing-street, Sept. 21. Sir Ralph Woodford, bart. governor of the island of Trinidad.

Foreign-office, Sept. 23. Richard Allen, esq. consul in the kingdom of Galicia, the principality of Asturias, and the territory of St. Andero.

Whitehall, Sept. 26. C. Stuart, esq. an extra knight of the bath.

Carlton house, Sept. 29. Earl of Clancarty, and, in his absence, right hon. F. J. Robinson, president of the committee of control, for the consideration of matters relating to trade and colonies.

Whitehall, Sept. 29. Viscount Melville, admiral W. Domett, rear-admiral sir J. S. Yorke, right hon. W. Dundas, rear-admiral G. Johnstone Hope, sir G. Warrender, and S. Osborn, esq. lords commissioners of the admiralty.

Carlton-house, Oct. 1. T. D. Coventry, of Henley, esq. sheriff of

the county of Oxford, vice F. S. L. Wheates, of Glympton Park, esq. deceased.

Whitehall, Oct. 3. Earl of Liverpool, right hon. Nicholas Vansittart, right hon. Wm. Fitzgerald, chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland, hon. Berkeley Paget; right hon. Frederick John Robinson, and James Brogden, esq. commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of the exchequer.

Whitehall, Oct. 21. Sir Rupert George, bart. James Bowen, esq. hon. John Douglas, John Harness, doctor in physic, hon. Courtenay Boyle, and Wm. Boothby, esq. commissioners for transport service, &c.

Whitehall, Nov. 3. The prince regent has been pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen respectively, and the heirs male of their body lawfully begotten, viz.—William Congreve, of Walton, Staffordshire, esq. lieut.-gen. in the army—William Payne, esq. lieut.-gen. in the army—Albemarle Bertie, esq. vice-admiral of the red squadron of his majesty's fleet—sir Henry Russell, knt. chief justice of Bengal—sir Ewen Baillie, of Portman-square, knt. major-gen. in the army—Barry Close, esq. major-gen. in the service of the East India company—right hon. Claudius Stephen Hunter, lord mayor of London—Frederick John Falkiner, of Abbotstown, in the county of Dublin, esq.—Benjamin Hobhouse, of Chantry-house, in the county of Wilts, esq.—Stewart Bruce, of the city of Dublin, esq.—John Owen, of Orielton, in the county of Pembroke, esq.—Jahleel Brenton, esq. post-captain in the royal navy—

navy—Rev. Henry Bate Dudley, of Sloane-street, Chelsea—Gilbert Blane, of Blane-field, doctor of physic—John Lister Kaye, of Grange, in the county of York, esq.—sir Charles Ormsbie, of the city of Dublin, knt.—Æneas Mackintosh, of Mackintosh, in the shire of Inverness, esq.—Geo. William Leeds, of Croxton Park, in the county of Cambridge, esq.—William Knighton, of Hanover-square, in the county of Middlesex, doctor of physic—George Jackson, of Forkhillan, in the county of Armagh, esq.—Everard Home, surgeon—Edw. Kennedy, of Johnstown Mount Kennedy, in the county of Waterford, esq.—Richard Nagle, of Jamestown House and Castle Donore in the county of Westmeath, esq.—James Caleb Anderson, of Fermoy, in the county of Cork, esq.—James Galbraith, of Shane-valley, in the county of Donegal, esq.
Carlton-house, Nov. 3. Pickstan James, esq. M. D. one of the physicians extraordinary to the prince regent.

Whitehall, Nov. 10. Sir Richard Fletcher, knt. lieutenant-col in the royal engineers, and chief engineer with the army in Spain and Portugal, a baronet of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, Dec. 1. Roger Hale Sheaffe, esq. major-general and lieutenant-col. in the 49th regiment, a baronet of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, Dec. 5. Sir J. Shaw, of Kilmarnock, a baronet of the united kingdom.

SHERIFFS appointed by his royal highness the prince regent in council, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, for the year 1812.

Bedfordshire, John Cooper, of Toddington, esq.

Berkshire, George Elwes, of Mareham, esq.

Buckinghamshire, sir William Clayton, of Harleyford, bart.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, John Carstairs, of Woodhurst, esq.

Cheshire, Edmund Yates, of Ince, esq.

Cumberland, Thomas Hartley, of Linthwaite, esq.

Derbyshire, Richard Bateman, of Poston, esq.

Devonshire, James Hay, of Collypriest, esq.

Dorsetshire, Thomas Hurlock Bastard, of Charlton Marshall, esq.

Essex, sir Robert Wigram, of Walthamstow, bart.

Gloucestershire, sir William Hicks, of Witcomb Park, bart.

Herefordshire, Thomas Jay, of Derndale, esq.

Hertfordshire, John Curtie, of Essenden, esq.

Kent, John Wells, of Bickley, esq.

Leicestershire, Richard Cheslyn, of Langley, esq.

Lincolnshire, George Lister, of Griske, esq.

Monmouthshire, Charles Lewis, of St. Pierre, esq.

Norfolk, John Turner Hales, of Hardingham, esq.

Northamptonshire, Peter Denys, of Easton Neston, esq.

Northumberland, Ralph Bates, of Milbournie Hall, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Hugh Blaydes, of Ranby Hall, esq.

Oxfordshire, Francis Sackville Lloyd Wheate, of Glympton Park, esq.

Rutlandshire, Gerard Noel Noel, of Exton, esq.

Shropshire, Richard Lister, of Rowton, esq.

Somersetshire, Wm. Vaughan, of Monkton Combe, esq.

Staffordshire, Thomas Motter-shaw, of Silkmore House, esq.

Southampton,

Southampton, Thomas Thistlethwaite, of Southwich, esq.

Suffolk, Richard Moore, of Melford, esq.

Surrey, Thomas Starling Benson, of Champion Lodge, esq.

Sussex, George Francis Tyson, of Singleton, esq.

Warwickshire, Samuel Peach, of Idlicote, esq.

Wiltshire, sir William Pierce Ashe A'Court, of Heytesbury, bart.

Worcestershire, John Baker, of Waresley, esq.

Yorkshire, sir Thomas Slingsby, of Scriven Park, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen, John George Phillips, of Cwingwilly, esq.

Pembroke, Henry Scourfield, of Robeston Hall, esq.

Cardigan, Griffith Jones, of Cardigan, esq.

Glamorgan, Morgan Popkin Traherne, of Goytrahene, esq.

Brecon, Charles Fox Crespigny, of Tallyn, esq.

Radnor, Thomas Grove, the younger, of Cwm Ellan, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth, William Wynne, of Penrarth, esq.

Carnarvon, the hon. Peter Robert Drummond Burrell, of Gwydir.

Anglesey, Hugh Bulkeley Owen, of Coedana, esq.

Montgomery, George Meares, of Fynnant, esq.

Denbigh, William Edwards, of Hendre House, esq.

Flint, Hugh Humphreys, of Parypille, esq.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH, JAN. 7,
BY COMMISSION.

My lords and gentlemen,

WE are commanded by his royal highness the prince regent to express to you the deep sorrow which he feels in announcing to you the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the unhappy disappointment of those hopes of his majesty's early recovery, which had been cherished by the dutiful affection of his family and the loyal attachment of his people.

The prince regent has directed copies of the last reports of her majesty the queen's council to be laid before you, and he is satisfied that you will adopt such measures as the present melancholy exigency may appear to require.

In securing a suitable and ample provision for the support of his majesty's royal dignity, and for the attendance upon his majesty's sacred person during his illness, the prince regent rests assured, that you will also bear in mind the indispensable duty of continuing to preserve for his majesty the facility of resuming the personal exercise of his royal authority, in the happy event of his recovery, so earnestly desired by the wishes and the prayers of his family and his subjects.

The prince regent directs us to signify to you the satisfaction with

which his royal highness has observed, that the measures which have been pursued for the defence and security of the kingdom of Portugal have proved completely effectual; and that on the several occasions in which the British or Portuguese troops have been engaged with the enemy, the reputation already acquired by them has been fully maintained.

The successful and brilliant enterprise which terminated in the surprise, in Spanish Estremadura, of a French corps, by a detachment of the allied army under lieutenant-general Hill, is highly creditable to that distinguished officer and to the troops under his command, and has contributed materially to obstruct the designs of the enemy in that part of the peninsula.

The prince regent is assured, that while you reflect with pride and satisfaction on the conduct of his majesty's troops, and of the allies, in these various and important services, you will render justice to the consummate judgement and skill displayed by general lord viscount Wellington in the direction of the campaign. In Spain, the spirit of the people remains unsubdued; and the system of warfare so peculiarly adapted to the actual condition of the Spanish nation has been recently extended and improved, under the advantages which result from the operations of the allied

allied armies on the frontier, and from the countenance and assistance of his majesty's navy on the coast. Although the great exertions of the enemy have in some quarters been attended with success, his royal highness is persuaded that you will admire the perseverance and gallantry manifested by the Spanish armies. Even in those provinces principally occupied by the French forces new energy has arisen among the people, and the increase of difficulty and danger has produced more connected efforts of general resistance.

The prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, commands us to express his confident hope, that you will enable him to continue to afford the most effectual aid and assistance, in the support of the contest which the brave nations of the peninsula still maintain with such unabated zeal and resolution.

His royal highness commands us to express his congratulations on the success of the British arms in the island of Java.

The prince regent trusts you will concur with his royal highness in approving the wisdom and ability with which this enterprise, as well as the capture of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, has been conducted under the immediate direction of the governor-general of India; and that you will applaud the decision, gallantry, and spirit conspicuously displayed in the late operations of the brave army under the command of that distinguished officer sir Samuel Auchmuty, so powerfully and ably supported by his majesty's naval forces.

By the completion of this system of operations, great additional security will have been given to the

British commerce and possessions in the East Indies, and the colonial power of France will have been entirely extinguished.

His royal highness thinks it expedient to recommend to your attention the propriety of providing such measures for the future government of the British possessions in India, as shall appear from experience, and upon mature deliberation, to be calculated to secure their internal prosperity, and to derive from those flourishing dominions the utmost degree of advantage to the commerce and revenue of the united kingdom.

We are commanded by the prince regent to acquaint you, that while his royal highness regrets that various important subjects of difference with the government of the United States of America still remain unadjusted, the difficulties which the affair of the Chesapeake frigate had occasioned have been finally removed; and we are directed to assure you, that in the further progress of the discussions with the United States the prince regent will continue to employ such means of conciliation as may be consistent with the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and with the due maintenance of the maritime and commercial rights and interests of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

His royal highness has directed the estimates for the service of the current year to be laid before you. He trusts that you will furnish him with such supplies as may be necessary to enable him to continue the contest in which his majesty is engaged, with that spirit and exertion which will afford the best prospect of its successful termination.

His

His royal highness commands us to recommend that you should resume the consideration of the state of the finances of Ireland, which you had commenced in the last session of parliament. He has the satisfaction to inform you, that the improved receipt of the revenue of Ireland in the last, as compared with the preceding year, confirms the belief that the depression which that revenue had experienced is to be attributed to accidental and temporary causes.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The prince regent is satisfied that you entertain a just sense of the arduous duties which his royal highness has been called upon to fulfil, in consequence of his majesty's continued indisposition.

Under this severe calamity, his royal highness derives the greatest consolation from his reliance on your experienced wisdom, loyalty, and public spirit, to which in every difficulty he will resort, with a firm confidence that, through your assistance and support, he will be enabled, under the blessing of Divine Providence, successfully to discharge the important functions of the high trust reposed in him, and in the name and on the behalf of his beloved father and revered sovereign to maintain unimpaired the prosperity and honour of the nation.

REPORT UPON THE STATE OF THE
KING'S HEALTH, JAN. 8.

Mr. secretary Ryder brought up the report of the queen's council upon the state of the king's health, which was read by the clerk at the table:—

We, the under-written members of the council appointed to assist her majesty in the execution of the trusts committed to her majesty by virtue of the statute passed in the fifty-first year of his majesty's reign, intituled 'An act to provide for the administration of the royal authority, and for the care of his majesty's royal person, during the continuance of his majesty's illness, and for the resumption of the exercise of the royal authority by his majesty;' having duly met together on this 4th day of January, 1812, at the queen's lodge, near to Windsor castle, and having called before us, and examined upon oath, the physicians and other persons attendant upon his majesty; and having ascertained the state of his majesty's health, by all such ways and means as appeared to us to be necessary for that purpose; do hereby declare and certify, that the state of his majesty's health at the time of this our meeting is not such as to enable his majesty to resume the personal exercise of his royal authority.

That his majesty's bodily health appears to us to be as good as at any of the periods of our former reports.

That his majesty's mental health appears to us not to be worse than at the period of our last report*.

That all the physicians attending his majesty agree in stating, that they think his majesty's complete and final recovery improbable, differing, however, as to the degree of such improbability, some of them expressing themselves as not despairing, others as not entirely despairing, and one of them repre-

* The reports in April, July, &c. were of a similar import: see *Principal Occurrences*, p. 109.

saying that he cannot help despairing of such recovery.

Signed

C. CANTUAR.	AYLESFORD
E. EBOR.	ELDON
MONTROSE	ELLENBOROUGH
WINCHILSEA	W. GRANT."

"Shortly after the above report* had been read in the presence of all the physicians, and one of the members of the council had left Windsor, the physician alluded to in the last clause of the report stated in writing to the other members of the council, then remaining at Windsor, 'That he had unguardedly made use of an expression which he was apprehensive might carry a meaning far beyond what he intended to express, and requested to be allowed to correct it, and assured the council, that whilst he thought the final recovery of his majesty very improbable, he by no means despaired of it.'

"The members of the council to whom the above statement was made, having sworn the physician alluded to, to the truth thereof, afterwards communicated the same to the whole council assembled this 5th day of January, who have deemed it right to subjoin this fact to the above declaration.

Signed

C. CANTUAR.	AYLESFORD
E. EBOR.	ELDON
MONTROSE	ELLENBOROUGH
WINCHILSEA	W. GRANT.

St. James's-square, Jan. 5. 1812.

A true copy. JAMES BULLER.

Feb. 18. G. P. R.—The prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, having taken into his royal consideration the eminent and signal services performed by gen. lord viscount Wellington, in the course of a long series of distinguished exploits in the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, and being desirous to mark the sense he entertains of services so honourable to the British army, and so eminently beneficial to the interests of the nation, has conferred, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, upon gen. lord viscount Wellington, and the heirs male of his body, the rank and dignity of an earl of the united kingdom, by the title of earl of Wellington. The prince regent, further desirous of granting to the earl of Wellington a net annuity of 2000*l*. in addition to the annuity already granted by parliament, and subject to the same limitations imposed in that grant, recommends to the house of commons to enable his royal highness, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to grant and settle such annuity, and to make such further provision aforesaid, as may be thought most effectual for the benefit of general the earl of Wellington and his family.

TREATY OF ALLIANCE OF THE 14TH MARCH BETWEEN THEIR MAJESTIES THE EMPEROR AND KING OF FRANCE AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

ART. 1. There shall be perpetual amity, and sincere union and alliance, between his majesty the emperor of the French, &c. and his majesty the emperor of Austria, &c.

* Examination of physicians, see p. 13, Principal Occurrences.—Correspondence between the prince regent, duke of York, and lords Grey and Grenville, see Principal Occurrences. p. 45.—Correspondence between the duke of Bassano and Lord Castlereagh on the subject of peace, see Principal Occurrences, p. 106.

In consequence the high contracting parties will take the greatest care to maintain the good intelligence so happily established between them, their respective states and subjects, to avoid all that could injure it, and to further on every occasion their mutual utility, honour, and advantage.

2. The two high contracting parties reciprocally guaranty the integrity of their present territories.

3. As the result of this reciprocal guarantee, the two high contracting parties will always labour in concert upon the measures that shall appear the most proper for the maintenance of peace; and in case the states of one or other shall be threatened with invasion, they will employ their most efficacious offices to prevent it.

But as these good offices may not have the desired effect, they oblige themselves to mutual assistance in case one or other shall be attacked or menaced.

4. The succour stipulated by the preceding article shall be composed of 30,000 men (24 infantry and 6000 cavalry), constantly kept up to the war establishment, and of a park of 60 pieces of cannon.

5. This succour shall be furnished at the first requisition of the party attacked or menaced. It shall march in the shortest delay, and at the latest before the end of two months after the demand shall have been made.

6. The two high contracting parties guaranty the integrity of the territory of the Ottoman Porte in Europe.

7. They equally recognise and guaranty the principle of the navigation of neutrals, such as they have been recognised and consecrated by the treaty of Utrecht.

His majesty the emperor of Aus-

tria renews, as far as is needful, the engagement to adhere to the prohibitive system against England, during the present maritime war.

8. The present treaty of alliance shall not be rendered public nor communicated to any cabinet, but in concert between the two high parties.

It shall be ratified and the ratifications exchanged at Vienna in a fortnight, or sooner, if possible.

(Signed) H. B. DUKE OF BASSANO.
Prince CHARLES OF
Schwarzenburg.

Done and signed at Paris, March 14, 1812.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE. CIRCULAR.

Horse Guards, March 25, 1812.

Sir,—The commander in chief judges it expedient to transmit to you, with the enclosed documents, a few observations on the salutary effects, with which it is reasonable to hope that an occasional recurrence to the powers, with which you are thereby vested, will be attended; amongst which the most obvious advantage is that of limiting the operation of regimental courts-martial strictly to the purposes for which they are designed by the legislature, viz. for inquiring into such disputes and criminal matters as may come before them, and for inflicting corporal or other punishments for small offences; and in order to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding on this important point, it is his royal highness's command, that on no pretence whatever shall the award of a regimental court-martial hereafter exceed ———.

The commander in chief has commanded me to take this opportunity of stating, that there is no point on which his royal highness is

is more decided in his opinion, than that when officers are earnest and zealous in the discharge of their duty, and competent to their respective stations, a frequent recurrence to punishment will not be necessary.

The commander in chief is confident, the officers of the army are universally actuated by a spirit of justice, and impressed with those sentiments of kindness and regard towards their men, which they on so many occasions have proved themselves to deserve; but his royal highness has reason to apprehend, that, in many instances, sufficient attention has not been paid to the prevention of crimes. The timely interference of the officer, his personal intercourse and acquaintance with his men (which are sure to be repaid by the soldiers' confidence and attachment), and above all, his personal example, are the only efficacious means of preventing military offences; and the commander in chief has no hesitation in declaring, that the maintenance of strict discipline without severity of punishment, and the support and encouragement of an ardent and military spirit in a corps without licentiousness, are the criterions by which his royal highness will be very much guided in forming his opinion of the talents, abilities, and merit of the officers to whom the command of the different regiments and corps of the army is confided.

I have the honour to be, sir, your very obedient humble servant.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED:

The humble petition of the undersigned, being protestant

dissenting ministers* of the three denominations, residing in and about the cities of London and Westminster,

Sheweth,—That your petitioners conceiving the right of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences to be derived from the Author of their being, and confirmed by the Founder of their Christian faith, and therefore not to be subject to the control of human authority, cannot but regard with deep concern those statutes which restrain and limit the exercise of this right, and impose conditions and penalties that seem to them as unjust in their principle, as they are injurious to the vital interests of true religion.

That your petitioners consider those statutes as originally designed to guard against evils which no longer exist, and as expressive of sentiments with regard to the nature and extent of religious liberty which no longer prevail—at a period when the subjects of the British empire, however they may differ with regard to the principles of their religion and their mode of professing it, concur in a cordial attachment to the family on the throne, and when enlightened views of religious liberty, and a corresponding liberality of spirit, have been diffused among religious professors of all denominations.

That your petitioners, expressing their lively gratitude for the concessions made to their religious rights in the course of the present reign, earnestly but respectfully pray that every remaining penal statute, which extends its operation to the province of religion, may be repealed, and that whilst they conduct themselves as loyal, obedient, and peaceable

* For proceedings of the Deputies, see Principal Occurrences, p. 113.

subjects to the state, they, in common with all their fellow-citizens, may be put in possession of complete religious freedom, and allowed to worship their Maker, and maintain their Christian profession, according to their own views, and their incumbent duty, without being subjected, under the sanction of law, to any penalties or disabilities in consequence of their dissent from the Established Church.

That your petitioners, confiding in the wisdom and justice of this right honourable house, pray that their cause may be taken into consideration, and the relief granted to them for which they supplicate.

April, 1812.

DECLARATION OF PRINCE REGENT.

The government of France, having by an official report, communicated by its minister for foreign affairs to the conservative senate on the 10th day of March last, removed all doubts as to the perseverance of that government in the assestion of principles, and in the maintenance of a system, not more hostile to the maritime rights and commercial interests of the British empire, than inconsistent with the rights and independence of neutral nations; and having thereby plainly developed the inordinate pretensions, which that system, as promulgated in the decrees of Berlin and Milan, was from the first designed to enforce; his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, deems it proper, upon this formal and authentic republication of the principles of those decrees, thus publicly to declare his royal highness's determination still firmly to resist the introduction and establishment of this arbitrary code, which the government of France openly

avows its purpose to impose by force upon the world as the law of nations.

From the time that the progressive injustice and violence of the French government made it impossible for his majesty any longer to restrain the exercise of the rights of war within their ordinary limits, without submitting to consequences not less ruinous to the commerce of his dominions than derogatory to the rights of his crown, his majesty has endeavoured by a restricted and moderate use of those rights of retaliation, which the Berlin and Milan decrees necessarily called into action, to reconcile neutral states to those measures which the conduct of the enemy had rendered unavoidable; and which his majesty has at all times professed his readiness to revoke, so soon as the decrees of the enemy, which gave occasion to them, should be formally and unconditionally repealed, and the commerce of neutral nations be restored to its accustomed course.

At a subsequent period of the war, his majesty, availing himself of the then situation of Europe, without abandoning the principle and object of the orders in council of November 1807, was induced so to limit their operations, as materially to alleviate the restrictions thereby imposed upon neutral commerce. The order in council of April 1809 was substituted in the room of those of November 1807, and the retaliatory system of Great Britain acted no longer on every country in which the aggressive measures of the enemy were in force, but was confined in its operation to France, and to the countries upon which the French yoke was most strictly imposed; and which had become virtually a part of the dominions of France.

The

The United States of America remained nevertheless dissatisfied; and their dissatisfaction has been greatly increased by an artifice too successfully employed on the part of the enemy, who has pretended, that the decrees of Berhn and Milan were repealed, although the decree effecting such repeal has never been promulgated; although the notification of such pretended repeal distinctly described it to be dependent on conditions in which the enemy knew Great Britain could never acquiesce; and although abundant evidence has since appeared of their subsequent execution.

But the enemy has at length thrown aside all dissimulation; he now publicly and solemnly declares, not only that those decrees still continue in force, but that they shall be rigidly executed until Great Britain shall comply with additional conditions equally extravagant; and he further announces the penalties of those decrees to be in full force against all nations which shall suffer their flag to be, as it is termed in this code, "denationalised."

In addition to the disavowal of the blockade of May 1806, and of the principles on which that blockade was established, and in addition to the repeal of the British orders in council—he demands an admission of the principles, that the goods of an enemy, carried under a neutral flag, shall be treated as neutral; that neutral property under the flag of an enemy shall be treated as hostile; that arms and warlike stores alone (to the exclusion of ship timber and other articles of naval equipment) shall be regarded as contraband of war; and that no ports shall be considered as lawfully blockaded, except such as are invested and besieged, in the presumption of their being taken *[en prévision]*

d'être pris], and into which a merchant ship cannot enter without danger.

By these and other demands, the enemy in fact requires, that Great Britain, and all civilized nations, shall renounce, at his arbitrary pleasure, the ordinary and indisputable rights of maritime war; that Great Britain, in particular, shall forgo the advantages of her naval superiority, and allow the commercial property, as well as the produce and manufactures of France, and her confederates, to pass the ocean in security, whilst the subjects of Great Britain are to be in effect proscribed from all commercial intercourse with other nations; and the produce and manufactures of these realms are to be excluded from every country in the world, to which the arms or the influence of the enemy can extend.

Such are the demands to which the British government is summoned to submit, to the abandonment of its most ancient, essential, and undoubted maritime rights. Such is the code by which France hopes, under the cover of a neutral flag, to render her commerce unassailable by sea; whilst she proceeds to invade or to incorporate with her own dominions all states that hesitate to sacrifice their national interests at her command, and, in abdication of their just rights, to adopt a code, by which they are required to exclude, under the mask of municipal regulation, whatever is British, from their dominions.

The pretext for these extravagant demands is, that some of these principles were adopted by voluntary compact in the treaty of Utrecht; as if a treaty once existing between two particular countries, founded on special and reciprocal considerations, binding only on the contracting parties, and which in the last treaty

of peace between the same powers had not been revived, were to be regarded as declaratory of the public law of nations.

It is needless for his royal highness to demonstrate the injustice of such pretensions. He might otherwise appeal to the practice of France herself, in this and in former wars; and to her own established codes of maritime law: it is sufficient that these new demands of the enemy form a wide departure from those conditions on which the alleged repeal of the French decrees was accepted by America; and upon which alone, erroneously assuming that repeal to be complete, America has claimed a revocation of the British orders in council.

His royal highness, upon a review of all these circumstances, feels persuaded, that so soon as this formal declaration, by the government of France, of its unabated adherence to the principles and provisions of the Berlin and Milan decrees shall be made known in America, the government of the United States, actuated not less by a sense of justice to Great Britain, than by what is due to its own dignity, will be disposed to recall those measures of hostile exclusion, which, under a misconception of the real views and conduct of the French government, America has exclusively applied to the commerce and ships of war of Great Britain.

To accelerate a result so advantageous to the true interests of both countries, and so conducive to the re-establishment of perfect friendship between them; and to give a decisive proof of his royal highness's disposition to perform the engagements of his majesty's government, by revoking the orders in council, whenever the French decrees shall be actually and unconditionally re-

pealed; his royal highness the prince regent has been this day pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to order and declare:

That if at any time hereafter the Berlin and Milan decrees shall, by some authentic act of the French government, publicly promulgated, be expressly and unconditionally repealed; then and from thenceforth, the order in council of the 7th day of January 1807, and the order in council of the 26th April 1809, shall, without any further order, be, and the same hereby are declared from thenceforth to be wholly and absolutely revoked; and further that the full benefit of this order shall be extended to any ship or vessel captured subsequent to such authentic act of repeal of the French decrees, although, antecedent to such repeal, such ship or vessel shall have commenced, and shall be in the prosecution of a voyage, which, under the said orders in council, or one of them, would have subjected her to capture and condemnation; and the claimant of any ship or cargo which shall be captured at any time subsequent to such authentic act of repeal by the French government, shall, without any further order or declaration on the part of his majesty's government on this subject, be at liberty to give in evidence in the high court of admiralty or any court of vice admiralty, before which such ship or vessel, or its cargo, shall be brought for adjudication, that such repeal by the French government had been by such authentic act promulgated prior to such capture; and upon proof thereof, the voyage shall be deemed and taken to have been as lawful, as if the said orders in council had never been made; saving nevertheless

less to the captors, such protection and indemnity as they may be equitably entitled to, in the judgment of the said court, by reason of their ignorance or uncertainty as to the repeal of the French decrees, or of the recognition of such repeal by his majesty's government, at the time of such capture.

His royal highness however deems it proper to declare, that, should the repeal of the French decrees, thus anticipated and provided for, afterwards prove to have been illusory on the part of the enemy, and should the restrictions thereof be still practically enforced or revived by the enemy, Great Britain will be obliged, however reluctantly, after reasonable notice to neutral powers, to have recourse to such measures of retaliation as may then appear to be just and necessary.

Westminster, April 21, 1812.

ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE REGENT,
OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF
FRIENDS, WITH HIS ROYAL HIGH-
NESS'S ANSWER.

To George Augustus, Prince Regent
of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Ireland.

May it please the Prince,

Seeing that in consequence of the lamented affliction of our beloved Sovereign thy father, thou art called to the high office of administering the regal government of this country, we, his dutiful subjects, the religious Society of Friends, are desirous of representing to thee a subject in which we believe the welfare of our country is deeply concerned.

It is now many years since war has been spreading its desolation over great part of the civilized world; and as we believe it to be an evil, from which the spirit of the gospel of Christ would wholly deliver the
1812.

nations of the earth, we humbly petition thee to use the royal prerogative, now placed in thy hands, to take such early measures for the putting a period to this dreadful state of devastation, as we trust the wisdom of thy councils, as they seek for divine direction, will be enabled to discover.

Impressed with a grateful sense of the religious privileges we enjoy under the present government, we submit this highly important cause of suffering humanity, which is peculiarly near to our hearts, to thy most serious consideration; that thus thou may'st become an honoured instrument in the hand of the Almighty, in promoting his gracious designs respecting the inhabitants of the earth.

Signed, by order, and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of the said people, held in London, this 29th day of the fifth month, 1812, by

JOHN WILKINSON,
Clerk to the Meeting this year.

To which address his Royal Highness was pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

"I am deeply sensible of the calamities which necessarily attend a state of war.

"It would, therefore, be most grateful to my feelings, to observe such a change in the views and conduct of the enemy as would admit of a cessation of hostilities, consistently with a just regard to the important interests which have been committed to my charge, and which it is my indispensable duty to maintain.

"I reflect with great satisfaction on the religious privileges secured to you by the wisdom and benevolence of the laws, and you may rest assured of my constant protection."

(M) AMERICA.

AMERICA.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE
SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

I communicate to congress certain documents, being a continuation of those heretofore laid before them, on the subject of our affairs with Great Britain.

Without going beyond the renewal, in 1803, of the war in which Great Britain is engaged, and omitting unrepaid wrongs of inferior magnitude, the conduct of her government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation.

British cruizers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons, sailing under it, not in the exercise of a belligerent right, founded on the law of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels in a situation where no laws can operate but the law of nations, and the laws of the country to which the vessels belong; and a self-redress is assumed, which, if British subjects were wrongfully detained and alone concerned, is that substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war. Could the seizure of British subjects in such cases, be regarded as within the exercise of a belligerent right, the acknowledged laws of war, which forbid an article of captured property to be adjudged without a regular investigation before a competent tribunal, would imperiously demand the fairest trial, where the sacred rights of persons were at issue. In place of such trial, these rights are subjected to the will of every petty commander.

The practice, hence, is so far from affecting British subjects alone, that under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public laws and of their national flag, have been torn from their country, and from every thing dear to them,—have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation, and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren.

Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations: and that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for continuance of the practice, the British government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements, such as could not be rejected, if the recovery of the British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect.

British cruizers have been in the practice also of violating the rights and peace of our coasts. They hover and harass our entering and departing commerce. To the most insulting pretensions they have added lawless proceedings in our very harbours, and have wantonly spilt American blood within the sanctuary of our territorial jurisdiction. The principles and rules enforced by that nation, when a neutral nation, against armed vessels of belligerents, hovering near her coasts, and disturbing her commerce, are well known. When called on, nevertheless,

theless, by the United States, to punish the greater offences committed by her own vessels, her government has bestowed on their commanders additional marks of honour and confidence.

Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force, and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea: the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets; and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. In aggravation of these predatory measures, they have been considered as in force from the dates of their notification; a retrospective effect being thus added, as has been done in other important cases, to the unlawfulness of the course pursued: and to render the outrage more signal, these mock blockades have been reiterated and enforced in the face of official communications from the British government, declaring, as the true definition of a legal blockade, "that particular ports must be actually invested, and previous warning given to vessels bound to them not to enter."

Not content with these occasional expedients for laying waste our neutral trade, the cabinet of Great Britain resorted, at length, to the sweeping system of blockades, under the name of "Orders in Council," which has been moulded and managed as might best suit its political views, its commercial jealousies, or the avidity of the British cruisers.

To our remonstrances against the complicated and transcendent injustice of this innovation, the first reply was, that the orders were reluctantly adopted by Great Britain as a necessary retaliation on decrees of her enemy proclaiming a general

blockade of the British isles, at a time when the naval force of the enemy dared not to issue from his own ports. She was reminded, without effect, that her own prior blockades, unsupported by an adequate naval force, actually applied and continued, were a bar to this plea; that executed edicts against millions of our property, could not be retaliation on edicts confessedly impossible to be executed; that retaliation, to be just, should fall on the party setting the guilty example; not on an innocent party, which was not even chargeable with an acquiescence in it.

When deprived of this flimsy veil for a prohibition of our trade with Great Britain, her cabinet, instead of a corresponding repeal, or a practical discontinuance of its orders, formally avowed a determination to persist in them against the United States, until the markets of her enemy should be laid open to the British products; thus asserting an obligation on a neutral power to require one belligerent to encourage by its internal regulations, the trade of another belligerent; contradicting her own practice towards all nations in peace as well as in war: and betraying the insincerity of those professions which inculcated a belief, that, having resorted to her orders with regret, she was anxious to find an occasion of putting an end to them.

Abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States, and for its own consistency, the British government now demands, as pre-requisites to a repeal of its orders, as they relate to the United States, that a formality should be observed in the repeal of the French decrees nowise necessary to their termination, nor exemplified by British usage; and that the

French repeal, besides including that portion of the decrees which operates within a territorial jurisdiction, as well as that which operates on the high seas against the commerce of the United States, should not be a single special repeal in relation to the United States, but should be extended to whatever other neutral nations unconnected with them may be affected by those decrees.

And, as an additional insult, they are called on for a formal disavowal of conditions and pretensions advanced by the French government, from which the United States are so far from having been themselves responsible, that, in official explanations which have been published to the world, and in a correspondence of the American minister at London with the British minister for foreign affairs, such a responsibility was explicitly and emphatically disclaimed.

It has become, indeed, sufficiently certain that the commerce of the United States is to be sacrificed, not as interfering with the belligerent rights of Great Britain—not as supplying the wants of their enemies, which she herself supplies—but as interfering with the monopoly which she covets for her own commerce and navigation. She carries on a war against the lawful commerce of a friend, that she may the better carry on a commerce with an enemy,—a commerce polluted by the forgeries and perjuries which are for the most part the only passports by which it can succeed.

Anxious to make every experiment short of the last resort of injured nations, the United States have withheld from Great Britain, under successive modifications, the benefits of a free intercourse with their market, the loss of which could not but outweigh the profits accru-

ing from her restrictions of our commerce with other nations. And to entitle those experiments to the more favourable consideration, they were so framed as to enable her to place her adversary under the exclusive operation of them. To these appeals her government has been equally inflexible, as if willing to make sacrifices of every sort, rather than yield to the claims of justice, or renounce the errors of a false pride. Nay, so far were the attempts carried to overcome the attachment of the British cabinet to its unjust edicts, that it received every encouragement, within the competency of the executive branch of our government, to expect that a repeal of them would be followed by a war between the United States and France, unless the French edicts should also be repealed. Even this communication, although silencing for ever the plea of a disposition in the United States to acquiesce in those edicts, originally the sole plea for them, received no attention.

If no other proof existed of a predetermination of the British government against a repeal of its orders, it might be found in the correspondence of the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at London and the British secretary for foreign affairs, in 1810, on the question whether the blockade of May, 1806, was considered in force or not in force. It had been ascertained that the French government, which urged this blockade as the ground of its decree, was willing, in the event of its removal, to repeal that decree; which being followed by alternate repeals of the other offensive edicts, might abolish the whole system on both sides. This inviting opportunity for accomplishing an object so important to the United States, and professed so often to be the desire

of both the belligerents, was made known to the British government. As that government admits that an actual application of an adequate force is necessary to the existence of a legal blockade, and it was notorious that if such a force had ever been applied, its long discontinuance had annulled the blockade in question, there could be no sufficient objection on the part of Great Britain to a formal revocation of it; and no imaginable objection to a declaration of the fact that the blockade did not exist. The declaration would have been consistent with her avowed principles of blockade, and would have enabled the United States to demand from France the pledged repeal of her decrees; either with success—in which case the way would have been opened for a general repeal of the belligerent edicts; or without success—in which case the United States would have been justified in turning their measures exclusively against France. The British government would, however, neither rescind the blockade, nor declare its non-existence, nor permit its non-existence to be inferred and affirmed by the American plenipotentiary. On the contrary, by representing the blockade to be comprehended in the orders in council, the United States were compelled so to regard it in their subsequent proceedings.

There was a period, when a favourable change in the policy of the British cabinet was justly considered as established. The minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty here proposed an adjustment of the differences more immediately endangering the harmony of the two countries. The proposition was accepted with a promptitude and cordiality corresponding with the invariable professions of this govern-

ment. A foundation appeared to be laid for a sincere and lasting reconciliation. The prospect, however, quickly vanished. The whole proceeding was disavowed by the British government, without any explanation which could at that time repress the belief, that the disavowal proceeded from a spirit of hostility to the commercial rights and prosperity of the United States; and it has since come into proof, that at the very moment when the public minister was holding the language of friendship, and inspired confidence in the sincerity of the negotiation with which he was charged, a secret agent of his government was employed in intrigues, having for their object a subversion of our government, and a dismemberment of our happy union.

In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers; a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex, and to be distinguished by features particularly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among the tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence; and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that government.

Such is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert. It might at least have been expected, that an

enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations, or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found in its true interests alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas; that an enlarged policy would have favoured the free and general circulation of commerce, in which the British nation is at all times interested, and which in times of war is the best alleviation of its calamities to herself, as well as the other belligerents: and more especially, that the British cabinet would not, for the sake of a precarious and surreptitious intercourse with hostile markets, have persevered in a course of measures which necessarily put at hazard the invaluable market of a great and growing country, disposed to cultivate the mutual advantages of an active commerce.

Other councils have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance, and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence committed on the great and common highway of nations, even within the sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations, confiscated by prize-courts, no longer the organs of public law, but the instruments of arbitrary edicts, and their unfortunate crews dispersed and lost, or forced or inveigled in British ports into British fleets; whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions, which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to

regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States: and, on the side of the United States, a state of peace towards Great Britain.

Whether the United States shall continue passive under these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs, or, opposing force to force in defence of their natural rights, shall commit a just cause into the hands of the Almighty Disposer of events, avoiding all connections which might entangle it in the contests or views of other powers, and preserving a constant readiness to concur in an honourable re-establishment of peace and friendship, is a solemn question, which the constitution wisely confides to the legislative department of the government. In recommending it to their early deliberations, I am happy in the assurance, that the decision will be worthy the enlightened and patriotic councils of a virtuous, a free, and a powerful nation.

Having presented this view of the relation of the United States with Great Britain, and of the solemn alternative growing out of them, I proceed to remark, that the communications last made to congress on the subject of our relations with France, will have shewn, that since the revocation of her decrees, as they violated the neutral rights of the United States, her government has authorised illegal captures by its privateers and public ships: and that other outrages have been practised on our vessels and on our citizens. It will have been seen also, that no indemnity had been provided, or satisfactorily pledged, for the extensive spoliations committed under the violent and retrospective order of the French government against

against the property of our citizens seized within the jurisdiction of France.

I abstain at this time from recommending to the consideration of congress definitive measures with respect to that nation, in the expectation, that the result of the enclosed discussions between our minister plenipotentiary at Paris and the French government, will speedily enable congress to decide with greater advantage on the course due to the rights, the interests, the honour of our country. JAMES MADISON.

Washington, June 1, 1812.

AN ACT,
DECLARING WAR BETWEEN, THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND THE
DEPENDENCIES THEREOF, AND
THE UNITED STATES OF AME-
RICA, AND THEIR TERRITORIES.

Be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, that war be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States be and is hereby authorised to use the whole land and naval forces of the United States, to carry the same into effect; and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof. JAMES MADISON.

June 18, 1812.—Approved.

NOVA SCOTIA.

The following proclamation was issued by his excellency lieutenant-general Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, lieutenant-general and commander in chief of Nova Scotia and its dependencies:—

“Whereas the government of the United States of America, by an act of congress on the 18th day of June last, has declared war against the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and it is expedient that this act should be made as public as possible, in the province under my government; I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of his majesty's council, to issue this proclamation, in order to make known the said declaration, that his majesty's subjects, having this notice, may govern themselves accordingly. J. C. SHERBROOKE.”

SPEECH OF THE PRINCE OF THE TWO SICILIES.

Palermo, June 19.

Yesterday the general extraordinary parliament was solemnly opened by a speech from his royal highness the hereditary prince, which was to the following purport:—

“Dear and beloved Sicilians,—From the moment that my illustrious father committed to my care the reins of government, all my views have been solely directed to provide for your relief and benefit. To give, therefore, a stable aspect to the public affairs of this kingdom, I have judged it necessary to assemble this general extraordinary parliament, to provide for the necessities of the state, the emendation of the laws, and the reformation of abuses which have crept in by the lapse of time, and to establish a well-regulated public order. With respect to the first object, the necessities of the

(M 4) state,

gent is hereby pleased further to declare, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, that nothing in this present order contained, shall be understood to preclude his royal highness the Prince Regent, if circumstances shall so require, from restoring, after reasonable notice, the orders of the 7th of January, 1807, and 26th of April, 1809, or any part thereof, to their full effect, or from taking such other measures of retaliation against the enemy, as may appear to his royal highness to be just and necessary.

And the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and the judge of the high court of admiralty, and the judges of the courts of vice-admiralty, are to take the necessary measures herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

JAMES BULLER.

ARTICLES ENTERED INTO AT THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF POLAND, JULY 1. (*See Public Occurrences, p. 10.*)

Art. 1. "The diet constitutes itself a general confederation of Poland.

2. "The general confederation of Poland, exercising in all their fullness the powers which belong to the general association of the nation, declares, that the kingdom of Poland, and the body of the Polish nation, are re-established.

3. "All the dietines of the dutchy shall be convoked, and shall adhere to the confederation. They shall transmit the acts to the council general of the confederation.

4. "All the Poles are invited, and authorised to join the confederation, whether collectively or individually, and to communicate as

speedily as possible their adhesion to the council general.

5. "All the portions of the Polish territory are invited to join the confederation in proportion as the enemy's removal shall enable them to do so. They are invited forthwith to form Dietines which shall send deputies to convey their acts of adherence to the council general. These shall become members of the diet of the general confederation.

6. "All officers, soldiers, civil and military agents, Poles by birth and inhabiting the Polish territory, unjustly retained by the Russians, are summoned to abandon the service of that power.

7. "All the military men shall be replaced under the colours of Poland; and all the civil agents may be replaced, each in a corresponding department of the Polish administration.

8. "All the ecclesiastical, civil, and military authorities shall each in his department, make known the existence, the spirit, and the object of the confederation. For this purpose, the bishops shall issue their charges; the prefects, subprefects, and mayors, shall publish to those under their jurisdiction, all the acts relative to this confederation, and calculated to enlighten or support the spirit of the districts confided to their care. All the commandants and chiefs of corps in the army shall do the same to those under their orders.

9. "All those members of the confederated diet, who do not form part of the general council, are authorized to return to their homes, till invited anew; and the confederation expects from the zeal and patriotism of which they have just given proof, that they will employ that interval in increasing each in his

his sphere, the patriotic dispositions of their fellow citizens.

10. "The confederation, during its recess, delegates all the powers with which it is invested, to the council-general selected from itself, residing at Warsaw, and composed of the following members:—Stanislaus count Zamoyski, senator palatine; John Colaszewski, bishop of Wigry; Alexander Linowski, counsellor of state; Martin Badeni, counsellor of state; Antony Ostrowski, nuncio of the district of Brzeziny; Frederick Count Skorzewski, nuncio of the district of Bromberg; Joachim Owidski, nuncio of the district of Lublin; Francis Wezyk, nuncio of the district of Biala; Francis count Lubientski, deputy of the district of Skalmierz and Hebdow; Charles Skorkowski, deputy of the city of Cracow; Cajetan Kozmian, secretary of the general confederation.

11. "The number requisite to form a deliberation shall be five.

12. "The secretary-general shall have a deliberative voice.

13. "All the administrative, judicial, and military authorities shall continue the exercise of their functions.

14. "A deputation shall be sent to his majesty the king of Saxony, duke of Warsaw, to request of him to accede to the general confederation of Poland.

15. "A deputation shall be sent to his majesty the emperor Napoleon, king of Italy, to present to him the acts of the confederation, and to beg of him to encircle the cradle of reviving Poland with his powerful protection.

16. "The confederation, in the face of heaven and earth, in the name of all the Poles, comes under a solemn obligation to prosecute to the end, and by all the means in their power, the accomplishment

of the great work which it this day commences.

17. "The confederation declares, that, under circumstances, in which all its labours, all its wishes, tend only to the re-establishment of the country, and to the union of all its parts, it cannot regard as a true Pole, as a good citizen, whosoever shall dare to search into the past for motives of division, or accusation: in one word, whosoever shall resort to any measure calculated to plant the germs of discord in the bosom of a family, which every thing conducts towards union.

18. "The ministers are charged, each in his own department, to make known, through the medium of the journals, or otherwise, all the acts which have emanated from the confederation, or which shall be in future addressed to it."

REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE OF SECRECY APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE NATURE OF THE RIOTS OF THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND.

The committee of secrecy, to whom the copies of the information which has been received, relative to certain violent proceedings which, in defiance of the laws, have taken place, and continue to be carried on, in several counties of England, (scaled up) were referred; have, pursuant to the order of the house, examined the matters thereof; and have agreed to the following report.—

Your committee having examined the papers and documents referred to them, are concerned to state, that from the several sources of information therein contained, it appears that for some months past, serious and alarming disturbances, destructive to property, and highly dangerous to private safety and the public peace, have prevailed in a very extensive populous manufacturing district,

trict, comprising certain parts of Lancashire, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, and certain parts of Cheshire bordering upon Lancashire.

That the outrages in the above district, brought to the notice of your committee, commenced about the end of February last, and continued (though not without occasional variation and temporary abatement) to the latest period (the 23d of June) at which any information has been received. During this period, rioters in large numbers have assembled in the night-time; some of them disguised by blackened faces, some armed with guns and pistols, and others with the implements of their trade, to be used as offensive weapons, have broken into various houses, particularly those of the manufacturers who made use of shearing frames, have destroyed the machinery, sometimes plundered the inhabitants, and burnt their houses and factories, exciting and keeping up perpetual terror in the country, by threatening letters and other means of intimidation, occasionally executing their threats against proprietors and others, not only by the destruction of the property, but by firing into the houses. It appears also, that in some instances, attempts have been made on the lives of those who had been actively employed in endeavouring to suppress the tumults; and the atrocious murder of Mr. Horsfall, a very respectable manufacturer in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, in the month of April, by four men, who fired at him with slugs in the public road, in broad day, together with the other acts of violence, caused a great and general consternation over all the district.

It may be proper to add, that parties of the rioters assembled, have, in several instances, demanded and

obtained money from individuals by threats and terror.

Your committee do not think it necessary to describe the numerous acts of outrage that have been committed, conceiving it sufficient for the purposes of the report, to inform the house of the general state of the disturbed parts, without any particular detail of specific facts.

The object of these lawless proceedings at the commencement of them, appears to have been the destruction of machinery: but very early in their progress, another object, still more formidable to the public security, has been developed; large bodies of men having assembled in the night, breaking open houses, and demanding arms with threats and violence. This practice has been actively persevered in; and though in some cases the plunder of property has accompanied both the destruction of machinery and the demanding of arms, yet it is material to observe, that in general these two objects seem exclusively to have been aimed at; and when these had been attained, every other species of property, though within their reach, has, in most instances, remained untouched. It is stated, that in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, all the arms have been taken; and that in other parts the seizure of them has been considerable; and there is reason to apprehend, that the rioters have different sorts of arms concealed. It appears evident to your committee, that these outrages have not been committed from any sudden impulse of unconnected individuals, but have been the result of organized systems of unlawful violence; that language of the most mischievous nature has been used among the rioters, and a sort of military training and discipline has been established.

In making attacks upon houses, they sometimes appear to have been under the control of leaders, and to have acted upon signals. Rolls have been called over, distinguishing every man, not by his name, but by a number; rockets and blue lights have been seen at night, which are stated, by the persons making the communications, to have been signals made use of by the rioters. It is also represented, that there are establishments of committees, under the name of local committees, secret committees, and executive committees; that they use signs and countersigns, to guard them against the intrusion of informers; and that they carry on their proceedings with the greatest secrecy and caution.

It appears that delegates for various places have been appointed, and meetings of those delegates occasionally held; that there is a frequent communication between the several committees and towns, not through the ordinary conveyance of the post-office, but through the medium of delegates; and that the following oath has been extensively administered:—

“I, A. B. of my own voluntary will, do declare, and solemnly swear, that I will never reveal to any person or persons, in any place or places under the canopy of heaven, the names of the persons who compose the secret committee, either by word, deed, or sign; their proceedings, meeting-place, abode, dress, features, marks, complexion, connections, or any thing else that may lead to the discovery of the same; on the penalty of being put out of the world by the first brother that shall meet me, my name and character blotted out of existence, and never be remembered but with contempt and abhorrence. I further

swear that I will use my best endeavours to punish by death any traitor or traitors, should any rise up amongst us, he or them; and though he should fly to the verge of nature, I will pursue him with unceasing vengeance. So help me God, to keep this oath inviolable.”

It appears that they who were sworn in, were to pay the weekly sum of twopence; and that in the meetings of delegates at Manchester, from the neighbouring towns, discord has occasionally arisen, from some of the delegates not bringing from their respective districts, the contributions that were due. No evidence or information, that has been laid before your committee, justifies the supposition, that any sums of money have been distributed among the rioters.

It appears also, that attempts have been made to create a persuasion amongst the persons engaged in these disturbances, that their proceedings are likely to be supported by similar combinations in London and in other parts of Great Britain, as well as in Ireland; and that they are countenanced by individuals of a higher class and description, who are to declare themselves at a future time. But no evidence has been laid before your committee to sanction any such reports.

It appears to your committee, that even in the cases in which the outrages have been most clearly ascertained, it has been found extremely difficult, and in some instances impossible, to obtain evidence as to the persons by whom they were committed.

Of the numbers associated in the different parts of the disturbed district, your committee have not any information that can be satisfactorily relied upon; but that it is considerable, the papers laid before them give sufficient ground

ground to think. Neither can they presume to state what is the ultimate object, the persons thus associated have in view, nor for what precise purpose it is, that these extensive combinations have been formed. But whatever may be object, or whoever may be the secret movers, whether these combinations are confined to purposes relating exclusively to trade, or whether advantage has been taken of the distresses of the times to draw together, under that pretence, all discontented persons, with views hereafter to be developed; yet the secrecy and method apparent in the whole arrangement, the system of terror so industriously enforced by threats, assassination, and attempts at assassination, the oath administered, the eagerness and activity in procuring arms, and the training before-mentioned, are all circumstances which have not failed to impress upon the minds of your committee, a strong sense of the danger arising from such combinations, to the peace and security of the country.

**TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN GREAT
BRITAIN AND RUSSIA.**

1. There shall be between his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, their heirs and successors, and between their kingdoms and subjects respectively, a firm, true, and inviolable peace, and a sincere and perfect union and amity; so that, from this moment, all subjects of disagreement that may have subsisted between them shall cease.

2. The relations of amity and commerce between the two countries shall be re established on each side, on the footing of the most favoured nations.

3. If, in resentment of the present re-establishment of peace and good understanding between the two countries, any power whatsoever shall make war upon his imperial majesty, or his Britannic majesty, the two contracting sovereigns agree to act in support of each other for the maintenance and security of their respective kingdoms.

4. The two high contracting parties reserve to themselves to establish a proper understanding and adjustment, as soon as possible, with respect to all matters which may concern their eventual interests, political as well as commercial.

5. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratification shall be exchanged in six weeks; or sooner, if possible: and for the due performance of the same, we sign, in virtue of our full powers, and have signed the present treaty of peace, and have thereto affixed our seals.

*Done at Orebro, the 6th (18th)
July, 1812.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

REGENT'S SPEECH.

BY COMMISSION.

Thursday, July 30.

At a quarter past three o'clock the lord chancellor took the Wool-sack, together with lords Liverpool, Harrowby, Walsingham, Westmorland, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and sent the gentleman usher of the black rod to summon the commons, to hear two commissions read; the one for passing the English insolvent debtors' bill, the other for the prorogation of parliament. The commons came accordingly in the usual manner, with the speaker at their head. The commission for passing the bill was read, and the same was passed accordingly. The commission for proroguing parliament was next read: after which
the

the lord chancellor delivered the following speech:—

My lords and gentlemen,
In terminating the present session of parliament, his royal highness the prince regent has commanded us to express to you the deep concern and sorrow which he feels at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

His royal highness regrets the interruption which has occurred in the progress of public business, during this long and laborious session, in consequence of an event which his royal highness must ever deplore. The zeal and unwearied assiduity with which you have persevered in the discharge of the arduous duties imposed upon you by the situation of the country, and the state of public affairs, demands his royal highness's warmest acknowledgment.

The assistance which you have enabled his royal highness to continue to the brave and loyal nations of the peninsula, is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects.

His royal highness most warmly participates in those sentiments of approbation which you have bestowed on the consummate skill and intrepidity displayed in the operations which led to the capture of the important fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, during the present campaign; and his royal highness confidently trusts, that the tried valour of the allied forces, under the distinguished command of general the earl of Wellington, combined with the unabated spirit and steady perseverance of the Spanish and Portuguese nations, will finally bring the contest in that quarter to an issue, by which the independence of the peninsula will be effectually secured.

The renewal of the war in the north of Europe furnished an additional proof of the little security which can be derived from any submission to the usurpations and tyranny of the French government. His royal highness is persuaded that you will be sensible of the great importance of the struggle in which the emperor of Russia has been compelled to engage, and that you will approve of his royal highness affording to those powers who may be united in this contest, every degree of co-operation and assistance, consistent with his other engagements, and with the interests of his majesty's dominions.

His royal highness has commanded us to assure you, that he views with most sincere regret, the hostile measures which have been recently adopted by the government of the United States of America, towards this country. His royal highness is nevertheless willing to hope, that the accustomed relations of peace and amity between the two countries may yet be restored: but if his expectations in this respect should be disappointed, by the conduct of the government of the United States, or by their perseverance in any unwarrantable pretensions, he will most fully rely on the support of every class of his majesty's subjects, in a contest in which the honour of his majesty's crown, and the best interests of his dominions, must be involved.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

We have it in command from his royal highness, to thank you for the liberal provision which you have made for the services of the present year. His royal highness deeply regrets the burthens which you have found it necessary to impose upon his majesty's people; but he applauds the wisdom which has induced

duced you so largely to provide for the exigencies of the public service, as affording the best prospect of bringing the contest in which the country is engaged to a successful and honourable conclusion.

My lords and gentlemen,

His royal highness has observed, with the utmost concern, the spirit of insubordination and outrage which has appeared in some parts of the country, and which has been manifested by acts, not only destructive of the property and personal safety of many of his majesty's loyal subjects in those districts, but disgraceful to the British character. His royal highness feels it incumbent upon him to acknowledge your diligence in the investigation of the causes which have led to these outrages; and he has commanded us to thank you for the wise and salutary measures which you have adopted on this occasion. It will be a principal object of his royal highness's attention, to make an effectual and prudent use of the powers vested in him for the protection of his majesty's people; and he confidently trusts, that on your return into your respective counties, he may rely on your exertions for the preservation of the public peace, and for bringing the disturbers of it to justice. His royal highness most earnestly recommends to you, the importance of inculcating, by every means in your power, a spirit of obedience to those laws, and of attachment to that constitution, which proves equally for the happiness and welfare of all classes of his majesty's subjects, and on which have hitherto depended the glory and prosperity of this kingdom.

Then a commission for proroguing parliament was read.

After which the lord chancellor said,

My lords and gentlemen,

By virtue of the commission under the great seal, to us, and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in obedience to the commands of his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, prorogue this parliament to Friday the 2d day of October next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Friday, the 2d day of October next.

EMBARGO AND DETENTION OF AMERICAN SHIPS.

At the court at Carlton House, the 31st of July, 1812: present, his royal highness the prince regent in council:—It is this day ordered, by his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, that no ships or vessels belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, be permitted to enter and clear out for any of the ports within the territories of the United States of America, until further order; and his royal highness is further pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice aforesaid, to order, that a general embargo or stop be made of all ships and vessels whatsoever, belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, now within, or which shall hereafter come into any of the ports, harbours, or roads, within any part of his majesty's dominions, together with all persons and effects on board all such ships and vessels; and that the commanders of his majesty's ships of war, and privateers, do detain and bring into port all ships and vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of America, or bearing the flag of the said United States, except such as may be furnished with British licences, which vessels are

are allowed to proceed according to the tenour of the said licences; but that the utmost care be taken for the preservation of all and every part of the cargoes on board any of the said ships, or vessels, so that no damage or embezzlement whatever be sustained; and the commanders of his majesty's ships of war and privateers, are hereby instructed to detain and bring into port every such ship and vessel accordingly, except such as are above excepted; and the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and lord warden of the cinque ports, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

CHETWYND.

**BONAPARTE'S ANSWER TO THE
DEPUTIES FROM POLAND.**

A deputation from the confederation was presented to Bonaparte at Wilna, and submitted to his approbation and protection the act of confederation.

To which Napoleon replied as follows:

"Gentlemen, deputies of the confederation of Poland.

"I have heard with interest what you have related to me.

"Poles!—I should have thought and acted like you—like you I would have voted in the assembly at Warsaw. Love of the country is the first duty of civilized man.

"In my situation I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. Had I reigned during the first, second, or third partition of Poland, I would have armed all my people to support you. Immediately that victory enabled me to restore your ancient laws to your capital, and a part of your provinces, I did it without prolonging a war

which would have continued to spill the blood of my subjects.

"I love your nation: for sixteen years I have seen your soldiers by my side, in the fields of Italy, as well as those of Spain.

"I applaud all you have done; I authorise the efforts you wish to make; I will do every thing that depends on me to second your resolutions.

"If your efforts are unanimous, you may conceive the hope of reducing your enemies to acknowledge your rights; but in these countries, so distant and extensive, it is entirely upon the unanimity of the efforts of the population which covers them that you must found your hopes of success.

"I have held to you the same language since my first appearance in Poland. I must add here, that I have guaranteed to the emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and that I cannot sanction any manœuvre or any movement which may tend to trouble the peaceable possession of what remains to him of the Polish provinces. Let Lithuania, Samogitie, Witispisk, Polotsk, Mohilow, Wilhynu, the Ukraine, Podolia, be animated with the same spirit which I have seen in Great Poland, and providence will crown with success your holy cause; he will recompense that devotion to your country, which has rendered you so interesting, and acquired you so many claims to my esteem and protection, upon which you may depend under every circumstance."

**PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR
ALEXANDER.**

[*Published in general orders, by the commander-in-chief, general Bennigsen.*]

Russians!—the enemy has quitted
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the Dwina, and has proclaimed his intention of offering battle. He accuses you of timidity, because he mistakes, or affects to mistake, the policy of your system. Can he then have forgotten the chastisement which your valour inflicted at Dunaberg and Mihr, wherever, in short, it has been deemed proper to oppose him? Desperate counsels are alone compatible with the enterprise he has undertaken, and the dangers of his situation; but shall we therefore be imprudent, and forego the advantages of our own? He would march to Moscow—let him. But can he, by the temporary possession of that city, conquer the empire of Russia, and subjugate a population of thirty millions. Distant from his resources near 800 miles, he would, even if victorious, not escape the fate of the warrior Charles XII. When, pressed on every side by hostile armies, with a peasantry sworn to his destruction—rendered furious by his excesses, and irreconcilable by difference of religion, of customs, of language, how would he retreat?

Russians!—Rely on your emperor and the commanders whom he has appointed. He knows the ardent and indignant valour which burns in the bosoms of his soldiers at the boasts of the enemy. He knows that they are eager for battle; that they grieve at its being deferred, and at the thought of retreating. This cruel necessity will not exist long. Even now the period of its duration lessens. Already are our allies preparing to menace the rear of the invader, while he, inveigled too far to retreat with impunity, shall soon have to combat with the seasons, with famine, and with innumerable armies of Russians. Soldiers, when the period for offering battle arrives, your emperor will

give the signal, and will be an eye-witness of your exploits, and reward your valour.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR
ALEXANDER, ON THE RUSSIAN
ARMY BREAKING UP FROM DRISSA.

Beloved subjects;—In pursuance of the policy advised by our military council, the armies will, for the present, quit their positions, and retire further into the interior, in order the more readily to unite. The enemy may possibly avail himself of this opportunity to advance: he has announced this intention. Doubtless, in spite of his boast, he begins to feel all the difficulties of his menaced attempt to subjugate us, and is anxious therefore to engage; he is desperate, and would therefore put every thing upon the issue of a battle. The honour of our crown, the interests of our subjects, prescribe, however, a different policy: it is necessary that he should be made sensible of the madness of his attempt. If, urged by the desire of obtaining provisions and forage, or goaded by an insatiable cupidity for plunder, he should be blind to the danger of farther committing himself at such an immense distance from his territories, it would become the duty of every loyal Russian, every true friend to his country, to co-operate cheerfully with us in impeding equally his progress or his retreat, by destroying his supplies, his means of conveyance; in short, every thing which can be serviceable to him. We therefore order that such of our subjects as the provinces of Vitebsk and Pskov, as may have articles of subsistence, either for man or beast, beyond their immediate want, to deliver them to officers authorised to receive them, and for which they shall be paid the full

full value out of the imperial treasury. The owners of growing crops within the distance of the line of the enemy's march, are commanded to destroy them, and they shall be reimbursed their loss. The proprietors of magazines, either of provisions or clothing, are required to deliver them to the commissaries for the use of the army, and they will be liberally remunerated. In general, the spirit of this order is to be carried into execution in regard to all articles, whether of subsistence, of clothing, or of conveyance, which may be considered useful to the invaders; and the magistrates are made responsible for the due fulfilment of these our commands.

ALEXANDER.

THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER'S ADDRESS TO HIS SUBJECTS ON THE CAPTURE OF MOSCOW.

It is with a heavy heart we are compelled to inform every son of the country that the enemy entered Moscow on the 3d (15th) of September. The glory of the Russian empire, however, is not thereby tarnished. On the contrary, every individual is inspired with fresh courage, firmness, and hope, that all the evils meditated against us by our enemies will eventually fall upon their own heads. The enemy has not become master of Moscow by overcoming or weakening our forces; the commander in chief, by the advice of a council of war, has found it expedient to retire at a moment of necessity, in order, by the best and most effectual means, to turn the transient triumph of the enemy to his inevitable ruin. However painful it may be to Russians, to hear that the original capital of the empire is in the hands of the enemy of their country, yet it

is consolatory to reflect, that he is possessed merely of bare walls, containing within their circuit neither inhabitants nor provisions. The haughty conqueror imagined that on his entrance into Moscow he would become the arbiter of the whole Russian empire, when he might prescribe to it such a peace as he should think proper: but he is deceived in his expectations; he will neither have acquired the power of dictating, nor the means of subsistence. The assembled and daily increasing forces of the districts of Moscow will not neglect to block up every avenue, and to destroy such parties as may be detached for the purpose of collecting provisions; until the enemy shall perceive that his hopes of astonishing the world by the capture of Moscow were vain, and he be compelled to open a passage for himself by force.

His situation is as follows:—He entered Russia with 300,000 men, the principal part consisting of natives of different kingdoms, serving and obeying him, not from free-will—in defence of their respective countries—but solely from terror. The half of this multifarious army has been destroyed, partly by our brave troops, partly by desertion, and partly by hunger and sickness: with the remainder he is come to Moscow. His audacious irruption, not only into the very heart of Russia, but into its ancient capital, will, without doubt, gratify his ambition, and give him cause of boasting; but the character of that measure must be determined by its result.

He has not entered a country where every step he takes inspires all with terror, and bends both the troops and inhabitants to his feet. Russia is unaccustomed to subjection, and will not suffer her laws,

religion, freedom, and property, to be trampled upon; she will defend them to the last drop of her blood. Hitherto the general zeal against the enemy clearly evinces how powerfully our empire is guarded by the undaunted spirit of its sons. Thus no one despairs; nor is this a time to despair, when every class of the empire is inspired with courage and firmness—when the enemy, with the remainder of his daily decreasing forces, at a distance from home, in the midst of a numerous people, is surrounded by our armies, one of which stands before him, and the other three are endeavouring to cut off his retreat, and to prevent him from receiving any fresh reinforcements—when Spain has not only thrown off his yoke, but also threatens to invade his territories—when the greatest part of Europe (exhausted and enslaved by him), serving him involuntarily, is anxiously and impatiently awaiting the moment when she shall tear herself from his heavy and insupportable chains—when his own country sees no end to the torrent of its blood, shed for his ambition.

In the present disastrous state of human affairs, will not that country acquire eternal fame, which, after encountering all the inevitable desolations of war, shall at last, by its patience and intrepidity, succeed in procuring an equitable and permanent peace, not only for itself, but also for other powers; nay, even for those who are unwillingly fighting against us? It is gratifying and natural for a generous nation to render good for evil.

Almighty God! turn thy merciful eye to thy supplicating Russian church. Vouchsafe courage and patience to thy people struggling in a just cause, so that they may thereby overcome the enemy; and

in saving themselves, may also defend the freedom of kings and nations.

PROCLAMATION OF THE EMPEROR ALEXANDER, DATED ST. PETERSBURGH, NOVEMBER 15TH.

We, Alexander the First, by the grace of God, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias. &c.

It is well known to the whole world in what manner the enemy has entered the boundaries of our empire. No step or means that have so frequently been resorted to by the punctual fulfilment of the peaceable stipulations, nor our steady endeavours by all possible means to avert the effects of a bloody and destructive war, have been able to check his obstinate design, in which he has shewn himself entirely immoveable. With peaceful promises on his tongue, he never ceased to think on war. At length having collected a large army, and strengthened it with Austrian, Prussian, Bavarian, Wurtemberg, Westphalian, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Polish regiments, who constrained through disgrace and fear, he put himself in motion with this immense force; supplied with vast quantities of artillery, and penetrated into the interior of our country. Murder, fire, and destruction, were his attendants on the march. The plundered property, the towns and villages set on fire, the smoking ruins of Moscow, the Kremlin blown up into the air, the temples and altars of the Lord destroyed; in one word, all kinds of cruelty and barbarity, hitherto unheard of, at length prove by his own actions, that they have long been lying concealed in the depth of his mind. The mighty and happy Russian empire, which possesses every thing in abundance, awakened in the heart of the enemy envy and dread. The possession of the whole world

world could not satisfy him, so long as the fertile fields of Russia still were happy. Full of this envy and internal hatred, he revolved, turned, and arranged in his mind, all manner of evil means by which he might give a dreadful blow to her power, a total confusion to her riches, and bring general destruction on her prosperity. He likewise thought by cunning and flattery, to shake the fidelity of our subjects; by the defilement of the sanctuaries and God's temples, to make religion unsteady, and to strike the national sight with follies and extravagancies. On these hopes he built his destructive plans, and with them he forced himself, like a pestilential and murderous tempest, into the heart of Russia.

The whole world has fixed its attention on our suffering country, and inwardly moved, thought they saw in the reflection of the flames of Moscow the last day of the existence of our freedom and independence. But great and mighty is the God of Justice! The triumph of the enemy was of short duration; pressed on all sides by our valiant armies and levies, he soon discovered that by his temerity, he had ventured too far, and that he could not, either by his vaunted army, his seducements, or his cruelties, inspire fear into the loyal and valiant Russians, nor save himself from destruction. After many fruitless endeavours, and now that he sees his numerous troops every where beaten and destroyed, he, with the small remains of them, seeks his personal safety in the rapidity of his flight; he flies from Moscow with as much fear and depression as he advanced against it with pride and insolence; he flies, leaving his cannon behind him, throwing away his baggage, and sacrificing every thing

that can retard the swiftness of his flight. Thousands of the fugitives daily fall to the earth and expire. In such manner does the just vengeance of God punish those who insult his temples. Whilst we, with paternal tenderness and joyful heart, observe the great and praiseworthy actions of our faithful subjects, we carry our most warm and lively gratitude to the first cause of all good,—the Almighty God; and in the next place we have to express our thanks, in the name of our common country, to all our loyal subjects, as the true sons of Russia. By their general energy and zeal, the force of the enemy is brought down to the lowest degree of decline, for the greater part has either been annihilated or made prisoners. All have unanimously joined in the work. Our valiant armies have every where defeated the enemy. The higher nobility have spared nothing by which it could contribute to the increase of the strength of the state. The merchants have distinguished themselves by sacrifices of all kinds. The loyal people, burghers, and peasantry, have given such proofs of fidelity and love for their country, as can only be expected of the Russian nation. They have zealously and voluntarily entered into the hastily raised levies, and have shewn a courage and resolution equal to veteran warriors. They have with the same force and intrepidity penetrated the enemy's regiments, with the same implements with which they only a few weeks before turned up their fields. In this manner the troops of levies sent from St. Petersburg and Novogorod, for the strengthening of the forces under count Wittgenstein, have behaved themselves, especially at Polotzk, and other places. We have besides,

besides, and with heartfelt satisfaction, perceived by the reports of the commander in chief of the armies, and from other generals, that in several governments, and particularly in those of Moscow and Kalouga, the country people have armed themselves, chosen their own leaders, and not only resisted all attempts at seducing them, but also sustained all the calamities that have befallen them with the perseverance of martyrs. Often have they united themselves with our detachments, and assisted them in making their enterprizes and attacks against the enemy. Many villagers have secreted their families and tender infants in the woods; and the inhabitants, with armed hand and inconceivable courage, under engagements on the Holy Gospel not to leave each other in danger, defended themselves, and whenever the enemy shewed himself, have fallen upon him, so that many thousands of them have been cut to pieces, and dispersed by the peasants, and even by their women, and numbers taken prisoners, who were indebted for their lives to the

humanity of those very people whom they came to plunder and destroy.

So high a purpose, and such invincible perseverance in the whole nation, does it immortal honour, worthy of being preserved in the minds of posterity. With the courage of such a nation, we entertain the most well founded hopes. Whilst we, jointly with the true church, and the holy synod and clergy, supplicate God's assistance, that if our inveterate enemy, and the mocker of God's temple and holiness, should not be entirely and totally destroyed in Russia, yet that his deep wounds, and the blood it has cost him, will bring him to acknowledge her might and strength.

Meanwhile we hold it to be our bounden duty, by this general publication before the whole world, to express our gratitude to the valiant, loyal, and religious Russian nation, and thereby render it due justice.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 15th day of November, in the year 1812 after the birth of Christ, and in the 12th year of our reign.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

An ACCOUNT of the Income of, and Charge upon the CONSOLIDATED FUND, in the Years ending 5th January, 1811 and 1812; together with an Account of the WAR TAXES for the same Periods.

INCOME.	Per Anno 1811.			Per Anno 1812.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	4,869,366	5	5½	3,974,732	1	10½
Do. Isle of Man.....	—	—	—	8,335	4	9½
Excise.....	15,867,564	15	0	15,768,167	12	4
Stamps.....	5,332,509	0	10	5,086,782	11	2
Incidents.....	7,578,578	11	7	7,684,727	10	1
Surplus annual Duties on Sugar, &c.	1,600,702	14	9½	1,181,329	7	0
Do Land Tax on Offices, &c.....	1,811,11	13	1½	129,497	9	7½
Land Taxes.....	1,091,917	9	1½	996,336	0	5½
Revenue Isle of Man.....	8,254	7	9	1,595	0	8
Interest, &c. on account of Ireland	2,448,470	10	9	2,752,796	11	10
Ditto Portugal.....	57,170	3	0	57,170	3	0
Surplus Exchequer Fees	49,822	1	11	57,811	16	3
Imprest Monies, &c.....	312,735	14	11½	111,786	19	11½
Arrears of Income Duties.....	5,508	5	9	14,214	15	0
Ditto Assessed Taxes, 1798.....	6,157	19	0½	10	5	3
Ditto Annual Malt Duties	357,545	0	0	553,923	0	0
Rent of Crown Lands.....	11,123	0	4½	24,165	14	4½
Fines of Leases	15,627	0	0	8,099	0	0
Militia Fines.....	28,106	10	0	25,503	12	2
Fortune Money reserved.....	24,016	10	7½	23,911	8	5
Brought from War Taxes, per Account } 47 Geo. III.....	1,200,000	0	0	1,200,000	0	0
Do. Do. 49 Do.....	1,272,865	4	10½	1,040,000	0	0
Do. Do. 51 Ditto.....	—	—	—	216,089	14	1
Sixpence per Lib. on Pensions, 1808	—	—	—	800	0	0
	42,286,152	18	11½	40,917,835	18	4½
Charge	35,296,313	10	9½	36,801,993	18	9½
Surplus	6,989,839	8	2½	4,115,841	19	6½
WAR TAXES.						
British Spirits, 1803.....	698,264	0	0	820,741	0	0
Ditto, 1806	94,175	0	0	169,000	9	0
Foreign Ditto, 1803.....	1,029,113	0	0	787,445	0	0
Malt, Cap. 81.....	2,436,675	0	0	2,761,466	0	0
Sweets.....	4,447	0	0	3,850	0	0
Tea.....	1,820,577	15	0	1,415,356	17	8
Tobacco, 1806.....	358,371	0	0	363,661	0	0
Brandy, 1807.....	268,433	0	0	88,620	0	0
Temporary or War Duty.....	3,100,594	16	10	3,041,758	9	11½
Property, 1803.....	4,212	9	11	2,087	2	0½
Ditto, 1804.....	13,644	4	2½	8,970	9	0½
Ditto, 1805.....	37,973	7	5½	29,783	17	1½
Ditto, 1806.....	196,144	15	8½	46,830	0	11½
Ditto, 1807.....	628,037	2	10½	146,796	1	11½
Ditto, 1808.....	2,262,077	11	8½	533,106	8	7½
Ditto, 1809.....	8,601,021	1	7	1,304,387	19	1
Ditto, 1810.....	1,473,753	4	4	9,379,687	8	4½
Ditto, 1811.....	—	—	—	1,471,505	18	8
	23,027,444	9	7½	22,393,053	13	5½

An Account of the AMOUNT of BALANCES of SUMS issued for the Payment of Dividends due and not demanded, and for the Payment of LOTTERY PRIZES or BENEFITS, which had not been claimed, and which remained in the hands of the Governor and Company of the BANK of ENGLAND, on the undermentioned Days, being those next before the Issue, from the Exchequer, of Money for the Payment of Dividends on Account of the National Debt; for each of the four preceding Quarters respectively—(Pursuant to 48 Geo. III. cap. 4.)

	On 5th April, 1811	On 5th July 1811.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Dividends due and not demanded	1,101,893 16 3	972,776 6 5
Lottery Prizes not claimed.	98,190 0 0	99,606 0 0
	1,200,083 16 3	1,072,382 6 5
N. B.—Advanced to Government pursuant to 31 and 48 Geo. III. }	876,739 0 9	876,739 0 9
Remains in the hands of the Bank.	323,344 15 6	195,643 5 8

	On 10th Oct. 1811.	On 4th Jan. 1812.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Dividends due and not demanded	1,030,824 2 8	1,011,848 8 4
Lottery Prizes not claimed	100,894 0 0	166,341 0 0
	1,131,718 2 8	1,178,189 8 4
N. B.—Advanced to Government pursuant to 31 and 48 Geo. III. }	876,739 0 9	876,739 0 9
Remains in the hands of the Bank	254,979 1 11	301,450 7 7

WILLM. DAWES, Acct.-General.

BANK OF ENGLAND,
24th Jan. 1812.

An Account of the total value of the FORGED NOTES presented at the BANK OF ENGLAND for Payment, and refused, from being forged, for the eleven Years, from 1st of January, 1801, to 31st December, 1811:

The nominal value of the forged notes presented for payment, and refused within the above-mentioned period, is..... } £103,661

H. HASE, Chief Cashier.

Bank of England, 26th March, 1812.

N. B. The above return includes all forged notes, supposed to have been fabricated on the continent, and presented within the aforesaid period.

An Account of the real Value of Exports from GREAT BRITAIN, in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, and 1811, respectively; distinguishing generally the Countries to which the Goods were exported.

YEARS.	Continent of EUROPE.	Ireland, and Isles Guernsey, Jersey and Man.	ASIA.	AFRICA.	United States of AMERICA.	Other parts of America and the West Indies.	TOTAL.
1805.....	£. 20,435,940	£. 6,400,363	£. 3,111,748	£. 1,156,955	£. 11,446,939	£. 8,557,186	£. 51,109,131
1806.....	17,547,243	5,832,630	3,359,834	1,655,042	12,865,551	11,887,561	53,028,881
1807.....	13,420,514	7,032,272	3,555,392	1,022,745	12,097,942	11,353,796	50,482,661
1808.....	13,983,123	7,971,694	3,718,813	820,194	5,302,866	18,173,056	49,969,746
1809.....	27,190,337	7,565,599	2,990,440	976,872	7,460,768	19,833,696	66,017,712
1810.....	24,224,567	5,765,464	3,117,975	693,911	11,217,685	17,683,707	62,702,459
1811.....	18,537,204	7,210,699	3,063,971	409,075	1,874,917	12,843,754	43,939,620
Annual average of 3 years ending with 1807....	17,801,232	6,415,428	3,308,991	1,278,248	12,136,811	10,599,514	51,540,224
Annual average of 4 years ending with 1811....	20,983,808	7,128,364	3,222,575	725,013	6,464,059	17,133,553	55,657,372

Custom House, London,
28th April, 1812.

WILLIAM IRVING,
Inspector-General of Imports and Exports.

An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys employed in Navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages), which entered INWARDS and OUTWARDS, at the several Ports of Great Britain, from and to all Parts of the World, in the Years 1806, 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810, and 1811; distinguishing British from FOREIGN.

INWARDS.

YEARS.	BRITISH.			FOREIGN.			TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.
1806....	12,110	1,482,412	38,963	3,792	612,800	31,346	15,902	2,095,212
1807....	11,213	1,436,667	84,997	4,087	680,144	32,488	15,300	2,116,811
1808....	11,305	1,311,966	82,617	1,926	283,657	15,540	13,231	1,595,623
1809....	12,656	1,539,573	95,796	4,922	759,287	38,285	17,578	2,298,860
1810....	13,557	1,609,038	102,900	6,876	1,176,243	60,094	20,433	2,785,331
1811....	12,908	1,522,692	94,740	3,216	687,180	34,157	16,124	2,209,872

OUTWARDS.

YEARS.	BRITISH.			FOREIGN.			TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.	Men.	Ships.	Tons.
1806....	12,339	1,485,725	94,518	3,457	567,988	29,616	15,696	2,053,713
1807....	11,428	1,424,103	89,720	3,846	631,910	31,412	15,274	2,056,013
1808....	11,917	1,372,261	89,602	1,892	282,145	15,671	13,809	1,654,400
1809....	12,499	1,531,152	102,523	4,530	699,750	37,256	17,029	2,230,902
1810....	13,090	1,624,120	107,713	6,641	1,128,627	60,870	19,721	2,762,647
1811....	12,774	1,507,353	96,739	3,350	696,232	37,262	16,124	2,203,585

Custom House, London,
28th April, 1812.

J. E. WILLOUGHBY,
Receiver General.

TERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

Prices of STOCKS for 1812. N.B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month are set down in that Month.

1812.	{ Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. B. red.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omni. par.	Irish 5 p. ct.	Imp. 3 p. ct.
Jan.	{ 222 229 }	{ 62 62 }	{ 79 78 }	{ 96 94 }	{ 100 100 }	{ 16 16 }	{ 182 182 }	{ 18 to 15 pr.	{ 68 67 }	{ 63 63 }	{ 62 62 }	{ 7 pr. 2 dis.	{ par. 1 dis.	{ 93 94 }	{ 61 60 }
Feb.	{ 232 232 }	{ 63 62 }	{ 79 78 }	{ 94 92 }	{ 100 100 }	{ 16 16 }	{ 182 178 }	{ 18 to 14 pr.	{ 67 66 }	{ 62 62 }	{ 62 62 }	{ 2 to 12 pr.	{ 1 to 1 dis.	{ 98 92 }	{ 61 60 }
March	{ 230 229 }	{ 62 62 }	{ 78 75 }	{ 83 89 }	{ 101 101 }	{ 16 16 }	{ 178 177 }	{ 17 pr. to par.	{ 66 63 }	{ 62 61 }	{ 61 60 }	{ 6 pr. to 2 dis.	{ 1 dis. 5 dis.	{ 92 92 }	{ 60 57 }
April	{ 226 221 }	{ 60 59 }	{ 76 73 }	{ 91 90 }	{ 98 98 }	{ 15 15 }		{ 10 pr. par.	{ 65 63 }	{ 59 58 }	{ 60 58 }	{ 4 pr. 2 dis.	{ 3 dis. 5 dis.	{ 87 87 }	{ 58 58 }
May	{ 229 223 }	{ 60 59 }	{ 75 74 }	{ 92 91 }	{ 99 98 }	{ 15 15 }	{ 176 172 }	{ 4 pr. par.	{ 66 65 }	{ 60 59 }	{ 61 60 }	{ 2 pr. 2 dis.	{ 1 dis. 3 dis.	{ 88 87 }	{ 59 57 }
June	{ 223 214 }	{ 60 59 }	{ 75 71 }	{ 92 87 }		{ 16 14 }	{ 176 175 }	{ 1 pr. 10 dis.	{ 66 65 }	{ 60 55 }	{ 61 60 }	{ 1 pr. 4 dis.	{ 1 dis. 2 dis.	{ 88 88 }	{ 58 54 }
July	{ 216 214 }	{ 56 55 }	{ 73 71 }	{ 86 88 }		{ 15 14 }	{ 164 163 }	{ 4 d. s. 13 dis.	{ 60 59 }	{ 61 55 }		{ 5 pr. 10 dis.	{ 2 pr. 1 pr.	{ 86 86 }	{ 55 54 }
Aug.	{ 222 212 }	{ 56 55 }	{ 76 73 }	{ 90 88 }		{ 15 15 }	{ 169 162 }	{ 5 dis. 10 dis.	{ 62 60 }	{ 58 57 }	{ 56 56 }	{ par. 6 dis.	{ 6 pr. 2 pr.	{ 89 85 }	{ 58 55 }
Sept.	{ 226 215 }	{ 60 59 }	{ 76 76 }	{ 92 87 }		{ 15 15 }	{ 172 170 }	{ 5 dis. 9 dis.	{ 64 64 }	{ 60 59 }		{ 5 pr. 2 pr.	{ 8 pr. 3 pr.		{ 58 57 }
Oct.	{ 216 215 }	{ 57 58 }	{ 73 72 }	{ 90 88 }		{ 15 14 }	{ 165 163 }	{ 1 dis. 12 dis.	{ 62 62 }	{ 58 57 }		{ 6 pr. par.	{ 5 pr. 3 pr.	{ 86 86 }	
Nov.	{ 217 215 }	{ 58 57 }	{ 74 73 }	{ 91 90 }		{ 15 14 }	{ 163 163 }	{ par. 3 dis.		{ 58 57 }		{ 6 pr. 3 pr.	{ 6 pr. 3 pr.	{ 88 88 }	{ 56 56 }
Dec.	{ 223 216 }	{ 61 57 }	{ 77 73 }	{ 89 89 }		{ 15 14 }		{ 4 dis. 10 dis.				{ 4 pr. 6 pr.	{ 10 pr. 3 pr.		{ 58 57 }

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

1812.



BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE, WRITINGS, AND CHARACTER OF
JUNIUS.

[FROM THE PRELIMINARY ESSAY, ACCOMPANYING WOODFALL'S EDITION OF HIS LETTERS AND CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE.]

“**B**UT, after all, who or what was Junius? this shadow of a name, who thus shot his unerring arrows from an impenetrable concealment, and punished without being perceived? The question is natural; and it has been repeated almost without intermission, from the appearance of his first letter. It is not unnatural, moreover, from the pertinacity with which he has at all times eluded discovery, that the vanity of many political writers of inferior talents should have induced them to lay an indirect claim to his letters, and especially after the danger of responsibility had considerably ceased. Yet while the editor of the present impression does not undertake to communicate the real name of Junius, he pledges himself to prove, from incontrovertible evidence, afforded by the private letters of Junius himself during the period in question, in connexion with other documents, that not one of these pretenders has ever had the smallest right to the distinction which some of them have ardently coveted.

“These private and confidential letters, addressed to the late Mr. Woodfall, are now for the first time made public by his son, who is in possession of the author's autographs; and from the various facts and anecdotes they disclose, not only in relation to this extraordinary character, but to other characters as well, they cannot fail of being highly interesting to the political world. To have published these letters at an earlier period would have been a gross breach of trust and decorum; the term of trust, however, seems at length to have expired; most of the parties have paid the debt of nature; and should any be yet living, the length of time which has since elapsed has so completely blunted the asperity of the strictures they contain, that they could scarcely object to so remote a publication of them. Junius, in the career of his activity, was the man of the people; and when the former can receive no injury from the disclosure, the latter have certainly a claim to every information that can be communicated concerning them.

"It was on the 28th of April, in the year 1767, that the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall received amidst other letters from a great number of correspondents, for the use of the Public Advertiser, of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature of Junius; nor did he always indeed assume a signature of any kind. When he did so, however, his signatures were diversified, and the chief of them were Mnemon and Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus. Under the first he sarcastically opposed the ministry upon the subject of the Nullum Tempus bill, which involved the celebrated dispute concerning the transfer on the part of the crown of the Duke of Portland's estate of the forest of Inglewood, and the manor and castle of Carlisle, to Sir James Lowther, son-in-law of Lord Bute, upon the plea that these lands, which formerly belonged to the crown, had not been duly specified in King William's grant of them to the Portland family; and that hence, although they had been in the Portland family for nearly seventy years, they of right belonged to the crown still. The letters signed Atticus and Brutus relate chiefly to the growing disputes with the American colonies: and those subscribed Lucius exclusively to the outrageous dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his post of governor of Virginia.

"The name of Mnemon seems to have been nearly taken up at hazard. That of Atticus was unquestionably assumed from the author's own opinion of the purity of his style, an opinion in which the public universally concurred: and the three re-

maining signatures of Lucius, Junius, and Brutus, were obviously deduced from a veneration for the memory of the celebrated Roman patriot, who united these three names in his own.

"There were also a variety of other names occasionally assumed by this fertile political writer, to answer particular purposes, or more completely to conceal himself, and carry forward his extensive design. That of Philo-Junius, he has avowed to the public, in the authorized edition of the Letters of Junius: but besides this they have yet to recognize him under the mask of Poplicola, Domitian, Vindex, and a variety of others.

"The most popular of our author's letters, anterior to those published with the signature of Junius in 1769, were those subscribed Atticus and Lucius: to the former of which the few letters signed Brutus seem to have been little more than auxiliary, and are consequently not polished with an equal degree of attention. These letters, in point of time, preceded those with the signature of Junius by a few weeks: they are certainly written with admirable spirit and perspicuity, and are entitled to all the popularity they acquired:—yet they are not perhaps possess of more merit than our author's letters signed Mnemon. They nevertheless deserve a more minute attention from their superior celebrity. The proofs of their having been composed by the writer denominated Junius are incontestible: the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic, exprobatory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them. These therefore are now added, together with such others whose genuineness is equally indisputable, to the

the acknowledged letters of Junius, to render his productions complete.

"It is no objection to their being genuine that they were omitted by Junius in his own edition published by Mr. Woodfall:—there is a material difference between printing a complete edition of the letters of Junius, and a complete edition of the letters of the writer of this name. The first was the main object of Junius himself, and it was not necessary, therefore, that he should have extended it to letters composed by him under any other signature, excepting indeed those of Philo-Junius, which it was expedient for him to avow; the second is the direct design of the edition before us;—and it would be inconsistent with it to suppress any of his letters, under what signature soever they may have appeared, that possess sufficient interest to excite the attention of the public.

"The first of the letters (signed Atticus) was written in the beginning of August, 1768. It takes a general, and by no means an uncandid, survey of the state of the nation at that period, and particularly in regard to its funded property, the alarming and dangerous depression of which, from the still hostile appearance of France, the prospect of a rupture with the American colonies, the wretchedness of the public finances, and the imbecility of the existing administration, struck the writer so forcibly as to induce him, as he tells us, to transfer his property from the funds to what he conceived the more solid security of landed estate. The conclusion of this letter exhibits so much of the essential style and manner of Junius, that it has every claim to be copied in this place as

affording an internal proof of identity of pen.

"We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat the old ones, and when new duties only operate as a prohibition: yet these are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himself fit to be a minister. Instead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleasures and ministerial intrigues. Their activity is just equal to the persecution of a prisoner in the King's Bench, and to the honourable struggle of providing for their dependents. If there be a good man in the king's service they dismiss him of course; and when bad news arrives, instead of uniting to consider of a remedy, their time is spent in accusing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in some half misbegotten measure, which is left to execute itself. *Away they go: one retires to his country house; another is engaged at an horse race; a third has an appointment with a prostitute;—and as to their country, they leave her, like a cast-off mistress, to perish under the diseases they have given her.*"

"It was just at this period that the very extraordinary step occurred of the dismissal of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his government of Virginia, for the sole purpose, as it should seem, of creating a post for the Earl of Hillsborough's intimate friend Lord Botetourt, who had completely ruined himself by gambling and extravagance. This post had been expressly given to Sir Jeffery for life, as a reward for his past services in America, and it was punctiliously stipulated that a personal residence should be dispensed with,

with. It was an atrocity well worthy of public attack and condemnation; and the keen vigilance of Junius, which seems first to have traced it out, hastened to expose it to the public in all its indecency and outrage, and with the warmth of a personal friendship for the veteran hero. The subject being of a different description from that he had engaged in under the signature of Atticus, he assumed a new name, and for the first time sallied forth under that of Lucius, subscribed to a letter addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, minister for the American department, and published in the *Public Advertiser*, August 10, 1768. A vindication, or rather an apology, was entered into, by three or four correspondents under different signatures, but almost every one of whom was regarded by Junius, and indeed by the public at large, as the Earl of Hillsborough himself, or some individual writer under his immediate controul, assuming a mere diversity of mask the better to accomplish the purpose of a defence. Lucius Junius followed up the contest without sparing,—the minister became ashamed of his conduct, and Sir Jeffery, within a few weeks after his dismissal and the resignation of two regiments which he commanded, was restored to the command of one of them, and appointed to that of another; and in May, 1776, was created a peer of the realm, which the Duke of Grafton had refused him, under the strange and impolitic assertion that he had not fortune enough to maintain such a dignity with the splendour it required. The sarcastic remark of Lucius upon this observation of his grace, is entitled to attention, as identifying him with Junius in his peculiar severity of reproach.

“ ‘The Duke of Grafton’s idea of the proper object of a British peerage differs very materially from mine. His grace, in the true spirit of business, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I presume, the fortune which can purchase, as well as maintain a title. We understand his grace, and know who dictated that article. He has declared the terms on which jews, gamesters, pedlers, and contractors, (if they have sense enough to take the hint) may rise without difficulty into British peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his grace’s memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to support the honours it had bestowed. It is true his grace’s family derive their wealth and greatness from a different origin, from a system which he, it seems, is determined to revive. His confession is frank, and well becomes the candour of a young man, at least. I dare say, that if either his grace or your lordship had had the command of a seven years’ war in America, you would have taken care that poverty, however honourable, should not have been an objection to your advancement:—you would not have stood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherst, who is refused a title of honour, because he did not create a fortune equal to it, at the expense of the public.’

“ ‘He is not less severe upon Lord Hillsborough in a succeeding letter; and the editor extracts the following passage for the same purpose he has introduced the preceding.

“ ‘That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better or observe the great ones less than your lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest

honest man's face, while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of his country, while you, my lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honourable interest in the antichamber of a favourite.'

"Having thus signally triumphed in the affair of Sir Jeffery Amherst, our invisible state-satirist now returned to the subject he had commenced under the signature of Atticus, and pursued it in three additional letters, with the same signature, from the beginning of October till the close of November, in the same year; offering a few general remarks upon collateral topics in two or three letters signed Brutus. The characteristics of Junius are here often as conspicuous as in any letters he ever wrote: it will be sufficient to confine ourselves to two passages, since two competent witnesses are as good as a thousand. The following is his description of the prime minister of the day.

"When the Duke of Grafton first entered into office, it was the fashion of the times to suppose that young men might have wisdom without experience. They thought so themselves, and the most important affairs of this country were committed to the first trial of their abilities. His grace had honourably fleshed his maiden sword in the field of opposition, and had gone through all the discipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favorites, looked up to Lord Chatham with astonishment, and was the declared advocate of Mr.

Wilkes. It afterwards pleased his grace to enter into administration with his friend Lord Rockingham, and in a very little time, it pleased his grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treasury upon terms which Lord Temple had disdained. For a short time his submission to Lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not answer a private letter without Lord Chatham's permission. I presume he was then learning his trade, for he soon set up for himself. Until he declared himself the minister, his character had been but little understood. From that moment a system of conduct, directed by passion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without solidity of judgment. One day he desponds and threatens to resign, the next he finds his blood heated, and swears to his friends he is determined to go on. In his public measures we have seen no proof either of ability or consistency. The stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwisely) under the preceding administration. The colonies had reason to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it without either plan or necessity; he adopts the spirit of Mr. Grenville's measures, and renews the question of taxation in a form more odious and less effectual than that of the law which had been repealed.'

"The following is his character of the members of the cabinet generally. 'The school they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends, without deserting their principles. There is a littleness even in their ambition; for money is their first object. Their professed opinions upon some great points

points are so different from those of the party, with which they are now united, that the council chamber is become a scene of open hostilities. While the fate of Great Britain is at stake, these worthy counsellors dispute without decency, advise without sincerity, resolve without decision, and leave the measure to be executed by the man who voted against it. This, I conceive, is the last disorder of the state. The consultation meets but to disagree, opposite medicines are prescribed, and the last fixed on is changed by the hand who gives it.

"The attention paid to these philippics, and the celebrity they had so considerably acquired, stimulated the author to new and additional exertions: and having in the beginning of the ensuing year completed another with more than usual elaboration and polish, which he seems to have intended as a kind of introductory address to the nation at large, he sent it forth under the name of Junius, (a name he had hitherto assumed but once,) to the office of the Public Advertiser, in which journal it appeared on Saturday, January 21, 1769. The popularity expected by the author from this performance was more than accomplished; and what in some measure added to his fame, was a reply (for the Public Advertiser was equally open to all parties) from a real character of no small celebrity as a scholar, as well as a man of rank, Sir Wm. Draper; principally because the attack upon his Majesty's ministers had extended itself to Lord Granby, at that time commander in chief, for whom Sir William professed the most cordial esteem and friendship.

"Sir Wm. Draper appears to have been a worthy, and, on the whole, an independent man; and

Lord Granby was perhaps the most honest and immaculate of his Majesty's ministers. Junius did not begin the dispute with the former, and seems, from a regard for his character, to have continued it unwillingly: 'My answer,' says he to him in his last letter, upon a second assault, and altogether without reason, 'shall be short; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we shall now conclude our correspondence for ever!' At the latter he had only glanced incidentally, (for upon the whole he approved his conduct,) and seems rather to have done so from the company he consorted with, than from any gross misdeeds of his own. Nothing could therefore have been more improvident or impolitic than this attack of Sir Wm. Draper: if volunteered in favour of the ministry, it is impossible for a defence to have been worse planned;—for by confining the vindication to the individual that was least accused, it tacitly admitted that the charges advanced against all the rest were well founded; while, if volunteered in favour of Lord Granby alone, it might easily have been anticipated by the writer that his visionary opponent would be hereby challenged to bring forward peccadillos which would otherwise never have been heard of, and that he would not fail at the same time, to scrutinize the character of Sir William himself, and to ascribe this act of precipitate zeal to an interested desire of additional promotion in the army. It was too much for Sir William to expect that Junius would be hurried into an intemperate disclosure of his real name by a swaggering offer to measure swords with him; while the following rebuke was but a just retaliation for his challenge.

"'Had you been originally and without

without provocation attacked by an anonymous writer, you would have some right to demand his name. But in this cause you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a soldier. You were content to set your name in opposition to a man who would probably continue in concealment. You understood the terms upon which we were to correspond, and gave at least a tacit assent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of Junius, what possible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I insinuate to you, that you foresaw some honour in the apparent spirit of coming forward in person, and that you were not quite indifferent to the display of your literary qualifications?

"In reality Junius, though a severe satirist, was not in his general temper a malevolent writer, nor an ungenerous man. No one has ever been more ready to admit the brilliant talents of Sir William Blackstone than himself, or to apply to his Commentaries for legal information, while reprobating his conduct in the unconstitutional expulsion of Mr. Wilkes from the house of commons. 'If I were personally your enemy,' says he in his letter to him upon this subject, 'I should dwell with a malignant pleasure upon *those great and useful qualifications which you certainly possess*, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preserve to you the respect and esteem of your country. I should enumerate the honours you have lost, and the virtues you have disgraced: but having no private resentments to gratify, I think it sufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the punishment it deserves to your closet and to yourself.'

"The rescue of General Gansel, by means of a party of guards, from the hands of the sheriff's officers after they had arrested him for debt, was an outrage upon the law which well demanded castigation; and the attempt to quash this transaction on the part of the minister, instead of delivering the culprits over to the punishment they had merited, was an outrage of at least equal atrocity, and demanded equal reprobation. The severity with which the minister was repeatedly attacked by Junius on this subject is still well known to many: but the reason is not yet known to any one perhaps, why he suddenly dropped this subject, after having positively declared in his letter of November 15, 1769, Vol. II. p. 51, 'if the gentlemen, whose conduct is in question, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton shall hear from me again.' From his private letters to Mr. Woodfall, we shall now learn that he was solely actuated in his forbearance by motives of humanity: 'The only thing,' says he, in a note alluding to this transaction, 'that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and those other blockheads.'

"In like manner having been betrayed by the first rumours of the day into what he afterwards found to have been too atrocious an opinion, and expressed himself with too indignant a warmth upon the conduct of Mr. Vaughan in his well known attempt to purchase of the Duke of Grafton the reversion of a patent place in Jamaica, he hastened to make him both publicly and privately all the reparation in his power. 'I think myself obliged,' says he, in a letter to the Duke of Grafton, 'to do this justice to an injured man, because I was deceived by

by the appearances thrown out by your grace, and have frequently spoken of his conduct with indignation. If he really be, what I think him, honest, though mistaken, he will be happy in recovering his reputation, though at the expense of his understanding.' Vaughan himself had so high an opinion of our author's integrity, though a total stranger to him, that he intrusted him with his private papers upon the subject in question, which Junius in return took care to employ to Vaughan's advantage.

"From the extraordinary effect produced by his first letter under the signature of Junius, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively, in all his subsequent letters, in which he took more than ordinary pains, and which alone he was desirous of being attributed to himself; while to other letters composed with less care, and merely explanatory of passages in his more finished addresses, or introduced for some other collateral purpose, he subscribed some random name which occurred to him at the moment. The letters of Philo-Junius are alone an exception to this remark. These he always intended to acknowledge; and in truth they are for the most part composed with so much of the peculiar style, and finished accuracy of the letters of Junius, properly so called, that it would have required but little discernment to have regarded the two correspondents as the same person under different characters,—*idem et alter*—if Junius himself had not at length admitted them to be his own productions, which he expressly did, in an authorized note from the printer, inserted in the Public Advertiser, October 19, 1771. 'The auxiliary part of Philo-Junius,' says his preface, page 10, 'was

indispensably necessary to defend or explain particular passages in Junius, in answer to plausible objections; but the subordinate character is never guilty of the indecorum of praising his principal. The fraud was innocent, and I always intended to explain it.' Yet whatever were the signatures he assumed, or the loose paragraphs he occasionally addressed to the public, without a signature of any kind, we have his own assertion, that from the time of his corresponding, as Junius, with the editor of the Public Advertiser, he never wrote in any other newspaper. 'I believe,' says he, 'I need not assure you that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours;' Private Letter, No. 7. So also in another Private Letter, No. 13. 'I sometimes change my signature; but could have no reason to change the paper; especially for one that does not circulate half as much as yours.'

"That he was not only a man of highly cultivated general talents and education, but had critically and successfully studied the language, the law, the constitution, and history of his native country is indubitable. Yet this is not all; the proofs are just as clear that he was also a man of independent fortune, that he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident.

"That he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, is unquestionable from the fact that he never could be induced in any way or shape to receive any acknowledgment from the proprietor of the Public Advertiser, for the great benefit and popularity he conferred on this

this paper by his writings, and to which he was fairly entitled. When the first genuine edition of his letters was on the point of publication, Mr. Woodfall again urged him either to accept half its profits, or to point out some public charity or other institution to which an equal sum might be presented. His reply to this request is contained in a paragraph of one of his private letters, No. 59. and confers credit on both the parties. 'What you say about the profits is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it, therefore; and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence: without it no man can be happy nor even honest.' In this last sentence he reasoned from the sphere of life in which he was accustomed to move; and, confining it to this sphere, the transactions of every day shew us that he reasoned correctly. It is an additional proof, as well of his affluence, as of his generosity, that not long after the commencement of his correspondence with the printer of the Public Advertiser, he wrote to him as follows: 'For the matter of assistance, be assured that, if a question should arise upon any writings of my mine, you shall not want it;—in point of money be assured you shall never suffer.' In perfect and honourable consonance with which, when the printer was at length involved in a prosecution in consequence of Junius's letter to the king, he wrote to him as follows: 'If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly on yourself: for I understand you are en-

gaged with other proprietors. Some way or other you shall be reimbursed.'

" 'As you have told us,' says Sir W. Draper, in his last letter to Junius, 'of your importance; and that you are a person of rank and fortune, and above a common bribe, you may, in all probability, be not unknown to his lordship (earl of Shelburne) who can satisfy you of the truth of what I say.' Sir William alludes, in this passage, to a short public note of Junius to the printer of the Public Advertiser, addressed in consequence of some verses which had just appeared in that paper, entitled 'The tears of Sedition on the death of Junius;' in which he observes: 'It is true I have refused offers which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted. Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that I am in earnest, because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry is driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.' Sir William sneers at the appeal, and treats it as the mere unfounded boast of a man of arrogance and invisibility: but the reader now sees sufficiently that it had a solid foundation to rest upon.

" That Junius moved in the immediate circle of the court, and was intimately and confidentially connected, either directly or indirectly, with all the public offices of government, is, if possible, still clearer than that he was a man of independent property; for the feature that peculiarly characterized him, at the time of his writing, and that cannot even now be contemplated without surprise, was the facility with which he

he became acquainted with every ministerial manœuvre, whether public or private, from almost the very instant of its conception. At the first moment the partisans of the prime minister were extolling his official integrity and virtue, in not only resisting the terms offered by Mr. Vaughan for the purchase of the reversion of a patent-place in Jamaica, but in commencing a prosecution against him for thus attempting to corrupt him, Junius, in his letter of Nov. 29, 1769, Vol. II. p. 52, exposed this affectation of coyness, as he calls it, by proving that the minister was not only privy to, but a party concerned in, the sale of another patent place, though the former had often been disposed of before in a manner somewhat if not altogether similar. The particulars of this transaction are given in his letter to the duke of Grafton, Dec. 12, 1769, Vol. II. p. 54, and in his private note to Mr. Woodfall of the same date, No. 15. The rapidity with which the affair of General Gansell reached him has been already noticed. In his letter to the duke of Bedford he narrates facts which could scarcely be known but to persons immediately acquainted with the family. And when the printer was threatened with a prosecution in consequence of this letter, he says to him in a private note, 'it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him in case he should think of bringing you before the house of lords. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave.' He was equally acquainted with the domestic concerns of Lord Hartford's family. Of a Mr. Swinney, a correspondent of the printer's, he ob-

serves in another confidential letter, 'That Swinney is a wretched but a dangerous fool: he had the impudence to go to Lord Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius—take care of him.' This anecdote is not a little curious: the fact was true, and occurred but a day or two before the letter was written: but how Junius, unless he had been Lord Sackville himself, should have been so soon acquainted with it, baffles all conjecture. In reality several persons to whom this transaction has been related, connecting it with other circumstances of a similar tendency, have ventured, but too precipitately, to attribute the letters of Junius to his lordship.

"His secret intelligence respecting public transactions is as extraordinary. The accuracy with which he first dragged to general notice the dismission of Sir Jeffery Amherst from his governorship of Virginia has been already glanced at. 'You may assure the public,' says he, in a private letter, Jan. 17, 1771, 'that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with all possible expedition for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance I give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable.'

"But it would be endless to detail every instance of early and accurate information upon political subjects with which his public and private letters abound. In many cases he was able to indicate, even to the printer of the Public Advertiser himself, the real names of those who corresponded with him under fictitious signatures. 'Your Veridicus,'

says

says he, in one letter, 'is Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.' 'Your Lycurgus,' he observes in another letter, 'is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town.'

"Thus widely informed, and applying the information he was possessed of with an unsparing hand, to purposes of general exposure in every instance of political delinquency, it cannot but be supposed that Junius must have excited a host of enemies in every direction, and that his safety, perhaps his existence depended alone upon his concealment. Of this he was sufficiently sensible. In his last letter to Sir W. Draper, who had endeavoured by every means to stimulate him to a disclosure of himself, he observes, 'As to me, it is by no means necessary that I should be exposed to the resentment of the worst and the most powerful men in this country, though I may be indifferent about yours. Though you would fight, there are others who would assassinate.' To the same effect is the following passage in a confidential letter to Mr. Woodfall. 'I must be more cautious than ever: I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or, if I did, they would attain me by bill.' On many occasions, therefore, notwithstanding all the calmness and intrepidity he affected in his public letters, it is not to be wondered at that he should betray some feelings of apprehension in his confidential intercourse. In one of his private letters, indeed, he observes, 'As to me, be assured it is not in the nature of things that they (the Cavendish family) or you or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known: all arts, or inquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual.' But in other

letters he seems not a little afraid of detection or surmise. 'Tell me candidly,' he says, at an early period of his correspondence with Mr. Woodfall, under the signature of Junius, 'whether you know or suspect who I am.' 'You must not write to me again,' he observes in another letter, 'but be assured I will never desert you.' 'Upon no account, nor for any reason whatever, are you to write to me until I give you notice.' 'Change to the Somerset coffee-house, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honourably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me.'

"The Somerset coffee-house formed only one of a great variety of places, at which answers and other parcels from the printer of the Public Advertiser were ordered to be left. No plan indeed could be better devised for secrecy than that by which this correspondence was maintained. A common name, such as was by no means likely to excite any peculiar attention, was first chosen by Junius, and a common place of deposit indicated:—the parcels from Junius himself were sent direct to the printing-office, and whenever a parcel or letter in return was waiting for him, it was announced in the notices to correspondents by such signals as 'N.E.C.'—'a letter,' 'Vindex shall be considered,' 'C. in the usual place,' 'an old correspondent shall be attended to,' the introductory C. being a little varied from that commonly used; or by a line of Latin poetry. 'Don't always use,' says our author, 'the same signal: any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose.' And when the answer implied a mere negative or affirmative, it was communicated in the

the newspaper by a simple yes or no. The names of address more commonly assumed were Mr. William Middleton, or Mr. John Fretly, and the more common places of address were the bar of the Somerset coffee-house as stated above, of the New Exchange, or Munday's in Maiden lane, the waiters of which were occasionally feed for their punctuality. But these too were varied for other names and places of abode as circumstances might dictate.

"By what conveyance Junius obtained his letters and parcels from the places at which they were left for him is not very clearly ascertained. From the passage quoted from his private letter, No. 10, as also from the express declaration in the Dedication to his own edition of his letters, that he was at that time 'the sole depository of his own secret,' it should seem that he had also been uniformly his own messenger: yet in his private letter of January 18th, 1772, he observes, 'the gentleman who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night.' In truth the difficulty, and danger of his constantly performing his own errand must have been extreme; and it is more reasonable therefore to suppose that he employed some person on whom he could place an implicit reliance; while to avoid the apparent contradiction between such a fact and that of his affirming that he was the sole depository of his own secret, it is only necessary to conceive at the same time that the person thus confidentially employed was not intrusted with the full scope and object of his agency. He sometimes, as we learn from his own testimony, employed a common chairman as his messenger, and perhaps this, after

all, was the method most usually resorted to.

"That a variety of schemes were invented and actually in motion to detect him there can be no doubt; but the extreme vigilance he at all times evinced, and the honourable forbearance of Mr. Woodfall, enabled him to baffle every effort, and to persevere in his concealment to the last. 'Your letter,' says he in one of his private notes, 'was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it.'

"On another occasion his alarm was excited in consequence of various letters addressed to him at the printing-office, with a view as he suspected of leading to a disclosure either of his person or abode. 'I return you,' says he in reply, 'the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can write neither common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me: I should be glad to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contain any thing worth my knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of 'C. in the usual place' say only 'a letter' when you have occasion to write to me again. I shall understand you.'

"Some apprehension he seems to have suffered, as already observed, from the impertinent curiosity of Swinney; but his resentment was chiefly roused by that of David Garrick, who appears from his own account, and from intelligence on which he fully relied, to have been pertinacious in his attempts to discover him. For three weeks or a month, he could scarcely ever write to Mr. Woodfall without cautioning him to be specially on his guard against Garrick: and under this impression alone, he once changed his address.

address. He wrote to Garrick a private note of severe castigation through the medium of the printer, which the latter, from an idea that it was unnecessarily acrimonious, resubmitted to his consideration with a view of dissuading him from sending it, upon which our author desired him to tell Garrick personally to desist, or he would be amply revenged upon him. 'As it is important,' says he, 'to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from Junius would destroy him.'

"It is not impossible to form a plausible guess at the age of Junius, from a passage in one of his private letters; an inquiry, which, though otherwise of little or no consequence, is rendered in some measure important, as a test to determine the validity of the claims that have been laid to his writings by different candidates or their friends. The passage referred to occurs in his letter to Woodfall, dated Nov. 27, 1771; 'after long experience of the world,' says he, 'I affirm before God I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.' Now when this declaration is coupled with the two facts, that he made it under the repeated promise and intention of speedily disclosing himself to his correspondent, and that the correspondent thus schooled, by a moral axiom gleaned from his own 'long experience of the world,' was at this very time something more than thirty years of age; it seems absurd to suppose that Junius could be much less than fifty, or that he affected an age he had not actually attained.

"There is another point in the history of his life, during his appearance as a public writer, which for the same reason must not be

suffered to pass by without observation, although otherwise it might be scarcely entitled to notice; and that is, that during a great part of this time, from January, 1769, to January, 1772, he uniformly resided in London, or its immediate vicinity, and that he never quitted his stated habitation for a longer period than a few weeks. This too, we may collect from his private correspondence, compared with his public labours. No man but he, who with a thorough knowledge of our author's style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser for the three years in question, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to by the composition of other letters, under other signatures, in order to support the pre-eminent pretensions and character of Junius, attacked as it was by a multiplicity of writers in favour of administration, to whom, as Junius, he did not chuse to make any reply whatever. Surely Junius himself, when he first undertook the office of public political censor, could by no means foresee the labour with which he was about to encumber himself. And, instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half this period with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible. Junius had no time for remote excursions, nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the metropolis itself.

"Yet from his private letters we could almost collect a journal of his absences, if not an itinerary of his little tours: for he does not appear to have left London at any time without some notice to the printer, either of his intention, or of the fact itself upon his return home; independently

pendently of which the frequency and regularity of his correspondence seldom allowed of distant travel. 'I have been out of town,' says he, in his letter of Nov. 8, 1769, 'for three weeks; and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it.'—On another occasion, 'I have been some days in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night:' and again, 'I must see proof-sheets of the dedication and preface; and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week.' In like manner, 'I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country for a few days.'

"The last political letter that ever issued under the signature of Junius was addressed to Lord Camden. It appeared in the Public Advertiser for Jan. 21, 1772, and followed the publication of his long and elaborate address to Lord Mansfield upon the illegal bailing of Eyre, and was designed to stimulate the noble earl to a renewal of the contest which he had commenced with the chief justice towards the close of the preceding session of parliament. It possesses the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of Junius. Yet the panegyric bestowed was not for the mere purpose of instigating Lord Camden to the attack in question. There is sufficient evidence in his private letters that Junius had a very high, as well as a very just opinion of the integrity of this nobleman; and an ardent desire that the estimate he had formed of his integrity should be known to the world at large. In the whole course of his political creed there seems to have been but one point upon which they differed, and that was the doctrine assented to by his lordship, that the crown

possesses a power in case of very urgent necessity, of suspending the operation of an act of the legislature. It is a mere speculative doctrine, and Junius only incidentally alluded to it in a letter upon a very different subject. The disagreement upon this point seems eagerly to have been caught at, however, by another correspondent in the Public Advertiser, who chose the signature of Scævola, apparently for the express purpose of involving the political satirist in a dispute with his lordship. 'Scævola,' observes he in a private letter, 'I see is determined to make me an enemy to Lord Camden. If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify to him, that when I originally mentioned Lord Camden's declaration about the corn bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter.' And again, shortly afterwards, finding that the communication had not been received as it ought to have been, 'I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that his absurd fiction of my being Lord Camden's enemy has done harm. Every fool can do mischief, therefore signify to him what I said.' Not satisfied however with this hint to the printer, he chose, at the same time, under the subordinate character of Philo-Junius, to settle the point, and preclude all possibility of altercation by an address to the public, that should dexterously mark out this single difference in a mere speculative opinion; and while it amply defended the view he had taken of the subject, should evince such an evident approbation of his lordship's general conduct, as could not fail of being

being gratifying to him. This letter appeared in the Public Advertiser, Oct. 15, 1771.

" Lord Camden, however, was not induced by this earnest attempt and last letter of Junius to renew his attack upon Lord Mansfield; yet this was not the reason, or at least not the sole or primary reason for Junius's discontinuing to write. It has already been observed, that so early as July, 1769, he began to entertain thoughts of dropping a character and signature which must have cost him a heavy series of labour, and perhaps not unfrequently exposed him to no small peril. 'I really doubt,' says he, 'whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are really too dull to furnish me with even the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration.'

" In perfect consonance with this declaration, in his reply to the printer, who had offered him half the profits of the letters at that time published under his own correction, or an equal sum for the use of any public institution he should chuse to name, he makes the following remark, of which a part has been already quoted on another occasion: 'As for myself, be assured that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person, I think, has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate, independence: without it no man can be happy, nor even honest. If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labour in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear
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of me. *Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat.*'

" Even so long afterwards as January 19, 1773, in the very last letter we have any certain knowledge he ever addressed to Mr. Woodfall, he urges precisely the same motives for his continuing to desist. 'I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen: I meant the cause and the public: both are given up. I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of: I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity. If you have any thing to communicate of moment to yourself, you may use the last address and give a hint.'

" In effect, from the dissolution of the consolidated whig party upon the death of George Grenville, the absurd divisions in the Bill of Rights society, and the political separations in the city, our author had much reason to despair of the cause in which he had so manfully engaged.

" To the moral character of Junius this letter is of more value than all the popular addresses he ever composed in his life. It is impossible to suppose it to flow from the affectation of an honesty which did not exist in his heart. The circumstances under which it was sent, altogether prohibit such an idea: un-

known as he was, and unknown as he had now determined to continue, to his correspondent, there was no adequate motive for his assuming the semblance of an integrity which he felt not, and which did not fairly belong to him. It was, it must have been, a pure, disinterested testimonial of private esteem and public patriotism, simultaneous with the uniform tenor both of his open and his confidential history, and conscientiously developing the real cause of his secession.

"In truth it must have been, as he himself states it, insanity, to have persisted any longer in any thing like a regular attack; Lord Camden had declined to act upon his suggestion; the great phalanx of the whig party was broken up by the death of Mr. George Grenville; the vanity and extreme jealousy of Oliver and Horne had introduced the most acrimonious divisions into the society for supporting the Bill of Rights; and the leading patriots of the city had so intermixed their own private interests, and their own private squabbles with the public cause, as to render this cause itself contemptible in the eyes of the people at large. He had already tried, but in vain, to awaken the different contending parties to a sense of better and more honourable motives; to induce them to forego their selfish and individual disputes, and to make a common sacrifice of them upon the altar of the constitution. Yet, at the same time, so small were his expectations of success, so mean his opinion of the pretensions of most of the leading demagogues of the day to a real love of their country, and so grossly had he himself been occasionally misrepresented by them, that in his confidential intercourse he bade his correspondent beware of entrusting himself to them. 'No-

thing,' says he, 'can be more express than my declaration against long parliaments: try Mr. Wilkes once more, (who was in private possession of his sentiments upon this subject;) speak for me in a most friendly but firm tone, that I will not submit to be any longer asspersed. Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with patriots.'

"With his public address to the people, therefore, in letter 59, he seems in the first instance to have resolved upon closing his labours, at least under the character of Junius, provided no beneficial effect were likely to result from it, and as the printer had expressed to him an earnest desire of publishing a genuine edition of his letters, in a collective form, in consequence of a variety of incorrect and spurious editions at that time circulating through the nation, he seems to have thought that a consent to such a plan would afford him a good ostensible motive for putting a finish to his public career; and on this account he not only acceded to the proposal, but undertook to superintend it as far as his invisibility might allow him; as also to add a few notes, as well as a dedication and preface.

"Nothing can be more absurd than the idea entertained by some writers, that Junius himself was the previous editor of one or two of these irregular editions, and especially of an edition published but a short time anterior to his own, audaciously enough entitled 'The Genuine Letters of Junius, to which are prefixed, Anecdotes of the Author;' a pamphlet in which the anonymous anecdotist takes it for granted, from his very outset, that Junius and Edmund Burke were the same person, and then proceeds to
reason

reason concerning the former, from the known or acknowledged works of the latter.

It was not till the appearance of Newberry's edition, with which it is not pretended that our author had any concern, that even Woodfall himself had conceived an idea of the propriety of collecting these letters, and publishing them in an edition strictly genuine, in consequence of the numerous blunders by which the common editions were deformed; of these Newberry's was, perhaps, the freest from mistakes: yet Newberry's had so many, that our author, upon receiving a copy of it, addressed a note to Woodfall, begging him to hint to Newberry, that as he had thought proper to reprint his letters, he ought at least to have taken care to have corrected the errata; adding at the same time, 'I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper; but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.'

"His answer upon Woodfall's application to him for leave to reprint his letters collectively, and subject to his own revisal, was as follows: 'I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting my letters if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a preface.' It was on this occasion he added, as conceiving it might afford him a proper opportunity for a general close of the character, though so early in his correspondence under the name of Junius, as July 1769. 'I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature; I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, &c.' In answer to Woodfall's next letter upon the

same subject he observes, 'Do with my letters exactly as you please. I should think, that to make a better figure than Newberry, *some others of my letters may be added; and so throw out a hint that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend, for you know I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all.*'

"The plan for publication, however, though it commenced thus early, was not matured till October 1771: when it was determined that the work should comprise all the letters which had passed under the signatures of Junius and Philo-Junius to this period inclusively, and be occasionally enriched by a selection of other letters under a variety of other signatures, which, independently of that of Philo-Junius, our author, as has been observed already, not unfrequently employed to explain what required explanation, or defend what demanded vindication, and which he himself thought sufficiently correct to associate with his more laboured productions. In the prosecution of this intention, however, he still made the two following alterations. Instead of closing the regular series of letters possessing the signature of Junius with that dated October 5, 1771, upon the subject of 'the unhappy differences,' as he there calls them, 'which had arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other'—he added five others, which the events of the day had impelled him to write during the reprinting of the letters, notwithstanding the intention he had expressed of offering nothing further under this signature. And instead of introducing the explanatory letters written under

der other signatures, he confined himself, in order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of parliament, to three justificatory papers alone: the first, under the title of 'A Friend of Junius,' containing an answer to 'A Barrister at Law;' the second an anonymous declaration upon certain points on which his opinion had been mistaken or misrepresented: and the third an extract from a letter to Mr. Wilkes, drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Bill of Rights Society, and vindicating himself from the charge of having written in favour of long parliaments and rotten boroughs. This last however was furnished, not by Mr. Wilkes, but from his own notes; 'you shall have the extract,' says he, 'to go into the second volume: it will be a short one.'

"Of the five letters added after he meant to have closed, and had actually begun to reprint his series, four of them are either expressly addressed to Lord Mansfield, or incidentally relate to him, in consequence of his having illegally (as it was contended) admitted a felon of the name of John Eyre to bail, who, although possessing a fortune of nearly thirty thousand pounds sterling, had stolen a quantity of paper in quires out of one of the public offices at Guildhall, and was caught in the very theft. The other letter is addressed to his steady object of inveterate hatred, the Duke of Grafton, upon the defeat of his attempt to transfer the Duke of Portland's estate in Cumberland, consisting of what had formerly been crown lands, to Sir James Lowther, in order to assist the latter in securing his election for this county.

"Yet such was his anxiety to get this work completed and pub-

lished before the winter session of parliament, that he was ready to sacrifice the appearance of the whole of these additional letters, even that containing his elaborate accusation of Lord Mansfield, and which he acknowledged to have cost him enormous pains, rather than that it should be delayed beyond this period. 'I am truly concerned,' says he in a private letter dated Jan. 20, 1772, 'to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed. It ought to have appeared before the meeting of parliament. By no means would I have you insert this long letter, if it make more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me, the delay is a real injury to the cause.'

"The difficulties, however, of sending proofs and revises forward and backward were so considerable, that the anxiety of the author was not gratified: parliament met, but the book was not published. Junius became extremely impatient; yet still, in the most earnest terms, pressed its publication before Alderman Sawbridge's motion in favour of triennial parliaments, which was to be brought forward in the beginning of March. 'Surely,' says he, in his private letter of February 22, 'you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you would protract the publication so long. At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion, it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation: at a certain point of time the appetite palls: I fear you have lost the season. The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done.'

"He was soon however consoled by intelligence from his friend Woodfall, that, unduly as the book had

had been postponed, it was not for want of any exertions of his own; and that, late as the season was, it would still precede the expected motion of Ald. Sawbridge. He, in consequence, replied as follows: 'I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the Public Advertiser is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. Your rivals will be disappointed: nobody will apply to them, when they can be supplied at the fountain-head.—All I can now say is, make haste with the book.'

"The Dedication, Preface, and the materials for his notes were all finished about the beginning of the preceding November (1771). The letters at large, excepting the first two sheets which were revised by the author himself, were from the difficulty of conveyance entrusted to the correction of Mr. Woodfall. The Dedication and Preface were confided to the correction of Mr. Wilkes, with whose attention he expresses himself well pleased. 'When you see Mr. Wilkes,' says he in a note of February 29, 1772, 'pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more:' intimating hereby that there were still errors of which he was aware, and would have corrected if possible.

"Yet though he thus continued to adhere rigidly to his determination never again to appear before the public in his full dress, or under the signature of Junius, as he expresses it in his Private Letter of November 8, 1771, he did not object occasionally to introduce his observations and continue his severe strictures in a looser and less

elaborate form, and under some appellative or other, that might not interfere with the claims of Junius as a whole, as in the case of his series of letters to Lord Barrington, see No. cv. cvii. &c. These, however, it was not easy, in spite of the characteristic style that still pervaded them, for the world at large to bring completely home to the real writer, though many of them were frequently charged to the account of Junius by the political critics of the day, in different addresses to the printer upon this subject.

"To judge of the moral and political character of Junius from his writings, as well private as public, he appears to have been a man of a bold and ardent spirit, tenaciously honourable in his personal connexions, but vehement and inveterate in his enmities, and quick and irritable in conceiving them. In his state principles he was strictly constitutional, excepting perhaps upon the single point of denying the impeccability of the crown; in those of religion he, at least, ostensibly professed an attachment to the established church.

"Of his personal and private honour, however, we can only judge from his connexion with Mr. Woodfall. Yet this connexion is perhaps sufficient; throughout the whole of it he appears in a light truly ingenuous and liberal. 'If undesignedly,' says he in one of his letters, 'I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself or take any opinion you may think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety.' To the same effect in another letter, 'For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn you into a personal danger

danger, because it admits of no recompense. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing that I think dangerous; but the risk is yours, and you must determine for yourself."

"Upon another occasion, being sensible that he had written with an asperity that might alarm his correspondent, he again begged him not to print if he apprehended any danger; adding that, for himself he should not be offended at his desisting; and merely requesting that if he did not chuse to take the risk he would transmit the paper assent to him, to a printer who was well known to be less cautious than himself. 'The enclosed,' says he, in one of his notes, 'is of such importance, so very material, that it must be given to the public immediately. I will not advise, though I think you perfectly safe. All I say is that I rely upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the *Pacquet*.' To the same effect is the following upon another occasion. 'I hope you will approve of announcing the enclosed Junius to-morrow, and publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must entreat the favour of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real Junius, worth a North Briton extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it.'

"Upon the printer's being menaced with a prosecution on the part of the Duke of Grafton, in consequence of the publication of Junius's letter to him of the date of December 12, 1769, accusing this

nobleman of having, in the most corrupt and sinister manner, either sold or connived at the sale of a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, he writes as follows: 'As to yourself I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you; they dare not submit to such an inquiry. If they do, shew no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and stopna Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the Treasury: that will silence them at once.' The printer, however, was still fearful, and could not avoid expressing himself so to his invisible friend; who thus replied to his proposal of volunteering an apology: 'Judge for yourself. I enter seriously into the anxiety of your situation; at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon. They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an inquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than with all the rest. At any rate, stand firm: (I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition;) if you trim, or falter, you will lose friends, without gaining others. The friendly advice thus shrewdly given was punctiliously followed; and the predictions of Junius were more than accomplished: for the minister not only did not dare to enforce his menaces, but at the same time thought it expedient to drop abruptly the prosecution of Mr. Vaughan, which this attack upon him was expressly designed to fight off, and to drop it too, after the rule against Vaughan had been made absolute.

"Upon the publication of Junius's letter to the King, Woodfall

was not quite so fortunate—but his invisible friend still followed him with assistance: he offered him, as has already been observed, a reimbursement of whatever might be his pecuniary expenses, and aided him in a still higher degree with the soundest prudential and legal advice. Upon a subsequent occasion also, he makes the following observation. ‘As to yourself, I really think you in no danger. You are not the object, and punishing you would be no gratification to the king.’—But upon this subject, the following is one of the most important notes, as, although he expressly denies all professional knowledge of the law, it sufficiently proves that he was better acquainted with it than many who are actual practitioners. ‘I have carefully perused the information: it is so loose and ill-drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it will not be possible for a jury to find you guilty.’

“In his first opinion he was mistaken; in his second he was correct. The cause was tried at Nisi Prius—but no one has yet forgotten that the verdict returned was ‘guilty of printing and publishing only;’ which in fact implied not guilty at all.

“It is to this cause, as has been already glanced at, we are chiefly indebted for an acknowledged and unequivocal right in the jury to return a general verdict—that is, a verdict that shall embrace matter of law as well as matter of fact. Upon the ambiguity of the verdict however, in the case before us, a motion was made by the defendant’s counsel in arrest of judgment; at the same time that an opposite mo-

tion was advanced by the counsel for the crown, for a rule upon the defendant to shew cause why the verdict should not be entered up according to the legal import of the words. On both sides a rule to shew cause was granted, and the matter being argued before the court of King’s Bench, Lord Mansfield, whose opinion was strongly in favour of the verdict being entered up, was supported by the single opinion of Mr. Justice Smith alone—the rest of the judges unanimously opposing his lordship’s construction. The result was the grant of a new trial, which, however, was not proceeded in, for want of proof of the publication of the paper in question.

“That Junius was quick and irritable in conceiving disgust, and vehement and even at times malignant in his enmities, we may equally ascertain from his private and his public communications. In the violence of his hatreds almost every one whom he attacks is guilty in the extreme; there are no degrees of comparison either in their criminality or his own detestation: the whole is equally superlative. If the Duke of Grafton be the object of his address, ‘every villain in the kingdom,’ says he, ‘is your friend—the very sunshine you live in is a prelude to your destruction.’ If Lord Mansfield fall beneath his lash, ‘I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God for my sincerity, that in my judgment he is the worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom.’ An opinion corroborated by him in his private correspondence: ‘We have got the rascal down,’ says he, ‘let us strangle him if it be possible.’ In like manner addressing himself to Lord Barrington, ‘You are so detested and despised by all parties

parties (because all parties know you) that England, Scotland, and Ireland have but one wish concerning you;’ while his note to the printer accompanying this address, closes thus: ‘The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion. Next to the Duke of Grafton I verily believe the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington.’ Even Scævola, an anonymous writer, whom he knew not, is ‘a blockhead’ and ‘a fool’ for opposing him: Swinney, for his impertinent inquiry of Lord G. Sackville, ‘a wretched and a dangerous’ fool; and Garrick, on the same account, ‘a rascal, and a vagabond.’

“Yet it is not difficult to account for the more violent of his political abhorrences; and which seem, indeed, to have been almost exclusively directed against the three ministerial characters just enumerated in conjunction with the Earl of Bute: for his attacks upon the Duke of Bedford and Sir William Blackstone, are but light and casual when compared with his incessant and unmitigated tirades against these noblemen.

“Firmly rooted in the best whig principles of the day, he had an invincible hatred of Lord Bute as the grand prop and foundation stone of toryism in its worst and most arbitrary tendencies: as introduced into Carlton-house against the consent of his present Majesty’s royal grandfather, through the overweening favouritism of this Princess Dowager of Wales; as having obtained an entire ascendancy over this princess, and through this princess over the King, whose non-age had been entirely intrusted to him, and through the King over the cabinet and the

parliament itself. The introduction of Lord Bute into the post of chief preceptor to his Majesty was in our author’s opinion an inexpiable evil. ‘That,’ says he, ‘was the salient point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion.’ Vol. II. p. 65. Thus despising the tutor, he could have no great reverence for the pupil: and hence the personal dislike he too frequently betrays, and occasionally in language altogether intemperate and unjustifiable, for the Sovereign. Hence, too, his unconquerable prejudice against Scotchmen of every rank.

“The same cause excited his antipathy against Lord Mansfield, even before his lordship’s arbitrary line of conduct had proved that our author’s suspicions concerning him were well-founded. Lord Mansfield was a Scotchman: but this was not the whole. Under the patronage of Lord Stormont, he had been educated with the highest veneration for the whole Stuart family, and especially for the pretender; whose health, when a young man, had been his favourite toast, and to whom his brother was private and confidential secretary. It was for these sentiments, and for the politics which intruded themselves in his judicial proceedings, where the crown was concerned, that our author expressed himself in such bitter terms against the chief justice. ‘Our language,’ says he, in Letter xli. Vol. II. p. 160, ‘has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted.—Ample justice has been done, by abler pens than mine to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets, till their united virtue tortures the sense.’

“His

“ His detestation of the duke of Grafton proceeded from his grace's having abandoned his patron Lord Chatham, and the whig principles into which he had been initiated under him, to gratify his own ambition on the first offer that occurred: from his having afterwards united sometimes with the Bedford party, sometimes with Lord Bute, and sometimes with other connexions of whatever principles or professions, whenever the union appeared favourable to his personal views; and from his having hereby prevented that general coalition of the different divisions of whig statesmen, which must in all probability have proved permanently triumphant over the power of the King himself. ‘ My abhorrence of the duke,’ says Junius, ‘ arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute.’

“ It was not necessary for Lord Barrington to be a Scotchman in order to excite the antipathy of Junius. He might justly despise and even hate him (if it be allowable to indulge a private hatred against a public character of any kind) for his political versatilities and want of all principle; for atrocities indeed, which no man can yet have forgotten, and which never can be buried in forgetfulness but with the total oblivion of his name. Barrington, independently of these general considerations, however, was the man who moved for Wilkes's expulsion from parliament, in which he was seconded by Mr. Rigby.

“ These were the prime objects of our author's abhorrence; and in proportion as other politicians were connected with them by principles or want of principles, confederacy,

nation, or even family, he abhorred them also.

“ His reasons for believing that the constitution allows him to regard the reigning prince as occasionally culpable in his own person, are given at large in his preface. To few people perhaps in the present day will they carry conviction. But, bating this single opinion, his view of the principles and powers of the constitution, appears to be equally correct and perspicuous. Upon the question of general warrants; of the right of juries to return general verdicts, or in other words, to determine upon the law as well as upon the fact; of the unlimited power of lords chief justice to admit to bail; of the illegality of suspending acts of parliament by proclamation, we owe him much; he was a warm and rigid supporter of the co-extent, as well as co-existence of the three estates of the government, and it was from this principle alone that he argued against the system of indefinite privilege as appertaining to either house individually; and as allowing it a power of arbitrary punishment, for what may occasionally be regarded as a contempt of such house, or a breach of such privilege.

“ Personally and outrageously inimical, however, as he was, to the reigning prince, and earnestly devoted as he seems to have been to the cause of the people, neither his enmity nor his patriotism hurried him into any of those political extravagancies which have peculiarly marked the character of the present age: a limited monarchy, like our own, he openly preferred to a republic; he contended for the constitutional right of impressing, in case of emergency, sea-faring men for the common service of the country; strenuously opposed the sup-
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porters of the Bill of Rights, in their endeavours to restore annual parliaments, and their fanciful, but as it appeared to him, unconstitutional plan of purifying the legislature by disfranchising a number of boroughs which they had chosen to regard as totally corrupt and rotten: and anterior to the American contest was as thoroughly convinced as Mr. George Grenville himself of the supremacy of the legislature of this country over the American colonies.

"Upon the first point he observes: 'I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment of any man, who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country.' Upon the second point he appears to have been chiefly influenced by judge Foster's argument on the legality of pressing seamen, and his comment on that argument may be seen in his observations, Vol. II. p. 381 and p. 393. Upon the third and fourth points he thus ingeniously expresses himself: 'Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live, will assuredly attempt it,) to convince the English nation by arguments, to my understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and banish the idea of an annual parliament.—As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of

political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution.—When you propose to cut away the rotten parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop,—at what point the mortification ends?"

"Junius has been repeatedly accused of having been a party-man, but perhaps no political satirist was ever less so. To Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne he was equally indifferent, except in regard to their public principles and public characters. In his estimation the cause alone was every thing, and they were only of value as the temporary and accidental supporters of it. 'Let us employ these men,' says he, 'in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause, as their different inclinations will permit.—If individuals have no virtues their vices may be of use to us. I care not with what principle the new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community. The nation is interested in his conduct. His motives are his own. The properties of a patriot are perishable in the individual, but there is a quick succession of subjects, and the breed is worth preserving.' It was in this view of the politics of the day, that he privately cautioned his friend Woodfall, as has been already noticed, 'to be on his guard against patriots;' and in the consciousness of possessing a truly independent spirit, that he boasted

boasted of being 'disowned, as a dangerous auxiliary, by every party in the kingdom,' his creed not expressly comporting with any single party creed whatever.

"Yet there were statesmen whom he believed to be truly honest and upright, and for whom he felt a personal as well as a political reverence: and it is no small proof of the keenness of his penetration that the characters, whom he thus singled out from the common mass of pretenders to genuine patriotism, have been ever since growing in the public estimation, and are now justly looked back to as the pillars and bulwarks of the English constitution. His high opinion of the general purity and virtue of Lord Camden we have already noticed. 'Lord Bute,' says he, in describing several others of whom he equally approved, 'found no resource of dependance or security in the proud, imposing superiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the shrewd, inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the mild, but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham.' He also seems disposed to have entertained a good opinion of Lord Holland; and this is the rather entitled to attention, as the opinion was communicated confidentially. 'I wish,' says he, 'Lord Holland may acquit himself with honour: if his cause be good, he should at once have published that account to which he refers in his letter to the mayor.' With respect to Mr. Sawbridge, and his worthy colleague, he observes, 'My memory fails me if I have mentioned their names with disrespect;—unless it be reproachful to acknowledge a sincere respect for the character of Mr. Sawbridge, and not to have questioned the innocence of Mr. Oliver's intentions.' And again, addressing to the former, 'It were

much to be desired, that we had many such men as Mr. Sawbridge to represent us in parliament.—I speak from common report and opinion only, when I impute to him a speculative predilection in favour of a republic.—In the personal conduct and manners of the man, I cannot be mistaken. He has shewn himself possessed of that republican firmness, which the times require, and by which an English gentleman may be as usefully and as honourably distinguished, as any citizen of ancient Rome, of Athens, or Lacedæmon.'

"Yet the times were too corrupt, and the instances of defection too numerous, to allow so wary a statesman as Junius to regard even these exalted characters without occasional suspicion and jealousy. Much as he approved of the marquis of Rockingham personally, he regarded him publicly as forming a feeble administration that dissolved in its own weakness. He had more than once some doubts of the motives both of Lord Camden and Lord Chatham: their opposition at the commencement of the American contest he was jealous of; and ascribed it rather to political pique than to liberal patriotism. To his friend he writes thus confidentially, 'The duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden;' and in unison with this idea he tells his lordship himself publicly, 'If you decline this honourable office, I fear it will be said that, for some months past, you have kept too much company with the duke of Grafton.' And even as late as August, 1771, when Lord Chatham had been progressively growing on his good opinion, he thus cautiously praises him. 'If his ambition be upon a level with his understanding;—if he judges of what is truly honourable

honourable for himself, with the same superior genius, which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it.—I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.'

"In his religious opinions Junius has been accused of deism and atheism; but on what account it seems impossible to ascertain: he has by others been conceived to have been a dissenter; yet with as little reason. To judge from the few passages in his own writings that have any bearing upon the question, and which occur chiefly in his letter, under the signature of Philo-Junius, of August 26, 1771, he appears to have been a Christian upon the most sincere conviction; one of whose chief objects was to defend the religion established by law, and who was resolved to renounce and give up to public contempt and indignation every man who should be capable of uttering a disrespectful word against it. To the religion of the court, it must be confessed that he was no friend; and to speak the truth it constituted, at the period in question, an anomaly not a little difficult of solution. To behold a sanctuary self-surrounded by a moat of pollution; a prince strictly and exemplarily pious, selecting for his confidential advisers men of the most abandoned debauchery and profligacy of life, demanded, in order to penetrate the mystery, a knowledge never completely acquired till the present day, which has sufficiently demonstrated how

impossible it is for a king of England to exercise at all times a real option in the appointment of his ministers. The severity with which our author uniformly satirized every violation of public decorum, at least entitles him to public gratitude, and does credit to the purity of his heart: and if his morality may be judged of by various occasional observations and advices scattered throughout his private intercourse with Mr. Woodfall, some instances of which have already been selected, it is impossible to do otherwise than approve both his principles and his conduct.

"Whether the writer of these letters had any other and less worthy object in view than that he uniformly avowed, namely, a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. It is unquestionably no common occurrence in history, to behold a man thus steadily, and almost incessantly, for five years, volunteering his services in the cause of the people, amidst abuse and slander from every party, exposed to universal resentment, unknown, and not daring to be known, without having any personal object to acquire, any sinister motive of individual aggrandisement or reward. Yet nothing either in his public or private letters affords us the remotest hint that he was thus actuated. Throughout the whole, from first to last, in the midst of all his warmth, and rancour, his argument and declamation, his appeal to the public, and his notes to his confidential friend, he seems to have been influenced by the stimulus of sound and genuine patriotism alone. With this he commenced his career, and with this he retired from the field of action, retaining, at least a twelvemonth afterwards, the latest period in which we are able to catch
a glimpse

a glimpse of him, the same political sentiments he had professed on his first appearance before the world, and still ready to renew his efforts the very moment he could perceive they had a chance of being attended with benefit. Under these circumstances, therefore, however difficult it may be to acquit him altogether of personal considerations, it is still more difficult, and must be altogether unjust, ungenerous, and illogical to suspect his integrity.

"It has often been said, from the general knowledge he has evinced of English jurisprudence, that he must have studied the law professionally: and in one of his private letters already quoted, he gives his personal opinion upon the mode in which the information of the King against Woodfall was drawn up, in a manner that may serve to countenance such an opinion. Yet on other occasions he speaks obviously not from his own knowledge, but from a consultation with legal practitioners: 'The information,' says he, 'will only be for a misdemeanour, and I am advised that no jury, and especially in these times, will find it.' In like manner, although he affirms in his elaborate letter to Lord Mansfield, 'I well know the practice of the court, and by what legal rules it ought to be directed;' yet he is for ever condemning the intricacies and littlenesses of special pleading, and in his preface declares unequivocally, 'I am no lawyer by profession, nor do I pretend to be more deeply read than every English gentleman should be in the laws of his country. If therefore the principles I maintain are truly constitutional, I shall not think myself answered, though I should be convicted of a mistake in terms, or of misapplying the language of the law.'

"That he was of some rank and consequence seems generally to have been admitted by his opponents, and must indeed necessarily follow, as has been already casually hinted at, from the facility with which he acquired political information, and a knowledge of ministerial intrigues. In one place he expressly affirms that his 'rank and fortune place him above a common bribe;' in another 'I should have hoped that even my name might carry some authority with it, if I had not seen how very little weight or consideration a printed paper receives even from the respectable signature of Sir W. Draper.' On two occasions he intimates an intention of composing a regular history of the duke of Grafton's administration. 'These observations,' says he, 'general as they are, might easily be extended into a faithful history of your grace's administration, and may perhaps be the employment of a future hour;' and in a note subjoined to a subsequent letter, 'the history of this ridiculous administration shall not be lost to the public.' And on one occasion, and on one occasion only, he appears to hint at some prospect, though a slender one, of taking a part in the government of the country. It occurs in a private letter to Woodfall: 'I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but, if things take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works.'

"Of those who have critically analyzed the style of his compositions, some have pretended to prove that he must necessarily have been of Irish descent or Irish education, from the peculiarity of his idioms; while, to shew how little dependance is to be placed upon any such observations, others have equally pretended to prove, from a similar investigation,

vestigation, that he could not have been a native either of Scotland or Ireland, nor have studied in any university of either of those countries. The fact is, that there are a few phraseologies in his letters peculiar to himself; such as occur in the compositions of all original writers of great force and genius, but which are neither indicative of any particular race, nor referable to any provincial dialect.

"The distinguishing features of his style are ardour, spirit, perspicuity, classical correctness, sententious, epigrammatic compression: his characteristic ornaments keen, indignant invective, audacious interrogation, shrewd, severe, anti-thetic retort, proud, presumptuous disdain of the powers of his adversary, pointed and appropriate allusions that can never be mistaken, but are often overcharged, and at times perhaps totally unfounded, similes introduced, not for the purpose of decoration, but of illustration and energy, brilliant, burning, admirably selected, and irresistible in their application. In his similes, however, he is once or twice too recondite, and in his grammatical construction still more frequently incorrect. Yet the latter should in most instances perhaps, if not the whole, be rather attributed to the difficulty of revising the press, and the peculiar circumstances under which his work was printed and published, than to any inaccuracy or classical misconception of his own. As to the surreptitious copies of his letters, he frequently complains of their numerous errors. 'Indeed,' says he, 'they are innumerable;' and though the genuine edition labours under very considerably fewer, and on several occasions received his approbation on the score of accuracy, yet it would

be too much to assert that it is altogether free from errors. In truth this was not to be expected, for it is not known that a single proof sheet (excepting those containing the first two letters) was ever sent to him. 'You must correct the press yourself,' says he in one of his letters to Woodfall; 'but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets.' The Dedication and Preface he certainly did not revise.

"Yet if the grammatical construction be occasionally imperfect, (sometimes hurried over by the author, and sometimes mistaken by the printer) the general plan and outline, the train of argument, the bold and fiery images, the spirited invective that pervade the whole, appear to have been always selected with the utmost care and attention. Such finished forms of composition bear in themselves the most evident marks of elaborate forecast and revision, and the author rather boasted of the pains he had bestowed upon them than attempted to conceal his labour. In recommending to Woodfall to introduce into his purposed edition various letters of his own writing under other signatures, he adds, "If you adopt this plan I shall point out those which I would recommend; for you know, I do not, nor have I time to give equal care to them all.—As to Junius I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character which must be kept up with credit.' The private note accompanying his first letter to Lord Mansfield commences thus, 'The enclosed, though begun within these few days, has been greatly laboured; it is very correctly copied; and I beg that you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands.' The note accompanying his last and most celebrated letter observes

as follows: 'At last I have concluded my great work, and assure you with no small labour.' On sending the additional papers for the genuine edition he asserts, 'I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it;—if you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.' In like manner in his letter to Mr. Horne, he interrogates him, 'What public question have I declined, what villain have I spared? Is there no labour in the composition of these letters?' In effect no excellence of any kind is to be attained without labour: and the degree of excellence that characterises the style of these addresses, intrinsically demonstrates the exercise of a labour unsparing and unremitted. Mr. Horne, in his reply, attempts to ridicule this acknowledgment: 'I compassionate,' says he, 'your labour in the composition of your letters, and will communicate to you the secret of my fluency.—Truth needs no ornament; and, in my opinion, what she borrows of the pencil is deformity.' Yet no man ever bestowed more pains upon his compositions than Mr. Horne has done: nor needed he to have been more ashamed of the confession than his adversary. To have made it openly would have been honest to himself, useful to the young, and salutary to the concealed.

"His most elaborate letters are that to the King, and that to Lord Mansfield upon the law of bailments: one of his most sarcastic is that to the Duke of Grafton, of the date of May 30, 1769; and one

of the best and most truly valuable, that to the printer of the Public Advertiser, dated October 5, 1771, upon the best means of uniting the jarring sectaries of the popular party into one common cause.

"His metaphors are peculiarly brilliant, and so numerous, though seldom unnecessarily introduced, as to render it difficult to know where to fix in selecting a few examples. The following are ably managed, and require no explanation. 'The ministry, it seems, are labouring to draw a line of distinction between the honour of the crown and the rights of the people. This new idea has yet been only started in discourse, for, in effect, both objects have been equally sacrificed. I neither understand the distinction, nor what use the ministry propose to make of it. The king's honour is that of his people. Their real honour and real interest are the same.—I am not contending for a vain punctilio.—Private credit is wealth; public honour is security.—The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage and you fix him to the earth.' Again: 'Above all things let me guard my countrymen against the meanness and folly of accepting of a trifling or moderate compensation for extraordinary and essential injuries. Concessions, such as these, are of little moment to the sum of things; unless it be to prove, that the worst of men are sensible of the injuries they have done us, and perhaps to demonstrate to us the imminent danger of our situation. In the shipwreck of the state, trifles float and are preserved; while every thing solid and valuable sinks to the bottom, and is lost for ever.' Once more: 'The very sun-shine you live in, is a prelude

lude to your dissolution. When you are ripe, you shall be plucked.' The commencement of his letter to Lord Camden shall furnish another instance: 'I turn with pleasure, from that barren waste, in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification.'

"In a few instances his metaphors are rather too far-fetched or recondite: 'Yet for the benefit of the succeeding age, I could wish that your retreat might be deferred, until your morals shall be happily ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which the worst examples cease to be contagious.' The change which is perpetually taking place in the matter of infection gives it progressively a point of utmost activity:—after which period, by the operation of the same continued change, it becomes progressively less active, till at length it ceases to possess any effect whatever. The parallel is correctly drawn, but it cannot be followed by every one. In the same letter we have another example: 'His views and situation required a creature void of all these properties; and he was forced to go through every division, resolution, composition, and refinement of political chemistry, before he happily arrived at the *caput mortuum* of vitriol in your grace. Flat and insipid in your retired state, but brought into action, you become vitriol again.' This figure is too scientific, and not quite correct: vitriol cannot, properly speaking, be said to be, in any instance, a *caput mortuum*. He seems, however, to have been unjustly charged with an incongruity of metaphor in his repartee upon the following observation of Sir W. Draper, 'You,

indeed, are a tyrant of another sort and upon your political bed of torture can excruciate any subject, from a first minister down to such a grub or butterfly as myself.' To this remark his reply was as follows: 'If Sir W. Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himself. I shall never interrupt his repose.' We need not ramble so far as to vindicate the present use of this last word by referring to its Latin origin: he himself has justly noticed under the signature of Philo-Junius, that those who pretend to espy any absurdity either in the idea or expression, 'cannot distinguish between a sarcasm and a contradiction.'

"To pursue this critique further would be to disparage the judgment of the reader. Upon the whole these letters, whether considered as classical and correct compositions, or as addresses of popular and impressive eloquence, are well entitled to the distinction they have acquired; and quoted as they have been, with admiration, in the senate by such nice judges and accomplished scholars as Mr. Burke and Lord Eldon, eulogized by Dr. Johnson, and admitted by the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, to the same rank among English classics as Livy or Tacitus among Roman, there can be no doubt that they will live commensurately with the language in which they are composed.

"These few desultory and imperfect hints are the whole that the writer of this essay has been able to collect concerning the author of the *Letters of Junius*. Yet desultory and imperfect as they are, he still hopes that they may not be utterly destitute both of interest and utility. Although they do not undertake positively

positively to ascertain who the author was; they offer a fair test to point out negatively who he was not; and to enable us to reject the pretensions of a host of persons, whose friends have claimed for them so distinguished an honour.

“ From the observations contained in this essay it should seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the letters of Junius was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and intrusted with all its secrets: that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast

of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the *Public Advertiser*; that in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable and impetuous; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities; but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them; that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an avowed member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

“ What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not; but these are sufficient; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forwards as the author of the *Letters of Junius*.”

MEMOIRS OF THE EARLY LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. W. WINDHAM.

[FROM MR. AMYOT'S EDITION OF HIS SPEECHES.]

“ **W**ILLIAM Windham, the lamented subject of this narrative, was the descendant of a line of ancestors which is traced to a very remote period. The name is derived from a town in Norfolk, generally written Wymondham, but pronounced Windham, at which place the family appears to have been settled as early as the eleventh, or the beginning of the 1812.

twelfth century, Ailward de Wymondham having been a person of some consideration in the time of Henry the First. His posterity remained there till the middle of the fifteenth century, when one of them, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, purchased considerable estates on the north-east coast of Norfolk, in Felbrigg and its neighbourhood, which, from that time, became

became their principal residence. Among the Windhams of Felbrigg, many might be enumerated who distinguished themselves by services to their country in the army, the navy, and on the judicial bench; and from them descended not only the present noble family of Egremont, but others of considerable eminence, long since settled in distant parts of the kingdom, by whom the name of Windham has been preserved, though generally with a slight deviation from that orthography.

“Colonel William Windham, an inheritor of the Felbrigg patrimony, and the son of Ash Windham, who had represented the county of Norfolk in parliament, was a man of versatile talents and an ardent mind. He was the associate of the wits of his time, the friend and admirer of Garrick, and the distinguished patron of all manly exercises. In his father's lifetime, he had lived much on the continent, particularly in Spain. Of his proficiency in the language of that country, he gave proofs in some printed observations on Smollett's Translation of Don Quixote. While abroad, he entered as a Hussar officer in the service of the deserted, though finally successful, Maria Teresa, Queen of Hungary. This commission, at his father's desire, he at length very unwillingly relinquished; but his military ardour was revived many years afterwards, on the passing of the act which established the militia force upon its present footing. Upon that occasion, which happened in the year 1757, he assisted his friend, the first Marquis Townshend, in forming a battalion of militia in his native county, of which he afterwards became lieutenant-colonel. Though his military education had not

been regular, he not only proved an active and skilful officer, but distinguished himself as the author of a “Plan of Discipline composed for the use of the militia of the county of Norfolk,” which was much esteemed, and generally adopted by other corps of the establishment. Unhappily Colonel Windham's feeble constitution by no means seconded the ardour and activity of his mind. A victim to a consumptive habit, he died on the 30th of October 1761, when only in the 44th year of his age.

“He had married Mrs. Lukin, the mother of the present Dean of Wells, by whom he had but one son, William Windham, who was born in 1750, on the 3d of May (old style), in Golden-square. At seven years of age, young Windham had been placed at Eton, where he remained till he was about sixteen; distinguishing himself by the vivacity and brilliancy of his talents, among school-fellows of whom many were afterwards highly eminent for their genius and acquirements. He was the envy of the school for the quickness of his progress in study, as well as its acknowledged leader and champion in all athletic sports and youthful frolics. The late Dr. Barnard, then head-master, and afterwards provost of Eton college, used to remark when Fox and Windham had become conspicuous in the senate, that they were the last boys he had ever flogged. Their offence was, that of stealing off together to see a play acted at Windsor. The sub-master, Dr. Dampier, afterwards Dean of Durham (the father of the present Bishop of Ely), was Mr. Windham's guardian, in conjunction with David Garrick, Mr. Price of Hereford, and the celebrated Benjamin Stillingfleet, who

is noticed by Colonel Windham, in the introduction to his "Plan of Discipline," as having contributed some learned information respecting the antiquity of the use of music in war.

"On leaving Eton, in 1766, he was placed in the university of Glasgow, under the tuition of Dr. Anderson, professor of natural history, and the learned Dr. Robert Simson, the editor of Euclid. Here he remained about a year, having by diligent application to study laid the foundation of his profound mathematical acquirements. He was then removed to Oxford, where, in September 1767, he was entered a gentleman-commoner of University college, Sir Robert Chambers being his tutor. While at Oxford, he took so little interest in public affairs, that, as the writer of this narrative has heard him relate, it was the standing joke of one of his contemporaries, that, 'Windham would never know who was prime minister.' This disinclination to a political life, added to a modest diffidence in his own talents, led him at the period which is now spoken of, to reject an offer which, by a youth not more than twenty years of age, might have been considered as a splendid one;—that of being named secretary to his father's friend, Lord Townshend, who had been appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

"After four years residence, he left Oxford in 1771. He always retained feelings of gratitude towards Alma Mater, and preserved to the last an intimate acquaintance and correspondence with some of the most distinguished resident members. He did not, however, take his master's degree till 1783. That of doctor of laws was conferred on him in 1793, at the installation of the Duke of

Portland. It is related that on this occasion, almost the whole assembly rose from their seats, when he entered the theatre, and received him with acclamations of applause. Nor was his memory forgotten at the late installation of Lord Grenville; for in the recitations made on that occasion, due honours were paid to the genius, taste, and acquirements of which the public had recently been deprived.

"After leaving Oxford, he passed some time on the continent. In 1773, a voyage of discovery towards the north pole having been projected and placed under the command of the late Lord Mulgrave (then Commodore Phipps), Mr. Windham, with his characteristic ardour, joined as a passenger in the expedition. To his great mortification, however, a continued sea-sickness of an unusually severe and debilitating kind, rendered it necessary for him to be landed on the coast of Norway. Here, accompanied by a faithful servant now living, who had attended him from his childhood, he passed through a series of adventures and 'hair-breadth 'scapes,' in which his courage and humanity were conspicuous. The recital of them might agreeably occupy a considerable space in a work less limited in its nature and extent than the present.

"His earliest essay as a public speaker was occasioned by a call which was made on the country, for a subscription in aid of government, to be applied towards carrying on the war with our American colonies. It was on the 28th of January 1778, at a meeting of gentlemen of the county of Norfolk, held at Norwich, that Mr. Windham gave the first promise of that eminence which he afterwards attained as an orator

and statesman. Of his speech upon this occasion, a report has fortunately been preserved; and though it must not be compared with later specimens of his eloquence, it may be admitted to exhibit some proofs of acuteness, dexterity, and vigour. As the earliest effort of a distinguished orator, it is at least a curiosity; and on that account the report of the proceedings of the meeting will have a place allotted to it in this work. It is copied from a provincial paper of the times, (*The Norfolk Chronicle*), and considering that the talent of reporting debates was not then a common one, and was certainly little practised in the country, it will be thought perhaps not altogether ill-executed; though there can be no doubt that Mr. Windham's eloquence, which was long remembered in the county, suffered not a little in its way to the press. It will be sufficient in this place to notice, that the part which he took was in opposition to the subscriptions, and to the war itself; and that his friend and his father's friend, the first Marquis Townshend, who had himself proposed the measure of the subscription, bore in his reply, the warmest testimony to the abilities, knowledge, eloquence, and integrity, of his young antagonist. The result of the meeting was, that those who remained unconvinced by Mr. Windham's arguments, entered into the proposed subscription; while those who had opposed the measure withdrew to another inn, where they framed a strong protest against its principle and object.

"Some time before the event which has been last noticed, he had entered himself as an officer in the western battalion of Norfolk militia. In this character, he proved that he inherited the military turn

and talents of his father, to whom the very corps in which he served had been so greatly indebted for its formation and discipline. When the militia were called out in 1778, Mr. Windham held the rank of major, and those who remember him in that post, bear ample testimony to his zeal, expertness, and personal activity. On his battalion being ordered to march from Norwich, to be quartered in the adjoining county, he shewed an instance of resolution, which, as it made considerable impression in the country where it happened, must not be passed over in silence. The marching guinea, as it is called, was, contrary to Major Windham's advice, ordered by the lieutenant-colonel not to be paid till the corps should have actually marched out of the county. The men, however, became clamorous for immediate payment, and proceeded to open mutiny. On their being assembled near the castle at Norwich, Major Windham (in the absence of the lieutenant-colonel) ordered them to march; but instead of obeying this command, they grounded their arms, and insisted on the payment of their guineas. The order being repeated in a very resolute tone, some of them prepared to attend to it; when a man stepped out of the ranks, and reprovved them for their want of firmness. This man Major Windham seized with his own hand, in order to commit him a prisoner to the guard-house, and in this attempt, assisted by some of the men belonging to his own company, he at length succeeded, though amidst a shower of stones, and in defiance of the interruption offered by the soldiers, and the populace in their train, three of whom he was compelled to silence by blows. As a rescue seemed likely to be attempted, the major determined

nined to remain with his prisoner all night. At four in the morning the expected attack was begun by a party of the militia, with fixed bayonets. On their demanding the prisoner to be given up, Major Windham, standing at the door, with his sword drawn, plainly told them that while he had life to defend the guard-house, the offender should not be allowed to escape. The soldiers, encouraged by the mob, were now proceeding to acts of violence, when the prisoner, stepping forward, requested them not to hurt his major, who was the best of men, and declared that if they released him, he would again surrender himself into custody. This declaration contributed to appease the mutineers, who, however, were not effectually reduced to obedience, until the civil power had found it necessary to interfere; after which the battalion proceeded on its march to Southwold and Aldborough, two small towns on the Suffolk coast.

"This intrepid conduct only served to increase the respect of the corps towards him, while they were desirous to forget the occasion which had called for it. By his humanity, as well as by his courage, he secured their esteem, having, as far as lay in his power, discountenanced corporal punishments, which were then more frequently inflicted in the army than at present. But his useful services as a militia officer were soon brought to a close. It happened, on a march, that imprudently, and in a sort of frolic, he joined two brother-officers in riding through a deep rivulet, after which they were obliged to keep on their wet clothes for many hours. The consequences of this adventure were fatal to one of the party, who died soon afterwards; — another, now

living, is said to have saved himself by a timely application of brandy; — while Mr. Windham was thrown into a fever of a most alarming kind, from the effects of which it is certain that his constitution never thoroughly recovered. For many days he kept his bed at Bury St. Edmund's, without any hopes being entertained of his recovery. At length, he was thought to have regained strength enough to undertake a tour on the continent, which was recommended for the re-establishment of his health. He accordingly employed nearly two years of his life in a journey through Switzerland and Italy.

"From this tour he returned at a critical moment, in September 1780. The parliament had just been dissolved, and Sir Harbord Harbord (the late Lord Suffield), who had represented Norwich for more than twenty years, had been obliged to relinquish his hopes there, in consequence of a powerful coalition which his colleague Mr. Bacon (one of the Lords of Trade) had formed with Mr. Thurlow, a citizen of the place, and a brother of the late lord chancellor. But the friends of Sir Harbord being determined not to give him up tamely, invited him back again, and placed him in nomination, jointly with Mr. Windham, whom they supposed to be then out of the kingdom, but whose vigorous speech against the American war had made so strong an impression on them that his absence had not weakened his popularity. It happened, singularly enough, that, without the least knowledge of what had just passed in his favour, he arrived at Norwich, in his way from London to Felbrigg, just three days before the poll commenced. It was too late, however, to secure his election;

election ; but his colleague, Sir Harbord Harbord, was returned with Mr. Bacon ; while Mr. Windham, with all the disadvantages of his situation, had the satisfaction of counting a very respectable poll, as well as of securing warm assurances of support, whenever a future occasion might require it.

“ Though he did not obtain a seat in parliament, he lived from this time much in town, and connected himself with some of the most eminent political and literary men of the day. Before he made his tour to the continent, he had become a member of the celebrated literary club. On his return, he cemented his friendships with the leading members of that society, and more particularly with its two most distinguished ornaments, Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke. For the former he entertained sentiments of the highest respect and regard, which the doctor appears to have returned with equal warmth. The high commendation with which Johnson noticed him, in a letter to Dr. Brocklesby, though it has been often repeated, ought not here to be omitted. “ Mr. Windham,” said he, “ has been here to see me ;—he came I think forty miles out of his way, and staid about a day and a half ; perhaps I may make the time shorter than it was. Such conversation I shall not have again till I come back to the regions of literature, and there Windham is *inter stellas Luna minores*.” This letter was written at Dr. Taylor’s house at Ashbourne. An eulogium like this, proceeding from a literary giant of seventy, certainly no professor of the art of praising, must be thought a valuable testimony to the merits of a young man, who could hardly be said to have yet rendered himself eminent on the stage of public life. When Johnson

was on his death-bed, Mr. Windham manifested the kindest attention to him, by his frequent visits, as well as by lending him the services of Causton (the faithful servant before alluded to), who sat up with Johnson the night before his death. The funeral was attended by Mr. Windham, whom his deceased friend had remembered in a codicil to his will, by the bequest of a book selected from his library.

“ Of Mr. Burke, it is needless to say, that, during a long-trying friendship, political and personal, he found in Mr. Windham a faithful associate, and warm admirer. Their opinions seldom differed ; but on a highly important occasion, hereafter to be noticed, upon which they did differ, such was Mr. Windham’s deference to the wisdom and experience of his friend, that he surrendered his judgment to Mr. Burke’s. From his connection with this eminent man, and with his old school-fellow Mr. Fox, he now became, though out of parliament, a sort of member of the party then in opposition, or rather of that branch of it of which the Marquis of Rockingham was considered as the leader. In this character, he was strongly solicited to become a candidate for Westminster, whenever a vacancy should take place. The proposal was at first rather agreeable to him, but as his opinions on the then popular question of parliamentary reform widely differed from those of his intended constituents, he seems to have gladly availed himself of an opportunity of declining the proffered honour. His own account of this transaction will be found in the following letter, which he addressed to a gentleman in Norwich (the late E. Norgate, Esq.), who was a vigilant promoter of his interests in the latter city :

“ Queen

“ Queen Anne Street,
5th June 1782.

“ Dear Sir,

“ You have heard, no doubt, from the papers, as well as from a letter or two of mine sent to Norwich, a general account of my transactions, with respect to becoming a candidate for Westminster. In the whole business, from the first mention of it soon after the general election, to the present occasion, I had remained nearly passive; not thinking a seat for Westminster an offer to be declined, if attainable upon easy terms, nor considering it as an object to be pursued through the medium of much difficulty or expense. This intention of leaving matters to their own operation, produced at first by the considerations above mentioned, was confirmed afterwards by another feeling, when, by the management of some particular persons, a resolution was carried at one of the general meetings for putting up Mr. Pitt, in case of a vacancy. After that, propriety required that a renewal of our correspondence should come as a formal invitation from them; and partly in that form it was about to come, that is, as a resolution of the Westminster committee, without any sort of application from me; when, upon inquiry into the general sentiments of the people on the question of parliamentary reform, by which, though my election could not have been prevented, my situation, upon the whole, would have been rendered unpleasant; and from the reflection that, on a vacancy happening in the meanwhile at Norwich, a person might be chosen who could not afterwards be set aside, I determined not to wait till a resolution of the committee might make refusal more difficult, but to forestall their deliberations, by a letter declining the

honour that might be intended me. The reasons assigned in my letter were, the difference of opinion that prevailed in some of the independent interest with respect to myself, destroying that unanimity of choice, without which I should not be ambitious of a seat at Westminster; and my disagreement, signified in pretty explicit terms, with many of the opinions that seemed then to be popular. I should flatter myself, that no part of this transaction can have prejudiced my interest at Norwich, and that the conclusion ought rather to have promoted it.

“ I beg to be remembered to all friends; and I am, dear Sir,

“ Your obedient and faithful
Servant,

W. WINDHAM.”

“ At the date of the preceding letter, Mr. Windham's friends had just attained office, upon the resignation of Lord North and the cabinet which had conducted the American war. The marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the new administration, but his death, which took place on the 1st July, 1782, and the elevation of Lord Shelburne to the vacant post, induced Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, with the rest of the Rockingham party, to resign their situations. Mr. Windham's opinion was strongly in favour of this course, as appears by a letter, also addressed to Mr. Norgate, from which the following is an extract :

“ Queen Anne Street,
4th July 1782.

“ You feel no doubt at Norwich, as at every other place, a share of the general consternation into which all good men are thrown by the death of Lord Rockingham. There could be no time in which the loss of such a character as his, must not have

have been severely felt; but now it falls with a weight that crushes. The very existence of that interest which has maintained the cause of the country since the revolution, is in danger of terminating in his person. The only hope and endeavour must be, in my humble opinion, to keep the troops together, by withdrawing them from action for a time, and leaving the enemy to pursue his operations, till they can have recovered their spirits, and retrieved their losses, sufficiently to make a new attack. Some of the most considerable amongst them are strongly of that opinion, and urge the immediate resignation of their places, if Lord Shelburne is to be at the head of affairs. Others are of opinion that they should still continue in, in order to complete the good they have begun, and not quit the public service till his conduct shall have driven them from it. The advocates for either opinion are actuated by perfectly honest motives. I am, for my own part, clearly for the sentiments of the former, and think there can be neither credit nor safety to themselves, nor consequently final advantage to the country, in their continuing in office. The danger of continuing is, that they will miss an opportunity of breaking off with credit and effect, and never find another.

“By the famous coalition of Mr. Fox and his friends with Lord North and the remains of the former ministry, Lord Shelburne, after effecting a general peace, was driven from his post in April 1783. Under the new ministry, of which the duke of Portland was the nominal head, Mr. Windham accepted the office of chief secretary to the earl of Northampton, then appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. An anecdote, which has been often repeated, is

connected with his acceptance of this appointment. On his expressing to his friend Dr. Johnson, some doubts whether he could bring himself to practise the arts which might be thought necessary in his new situation, the doctor humourously replied, ‘Don’t be afraid, sir; you will soon make a very pretty rascal.’ It appears, however, that Mr. Windham’s doubts were not ill founded. He yielded up his secretaryship to Mr. Pelham (now earl of Chichester) in August 1783, about four months after his appointment; and his resignation is ascribed, in a late publication, to a certain distribution of patronage by the viceroy, in favour of the old court party, which had given a just offence to Lord Charlemont and his friends, who had been the best supporters of the whigs of the mother-country before they came into office. The writer alluded to relates, that ‘Mr. Windham, who had served as a bond of union, on the viceroy’s first coming to Ireland, between him and Lord Charlemont, now wisely preferred the county of Norfolk to the Phoenix Park near Dublin, and retired from his situation. Lord Charlemont had long known and esteemed him as an accomplished, amiable man. This secession added much to his (Lord C.’s) chagrin, as might reasonably be expected.’ In a letter, dated Dublin, 26th August, 1782, which at the time found its way anonymously into a newspaper, but which is believed to have been written by a gentleman who had good means of knowing the facts connected with this resignation, it is stated to have been occasioned by a want of ‘due requisites in Mr. Windham to become a supple and venal courtier.’ ‘Some assert,’ this writer adds, ‘that his resignation was chiefly owing to a coolness between

tween him and a certain great personage (the lord lieutenant).—Mr. Windham is a man of deep science, and of great penetration and abilities;—the great personage likes a deep bottle—to penetrate a cork—and has strong abilities of bearing wine. The one was an enemy to thinking;—the other to drinking, and so they parted.'

"The same writer adds an anecdote which ought not to be omitted. It is given in these words: 'The following circumstance respecting Mr. Windham is an absolute fact, and shews more and more the loss this country (Ireland) has experienced by his resignation. A few days previous to his leaving Ireland, a gentleman from England waited on him with a strong letter of recommendation from Mr. Burke, requesting Mr. Windham would embrace an opportunity of presenting him with some little preferment that might fall in the gift of government. Mr. Windham assured the gentleman he should be happy to present a person so strongly recommended by Mr. Burke with a much greater piece of preferment than that requested; but that it was his fixed determination, should he remain in the secretaryship (of which he had some doubts), to give every place in his power to Irishmen; as he had long been persuaded that the natives had the best right to the bread of their own land.' Whatever may have been the cause of this resignation, which has, by other accounts, been attributed to ill health, it appears that on this, and on a former occasion, when he visited his friend, Lord Townshend, during his vice-royalty, he was long enough in Ireland to form many valuable friendships, which lasted till his death.

"On the downfall of the coalition

ministry, occasioned by Mr. Fox's famous bill for new modelling the government of India, a new cabinet was appointed at the close of 1783, with Mr. Pitt presiding at the treasury. But the ex-ministers still retaining a considerable majority in the house of commons, it was found necessary to dissolve the parliament in March 1784. On this occasion, Mr. Windham claimed the promises of his friends at Norwich, but soon found that Mr. Fox and his party had lost much of their popularity in that city, as well as in most other parts of the kingdom; particularly amongst the dissenters, by whom they had before been warmly supported. The question too of parliamentary reform, which had already stood in his way at Westminster, was become a highly popular one amongst his Norwich friends. Still he was not to be dismayed. On the contrary, his intrepidity rose with the difficulties which threatened him; for, besides avowing at a public meeting his dislike to the prevailing doctrines of reform, he published a very manly address to the electors, in which he spurned the popularity to be acquired by a servile accommodation to changes of public opinion, and declared that he should, on all occasions, make his own dispassionate judgment the sole and fixed rule of his conduct. Dangerous as it must at first have appeared, the boldness of this address (which gave a just presage of his future political course) met with a generous reward from those who could not approve of his public connexions; and he had, on the result of the election, the satisfaction of being returned by a majority of sixty-four over his antagonist, the late honourable Henry Hobart. In this contest, his success was remarkable, for in almost every other popular election,

election, the coalition party were totally defeated. In the county of Norfolk, Mr. Windham warmly exerted himself in the cause of his friend Mr. Coke; but that gentleman, notwithstanding the great influence he derived from his large property, and many estimable qualities, was driven from the field by the same cry which, in other places, proved fatal to Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr. Byng, and many other friends of Mr. Fox, who, by a humorous allusion to the book of that title, gained the appellation of 'Fox's Martyrs.'

"There certainly was no part of Mr. Windham's political course that he reviewed with more satisfaction than this early stage of it. The writer of this narrative has frequently heard him, in the latter period of his life, deplore in strong terms the system which began and finally prevailed in this contest between the crown and the commons;—a system which he always considered as ruinous to the best interests of the country. The ministers, however, were completely triumphant; their majorities in both houses were large and decisive; and the opposition, strong as they continued to be in talents, were so reduced in numbers, as to be no longer formidable in any other way than by occasionally putting the ministers to the necessity of defending themselves by argument.

"Mr. Windham made his first speech in parliament on the 9th of February 1785, early in the second session after his election. The question which occasioned this trial of his powers, was the celebrated one of the Westminster scrutiny. It will be necessary to recollect, that Mr. Fox had been successful on the poll for that city by a majority of more than two hundred votes, but Sir Cecil Wray had demanded a scruti-

ny, which the high bailiff had proceeded upon, and in the mean time, at his own discretion, had delayed making his return to the writ. Against this measure, Mr. Fox (who had been returned for another place) had in vain called for the censure of the house, in the preceding session. The scrutiny slowly proceeded, and the return was still withheld. At the commencement of the second session, the assessors who had been appointed by the high bailiff were examined at the bar of the house concerning the delay: and it was in the support of a motion, grounded upon this examination, and calling upon the bailiff for an immediate return, that Mr. Windham made the speech which is here alluded to. He rose immediately after Mr. Pitt had spoken on the other side, and he was followed by Mr. Fox, who congratulated the house 'on the accession of the abilities which they had witnessed.' The scanty report, however, which has been preserved of this speech, will certainly disappoint the reader; nor was it till late in Mr. Windham's parliamentary career, that his peculiar style of eloquence was sufficiently understood or attended to by those who furnished the public with the substance of the debates. The motion for requiring the return was lost, and the high bailiff received the sanction of the house for proceeding in the scrutiny, though with an intimation that it ought to be prosecuted with more expedition. It was not till some time afterwards that, upon a contrary vote of the house of commons, the scrutiny was abandoned, and Mr. Fox returned duly elected. He subsequently, in a court of law, recovered 2,000*l.* damages from the high bailiff, for the loss he had sustained by the scrutiny.

LATTER

LATTER PART OF THE LIFE, DEATH, AND CHARACTER OF
MR. WINDHAM.

[From the same.]

" Beaconsfield,
Dec. 18, 1809.

" I have been here for some days, and have just been joined by Mrs. Windham, who left London to day. We are on our way to Bristol, and must lose no time, as Mr. —, who is here, insists on my being in London during the second week of next month. I shall come very reluctantly, having during this recess indulged myself so much in other pursuits, and contracted, by one means or another, so strong a dislike to the politics of the times, that I am by no means in a frame of mind favourable for the commencement of a parliamentary session. The air of the country, however, will do something, if not to dispose me more to business, at least to render me more capable of it. One of the events that tend to create a great impatience of all public concerns, is this disgraceful and mischievous triumph of the O. P.'s, and the humiliating submission of the managers. Their conduct is quite unaccountable, unless they have secret information that the juries at the sessions would follow the example of Mr. Clifford's jury; and even then the sacrifice of Brandon is something so scandalous, that no consideration of interest can excuse it. I am the more alive, I suppose, to this defeat of the managers, because I see it as a rehearsal of what is meant for higher performers; the managers being the government; the new prices, the taxes; Brandon myself perhaps; and the O. P.'s exactly the same description

of persons as at present. There is one difference I hope;—that I shall never come on like poor Brandon with an apology. In all other respects, it seems to me to present but too sure a presage of the fate of the country, contemptible as the thing is in itself.

Believe me yours,
very faithfully,
W. WINDHAM.

" This was one of the last letters which I received from him. He returned to town soon after Christmas, and at the commencement of the session of 1810 was at his post. He took an early occasion to express in very strong terms his disapprobation of the object and conduct of the expedition to the Scheldt. The vote for an inquiry upon the subject of that armament, ought, he contended, to be 'carried by acclamation;' the British army he described as having been 'marched to its grave;—to be extinguished amidst the pestilential air of Walcheren;—to go out like a candle in a vault." But the battle of Talavera, on the other hand, called from him a warm panegyric, both on the skill of Lord Wellington, and the gallantry of the troops. In this speech, which did honour to his feelings as an Englishman, dated the military renown of our later days from our achievements in Egypt;—the battle of Maida confirmed it;—and those of Vimiera, Corunna, and Talavera, he declared he would not exchange for a 'whole archipelago of sugar-islands.'

islands.' This decided preference of national glory to mere acquisition of wealth or territory, may be considered as the key-stone which supported the whole fabric of his political opinions.

"The part which he took on a subsequent question exposed him to much temporary unpopularity. In the prosecution of the inquiry which the house of commons instituted on the subject of the Scheldt expedition, Mr. Yorke thought it necessary to move daily the standing order for excluding strangers. This measure was reprobated by Mr. Sheridan, who proposed that the standing order should be referred to a committee of privileges. Mr. Windham, who had always professed to dislike the custom of reporting debates in the newspapers, not only warmly opposed Mr. Sheridan's motion, but used some expressions by which the reporters in the gallery considered themselves to be personally calumniated. Their resentment, as might be expected, broke forth in daily attacks on him in the public prints; and they soon came to a formal agreement that his speeches should no longer be reported. For these marks of vengeance, Mr. Windham had fully prepared himself, and he imputed no blame to those who inflicted them. To the honour of the conductors of the daily press, it should be remembered that a few months afterwards, they buried their resentments in the grave of their illustrious adversary, and joined with the public voice in lamenting the loss of his talents and virtues.

"By the temporary exclusion of Mr. Windham's speeches from the newspapers, some valuable ones have been wholly lost, while of others there have been preserved only a slight and unsatisfactory

fragments. Only one, and that a very short one, remains entire, namely, his eulogium on the character and conduct of the Roman Catholics of England. From that body (whose claims, it will be remembered, received his warm support in 1790) he now presented two petitions, praying, in loyal and respectful language, for the removal of the pains and disabilities to which they were liable by law, on account of their religious principles. Mr. Windham's speech on this occasion was preserved by Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn, in a late valuable publication, and has been obligingly communicated by him to the author of this narrative.

"Another speech, which he made in support of Lord Porchester's motion, censuring the expedition against the Scheldt, is represented by those who heard it, to have been one of the most eloquent ever delivered in parliament. It arrested and fully recompensed the attention of the house for nearly two hours. He was urged by some of his friends to prepare it for publication in the form of a pamphlet, but his answer was, that as the subject was temporary, so was the speech, and he felt no anxiety to preserve it. A short and imperfect report of it was given some time afterwards in one of the newspapers, and will be found in the ensuing collection. On the result of the inquiry, the ministers were successful by a majority of forty votes.

"In the proceedings of the house of commons against Sir Francis Burdett, for a breach of their privileges, Mr. Windham stood forward in maintaining what he conceived to be the rights of parliament, and concurred in the vote which was finally agreed upon, for committing Sir Francis a prisoner to the Tower.

His

His speech on this occasion is said to have been a highly animated one, but no part of it has been preserved.

“ The practice of mutilating the printed reports of parliamentary proceedings continued but for little more than two months; after which Mr. Windham's speeches were again suffered to appear, as well as Mr. Tierney's, which had shared in the proscription made by the reporters. On the 1st of May 1810, we find Mr. Windham opposing the second reading of a bill which had been brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly, as part of his plan for reducing the number of capital punishments. This Mr. Windham considered as a measure of dangerous innovation, and in resisting it, he took occasion to avow his belief that the mischievous effects of the French Revolution had not yet ceased. That revolution, he said, had still an existence.—‘ it was above us, and beneath us;—it was without us and within us;—it was every where round about us.’ The bill was lost by a majority of two.

“ He spoke for the last time in the house of commons, on the 11th of May 1810. The question before the house was, the course which it would be expedient to take in relation to the actions which had been brought against the speaker and the serjeant at arms by Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Windham, as it will be readily conceived, asserted the dignity of parliament, and the sacredness of its privileges.

“ A painful narrative remains to be related. The calamitous event which caused Mr. Windham's last illness took place a few months previous to the period down to which the circumstances of his political life have just been carried. It was about midnight on the 8th of July

1809, that in walking home from an evening party, he observed a house in Conduit-street to be on fire. He hastened to the spot, to render his assistance, and found that the house in flames was so near to that of his friend, the Honourable Frederick North, as to threaten its destruction. Knowing that Mr. North (who was then on a voyage in the Mediterranean) possessed a most valuable library, Mr. Windham determined, with the assistance of some persons belonging to a volunteer corps, whom he selected from the crowd, to make an effort for the preservation of it. After four hours labour, four-fifths of the books were saved. He did not quit the house till the flames, which finally consumed it, had spread so extensively as to render his further exertions highly dangerous. During the time that he was employed in this arduous undertaking, it happened most unfortunately, that, by a fall, he received a blow on the hip; but not of so painful a nature as to occasion any relaxation of his efforts. The next day the author of this narrative called on him, and found him complaining, not of the hurt he had received, but of a cold which was the consequence of his exposure to the weather, the night having been very rainy. He seemed to enjoy the whimsical association in the newspapers of ‘ Mr. Windham and the volunteers,’ but lamented that two of the persons who had assisted him had received considerable injury. To those unfortunate persons (one of whom afterwards died) he shewed the most kind and unremitting attentions. His cold continued to be very troublesome to him for some time, but from the blow on his hip, he, for many months, appeared to suffer

suffer no inconvenience whatever, though it occasioned a tumour which, in the following spring, had increased to a considerable size.

"In May 1810, Mr. Windham found it necessary to give his serious attention to the tumour which had been thus collected. Mr. Cline (whom he had consulted upon it two months before) gave it as his opinion, that, in order to prevent dangerous consequences, an immediate operation was necessary;—and his advice was confirmed by that of four out of six eminent surgeons whom Mr. Windham separately consulted. The two who thought that an operation was not required were, Mr. Wilson, the anatomical lecturer, and Mr. Phillips, of Pall Mall. Dr. Blane (Mr. Windham's own physician) and Dr. Baillie coincided in opinion with the majority of the surgeons, so that, in fact, seven out of nine professional men recommended the operation. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that Mr. Windham, whose courage was on all occasions remarkable, should have determined on submitting at once to the dangers of the knife, rather than linger on in doubt and apprehension.

"Before his decision was acted upon, he took pains to inform himself concerning some cases of persons who had died under operations or from the effects of them; and he requested this writer to make a particular inquiry respecting an instance supposed to be of the latter kind, which had recently occurred in Norfolk. He communicated his intention to very few persons, besides the professional men whom he had consulted; and the deepest anxiety with which he seemed to be impressed, was that of sparing Mrs. Windham the terrors which a knowledge of the event could not

fail to excite in a mind of extraordinary sensibility and tenderness. He conveyed her to Beaconsfield, on a visit to her friend Mrs. Burke, with whom he left her, on a plea of business, and arrived in town on Friday the 11th of May. On the following Sunday, he attended at the Charter-house, and received the sacrament, which was administered to him privately by the reverend Dr. Fisher, the master of that institution, with whom he had been intimately acquainted from his youth. The remaining days before the operation was to take place he employed in arranging papers, in making a codicil to his will, and in writing many letters, some of which were addressed to his nearest relatives, to be opened in case the event should prove fatal to him. The following letter has been obligingly communicated to the author by Colonel Harvey, of Catton, in Norfolk, to whom Mr. Windham addressed it the day before he underwent the operation. It contains an allusion, as the reader will perceive, to the question of parliamentary reform, which was intended to be brought forward in the house of commons in the course of a few days.

"Pall Mall,
May 16, 1810.

"Dear Sir,

"I would very gladly attend the business which you mention, and with every disposition to find the merits such as you describe, but I am afraid I must to-morrow go through an operation which will disable me from attendance in the house till long after the business in question will be decided, as well as others which, without disparagement to yours, I should have been still more anxious to attend to. If our reformers carry their madness and folly

folly now or in any subsequent year, there is an end, be assured, of the stability of this constitution, and we shall fall from confusion to confusion till we are either sunk into complete revolutionary anarchy, or are settled under Buonaparté. We shall probably enjoy the blessings of both; —and after the taste of the former, namely of republican and revolutionary anarchy, or government as they will call it, there are many who will think even a government like Buonaparté's a blessing.

"These are my first sentiments; —I may also say my last and dying sentiments, for though the operation itself which I am about to submit to, is not a dangerous one, there cannot be so great pain as must I fear be gone through, without some danger. It is, as far as I should collect, something of the same sort as that which poor John Gurney underwent and fell a victim to.

"I had thought at one time to defer it till I might have entered my last protest against such madness, and have tried what I could do to satisfy men's minds that it was madness. But I found so long a delay could not be incurred; so I must only hope the best for the country and for myself.

Yours, dear Sir,

with great truth, &c. &c.

W. WINDHAM."

"On Thursday, the 17th of May 1810, the operation was performed by Mr. Lynn, in the presence of Dr. Blane, Mr. Home, and Mr. Pilliner, Mr. Windham's apothecary. The tumour was skilfully extracted, but having been very deeply seated, and attached to the ligaments of the hip joint, the operation was necessarily painful. Mr. Windham, however, bore the pain with the greatest resolution; and during a

pause, occasioned by a consultation upon the necessity of making a further incision, he even joked with his perilous situation. The tumour proved to be schirrous, of the shape of a turkey's egg, but even larger. The successful performance of the operation was immediately announced to Mr. Windham's intimate friends by Mr. Edmund Byng (Mrs. Windham's nephew), of whose friendly offices he had taken the precaution to avail himself. Mrs. Windham, according to an arrangement which he had previously made, returned to town the next morning, and was informed of what had taken place. For a few days, appearances were not unfavourable, though the wound did not heal with what is called the first intention, and though Mr. Windham suffered greatly from restlessness and an irritable state of the nerves. But the hopes even of his most sanguine friends, soon began to give way. A symptomatic fever came on, and upon the ninth day he was pronounced to be in great danger. On the following day the symptoms were judged to be less unfavourable, but others of an alarming kind soon succeeded, and the medical attendants (to whom were now added Dr. Baillie and Sir Henry Hallford) no longer entertained hopes of his recovery. From this time, the fever abated, the pulse became firmer and better, and the patient even began to take and enjoy nourishment; yet in spite of these otherwise flattering circumstances, the state of the wound, which had never suppurated, and the total inability of nature to make any effort towards relieving it, were symptoms that excited no feelings but those of despair. Mr. Windham himself considered his case to be hopeless very soon after the performance of the operation, and when

when, at a later period, the attending surgeon, availing himself of some favourable circumstances, endeavoured to impress him with a less gloomy opinion, he said, 'Mr. Lynn, you fight the battle well, but all won't do.' He perfectly well knew the feebleness of his own constitution. Though he had possessed great muscular strength, and had lived a life of temperance and activity, he had never overcome the internal debility left by the fever which had attacked him at the age of twenty-eight. The complaint too, affecting his hip, which he had laboured under in the autumn of 1808, has been supposed to be materially connected with that from which he was now suffering. So slight a contusion as that which he had received, could not have caused such disastrous effects, had it not met with a frame and constitution previously disposed to produce them.

"While he lay in this hopeless condition, nothing could exceed the concern which was expressed by almost all classes of the inhabitants of London; nor was this sentiment narrowed by party feelings, for every man who spoke of him seemed to be his friend. From the commencement of his illness, the number of anxious inquirers who had thronged the door to obtain a sight of the daily reports of the physicians, would almost be thought incredible. The watchful solicitude of his professional attendants ought not to pass unnoticed; and in mentioning the unceasing anxiety of personal friends, it would be unpardonable to omit the names of Lord Fitzwilliam and Mr. Elliot. The latter was the kind and soothing companion of the sick chamber. It is gratifying to add, that, among those who shared in these feelings, was his majesty, who took every oppor-

tunity of making inquiries of the physicians concerning the progress of Mr. Windham's illness, pronouncing him (as he had done on a former occasion) to be a 'real patriot and a truly honest man.'

"On the 26th of May, notwithstanding his debility, Mr. Windham was able to maintain a long conference with his nephew, Mr. Robert Lukin, during which he expressed himself on many topics with his usual felicity and spirit. Upon this occasion he pointed out to Mr. Lukin his mathematical manuscripts, explained generally the nature and object of them, and expressed his wish that they might be carefully examined, with a view to ascertain whether some parts of them might not be found worth preserving.

"On Sunday, the 3d of June, his dissolution appeared to be fast approaching. It was on the evening of that day that the physicians and surgeons assembled in his chamber for the last time. Soon after they had left it, I had an afflicting opportunity of witnessing his dying condition, in which, however, none of the terrors and few even of the milder signs of death were visible. Though his articulation was a little imperfect, his voice was not deficient in strength; and though his countenance was slightly altered, it retained much of its peculiar animation. He was evidently free from pain, and cheered by feelings of tranquil resignation. During about twenty minutes, he spoke many times, not without vivacity, and when I was about to leave the chamber, he pressed my hand with a degree of firmness which seemed at variance with the intimation which he too plainly meant to convey to me—that I should see him no more. It was about half past ten o'clock when I left him, and after

after that time he is represented as having spoken but little. Being placed by Mr. Lynn, in a favourable situation for sleep, he said, 'I thank you, this is the last trouble I shall give you.' It is added, that he then fell into a doze, or stupor, and expired without pain or emotion the next morning (Monday, June the 4th) at about twenty-five minutes past eleven.

"Some apology, perhaps, is necessary for the minuteness with which the above circumstances have been detailed. It may be confidently hoped, however, that those who knew and loved Mr. Windham's character, will not think it uninteresting in the hours of sickness and of death. That he died as every good man and sincere christian might wish to die, is a fact that may furnish grateful and useful reflections to all.

"He had just completed the sixtieth year of his age. By his will, which was made some years before his death, and by two codicils which he had recently added to it, he gave to Mrs. Windham, for her life, his whole real estate, including a venerable mansion, with an extensive and finely-situated park at Felbrigg, besides a considerable property in that neighbourhood, and at Sudbury, on the borders of Suffolk and Essex. At Mrs. Windham's decease, he directed that his property, charged with some temporary provisions in favour of other relations, should devolve on Captain William Lukin, of the royal navy, the eldest son of the dean of Wells, Mr. Windham's half brother. On his accession to the estates, Captain Lukin is to assume the name and arms of Windham; and in failure of his male issue, there is a remainder in tail in favour of Mr. Windham's early and very intimate
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friend, G. J. Cholmondeley esq., with further remainders to the earl of Egremont and other distant relations. The executors named in the will were, the honourable H. Legge and William Palmer, esq.

"The loss which the country had sustained in Mr. Windham, was impressively noticed in both houses of parliament. On the 6th of June, in the house of lords, Earl Grey pronounced an eulogium on his deceased friend's character, in a manner which reflected the greatest honour on his feelings. And on the following day, Lord Milton (for whom Mr. Windham had a high regard) distinguished himself in the other house, by an eloquent and affectionate delineation of those public and private virtues which Mr. Windham so eminently possessed, and to which also Mr. Canning bore a generous and powerful testimony.

"His funeral was directed by his will to be private, and without ostentation. Accordingly, his remains were attended into Norfolk by no other friends than Mr. Robert Lukin, his nephew, (Captain Lukin being at sea,) Mr. Edmund Byng, nephew to Mrs. Windham, and Mr. Budd, who was Mr. Windham's solicitor and land agent. They were joined at Norwich by Mr. Hudson and Captain Browne. At that city, where the corpse rested for one night, a general feeling of regret was strongly excited, and the procession was accompanied through the streets the next morning by a very numerous train of spectators. On its way to Felbrigg, it was joined by the tenantry (not one of whom was absent) and by other respectable persons in the neighbourhood, on horseback, amounting in all to about ninety. The attendance of these persons, though it did
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not strictly accord with the directions of the will, could not have been refused without great unkindness. The corpse was at length deposited in the family vault at Felbrigg church, the funeral service being performed by the Reverend George Way. The park was thronged with spectators, anxious to pay the last tribute of respect to the memory of one who, though distinguished in the great world by his talents and accomplishments, was better known to his neighbours in the endearing character of a kind landlord and a good man.

"Of the character of Mr. Windham some few memorials will perhaps be looked for, in addition to those which may have been incidentally preserved in the preceding narrative. To describe him truly as he was, is a task however which it is more pleasing to undertake, than easy to achieve.

"In his person he was tall and well proportioned. Having in his youth been eminently skilful in manly exercises, he had thence acquired in his deportment a happy union of strength and ease, of agility and gracefulness, which never forsook him. The form of his features were singularly interesting; and the penetrating vivacity of his eye gave a faithful indication of the corresponding qualities of his mind.

"His address and conversation were fascinating to all classes of persons;—as well to the grave as to the gay—to the uninformed as to the learned—to the softer as to the sterner sex. His manners delighted all circles, from the royal drawing-room to the village-green; though in all circles they were still the same. As the polish of his address was not artificial, it was alike pleasing to all. No man had ever

less pride, in its offensive sense. He would repel flippancy and arrogance, and would very keenly point his reprobation of what seemed mean or dishonourable; but he never measured his courtesy by the various degrees of rank, of talents, or of wealth, possessed by those to whom he addressed himself.

"Of his acquirements it is needless to speak much at length. That he was 'a scholar, and a ripe and good one,' there are abundant testimonies to prove; nor did his classical attainments, great as they were universally allowed to be, exceed his skill in the various branches of mathematical science. That skill the public, it is hoped, will be enabled to appreciate at some future time, by the publication of the manuscript treatises which are in the hands of his executors. His reading latterly was miscellaneous and desultory; but what he hastily acquired, he accurately retained, and aptly applied in illustration of his opinions and arguments.

"His taste, in general, in the fine arts, was eminently pure, delicate, and discriminating. For music indeed he had no relish beyond a simple ballad. I once heard him remark, that the four greatest men whom he had known, derived no pleasure from music. Mr. Burke, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, were the persons whom he thus distinguished.

"Upon what is generally called style in writing, he set but little value. His own practice was, to take plain words, in preference to learned ones; to disregard the construction of sentences; and to adopt popular idioms whenever they would aptly express his meaning. In his language he was as truly British as in his politics. His disgust was
strongly

strongly excited by modern innovations of French words and phrases; and he disliked them even as terms of art, where English ones could be found to supply their places. For the word *sortie*, for instance, he would uniformly substitute 'sally.' But nothing so highly offended him, as any careless or irreverent use of the name of the Creator. I remember that on reading a letter addressed to him, in which the words, 'My God!' had been made use of on a light occasion, he hastily snatched a pen, and before he would finish the letter, blotted out the misplaced exclamation.

"Of Mr. Windham's character as an orator, the reader of this work is furnished with such ample means of judging for himself, that it is wholly unnecessary here to enter into any investigation of it. Something, however, may be said concerning the effect of his eloquence in the house of commons, and in this respect a very high authority on such a subject has pronounced, that, "if it was not the most commanding that that house had ever heard, it was the most insinuating." His manly figure, and his fluent and graceful delivery, were important points in his favour; but on the other hand, the want of a full and sonorous voice rendered him sometimes difficult to be understood in many parts of the house, particularly in the gallery. This physical defect, added to a parenthetical mode of speaking, and the occasional subtilty of his logical distinctions, may account for the very imperfect manner in which his speeches were too commonly reported in the newspapers. The reporters often caught little more from him than those playful allusions and whimsical quotations which diverted the house, but which

he really used merely by way of illustration. These, however, were strung together in the newspapers, unaccompanied with the arguments which they were intended to illustrate;—so that a speech thus reported would frequently appear more like a leaf torn out of a jest book, than a logical and profound political discourse, as it probably was when it was delivered. Nothing was more foreign from Mr. Windham's habits, than to jest for the sake of jesting;—his wit was always subservient to his argument.

"The reason which has rendered it unnecessary to give an elaborate description of Mr. Windham's eloquence, will equally serve to relieve me from a much weightier task—that of examining his political opinions. I will venture, however, to suggest, that the ruling passion—the clue which, 'once found, unravels all the rest,'—will be met with in the preference which he gave to the honour and military renown of his country, above every other state of things in which a nation is said to be great and prosperous. To apply this principle to the whole course of his public opinions would involve a discussion much too ample for the limits of this work;—but I cannot avoid remarking, that his notions respecting the common people directly flowed from it. No man could really love the people more than Mr. Windham loved them;—he did not, it is true, wish them to become statesmen or philosophers;—he desired to see them honest, active, cheerful and contented—sensible of the blessings they enjoyed, and capable of defending them. Feeling that

—a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied,

he deprecated all attempts which
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were made to deprive them of their accustomed sports and exercises. From the practice of those exercises, resulted, in his opinion, not only much of the personal bravery of Englishmen, but also that hatred of bloodshed and assassination, and that humane forbearance in victory, by which the British character is happily distinguished from that of many other nations. Nothing roused his indignation more than the vexatious spirit of interference with the holiday-enjoyments of the poor, which he thought some of our magistrates had lately shewn a strong desire to exercise. The suppression of a village-hop, or horse-race, or even a boxing-match or bull-bait, while the magistrate was quietly enjoying his own ball or hunting party, he thought an act of the most scandalous injustice and oppression. In short, he loved the British peasant, and wished to see him vigorous on the green, and independent in his cottage—respected for his loyalty, and formidable by his prowess.

“Mr. Windham’s political opinions have been often charged with inconsistency. It is not surprising that such a charge should proceed from persons who only look to the distinctions of whig and tory, or to those other distinctions which, for nearly thirty years, have been sufficiently known and defined under the names of Pittite and Foxite. That he sometimes agreed with Mr. Fox, and sometimes with Mr. Pitt, is with such persons a decisive proof of inconsistency! Those who will go deeper, making measures, not men, their rule for deciding the question, will perhaps find that, during a long political life, hardly any public man has less differed from himself than Mr. Windham

has done. From the outset of his career to the close of it, he was the uniform enemy of parliamentary reform. In his zeal for the improvement of the army, his attachment to the crown and aristocracy, and his protection of the real comforts of the common people, he will be found to have been equally consistent. That in the course of twenty or thirty years, he found reason to change some few of his opinions, may be very true; but who has not done this, even on subjects of the highest importance? It must be admitted that he altered his mind on the question of the slave trade, which he at first thought should be abolished instantaneously, though he afterwards wished the abolition to be subsequent to an attempt for ameliorating the condition of slavery. But instances like this will weigh but little against a mass of facts in the opposite scale.

“In speaking of Mr. Windham’s public measures, it must not be forgotten that it was on those for the improvement of the army that he relied for his reputation as a minister. He publicly declared that, ‘like the eminent Italian musician, who had a piece of music inscribed on his tomb, or the Dutch mathematician who had a calculation for his epitaph, he should desire no other monument as a statesman than that system.’”

“The quality, perhaps, by which Mr. Windham was more remarkably distinguished from most other public men, was his intrepidity. His political, like his personal courage, was unbounded; and he seemed to seek, rather than to shun, opportunities of displaying it. Had he condescended to court popularity, there can be no doubt that he would have attained his object; and it

it might have enabled him to become the leader of a party in the state. That was a situation, however, for which he had neither ambition, nor the necessary arts. He disliked both the management and the sacrifices which, in such an employment, are indispensably requisite.

"His habits of business were by no means regular, yet he could never justly be said to be idle. He would have been able to transact more business, had he been less scrupulous. It was his custom to begin a transaction with more care and nicety than could afterwards be found practicable in the conclusion of it.

"Notwithstanding his keenness as a debater, no man ever mixed less of private enmity with his public differences. He generally spoke of his adversaries with liberality, and often with kindness. There was no system of opinions which he so strongly condemned as he did Sir Francis Burdett's; yet I remember that he once softened the asperity of some remarks which were made by another person on that baronet's conduct; adding good humouredly, 'I suspect, after all, I have a sneaking kindness for Sir Francis.'

"It now remains to speak of his domestic virtues, in doing which

it will be difficult to use any other language than that of unqualified eulogium. His tenderness as a husband and relative, his kindness as a friend and patron, his condescending attention to inferiors, his warm sympathy with the unfortunate, are so many themes of praise, which it would be more agreeable than necessary to dwell upon. The sense which he entertained of the importance of religion, and which he strongly marked by one of the concluding acts of his life, will serve to complete the character of a man who had scarcely an enemy, except on political grounds, and had more personal friends warmly attached to him, than almost any man of the age.

"His talents, accomplishments, and virtues, have been happily summed up, by describing him as the true model of an English gentleman; and it has been well observed, that if the country had been required to produce, in a trial of strength with another nation, some individual who was at once eminent for learning, taste, eloquence, wit, courage, and personal accomplishments, the choice must have fallen on Mr. Windham. He was The admirable Crichton of his age and country.

CHARACTER OF THE EMPEROR LOUIS THE MECK.

[FROM MR. JONES'S HISTORY OF THE WALDENSES.]

"THE young prince, though very amiable in his disposition and manners, appears to have been much inferior to his father in strength of mind. I have already

had occasion to mention him in the former section as the friend and patron of Claude of Turin. His piety and parental fondness are praised by historians, but his abilities

ties were inadequate to the support of so great a weight of empire. He rendered himself odious to the clergy by attempting to reform certain abuses among them, not foreseeing that this powerful body would not pay the same deference to his authority, which had been given to the superior capacity of his father. Three years after his accession to the throne, he admitted his eldest son, Lothaire, to a participation of the French and German territories, declared his son Pepin King of Aquitaine, and Louis King of Bavaria. This division gave offence to his nephew, Bernard, at that time King of Italy, who revolted, and levied war against his uncle, in contempt of his imperial authority, to which he was subject—a rebellious conduct, in which he was encouraged by the Archbishop of Milan and the Bishop of Cremona. Louis, on this occasion, acted with vigour. He raised a powerful army, and was preparing to cross the Alps, when Bernard was abandoned by his troops, and the unfortunate prince, being made prisoner, was condemned to lose his head. His uncle mitigated the sentence to the loss of his eyes, but the unhappy prince died three days after the punishment was inflicted; and Louis, to prevent future troubles, ordered three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shut up in a convent.

“ In a little time the emperor was seized with keen remorse for his conduct. He accused himself of the murder of his nephew, and of tyrannic cruelty to his brothers. In this melancholy humour he was encouraged by the monks; and it at last grew to such a height, that he impeached himself in an assembly of the states, and requested the bishops to enjoin him public pe-

nance. The clergy, now sensible of his weakness, set no bounds to their usurpations. The popes concluded that they might do any thing under so pious a prince. They did not wait for the emperor’s confirmation of their election; the bishops exalted themselves above the throne, and the whole fraternity of the catholic clergy claimed an exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Even the monks, while they pretended to renounce the world, seemed to aspire to the government of it.

“ In the year 822, the three sons of Louis were associated together in a rebellion against their father,—an unnatural crime, in which they were encouraged by some of the reigning clergy. The emperor was abandoned by his army and made prisoner; and in all probability would have lost his crown had not the nobility pitied their humble sovereign, and by sowing dissensions among the three brothers, contrived to restore him to his dignity. In 832, the three brothers formed a new league against their father, and Gregory IV. then pope, went to France in the army of Lothaire, the eldest brother, under pretence of accommodating matters, but in reality with an intention of employing against the emperor that power which he derived from him, happy in the opportunity of asserting the supremacy and independence of the Holy See. The presence of the pope, in those days of superstition, was of itself sufficient to determine the fate of Louis. After a deceitful negotiation, and an interview with Gregory on the part of Lothaire, the unfortunate emperor found himself at the mercy of his rebellious sons. He was deposed in a tumultuous assembly, and Lothaire proclaimed in his

his stead; after which infamous transaction the pope returned to Rome.

“ To give stability to this revolution, and at the same time to conceal the deformity of their own conduct, the bishops of Lothaire's faction had recourse to a curious artifice. ‘ A penitent,’ said they, ‘ is incapable of all civil offices, a royal penitent must therefore be incapable of reigning; let us subject Louis to a perpetual penance, and he can never reascend the throne.’ He was accordingly arraigned in an assembly of the states, by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, and condemned to do penance for life.

“ Louis was then prisoner in a monastery at Soissons, and being greatly intimidated, he patiently submitted to a ceremony no less solemn than degrading. He prostrated himself on a hair cloth, which was spread before the altar, and owned himself guilty of the charges brought against him, in the presence of many bishops, canons, and monks—Lothaire being also present, that he might enjoy the sight of his father's humiliation. Nor was this all; the degraded emperor was compelled to read aloud a written confession, in which he was made to accuse himself of sacrilege and murder; and to enumerate among his crimes the marching of troops in Lent, calling an assembly on Holy Thursday, and taking up arms to defend himself against his rebellious children! So easy is it for superstition to transform into crimes the most innocent, and even the most necessary actions. After having made this humiliating confession, Louis, at the command of the archbishop, laid aside his sword and belt, di-

vested himself of his royal robes, put on the penitential sackcloth, and retired to the cell which was assigned him.

“ But the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, at length prevailed over the prejudices of the age and the policy of the clergy. Lothaire became an object of general abhorrence, and his father of compassion. His two brothers united against him, in behalf of that father whom they had contributed to humble. The nobility returned to their obedience, paying homage to Louis as their lawful sovereign; and the ambitious Lothaire was obliged to crave mercy in the sight of the whole army, at the feet of a parent, and an emperor, whom he had lately insulted. Louis died in the year 840 near Mentz, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his reign, leaving to his unnatural son Lothaire a crown, a sword, and a very rich sceptre. The bishop of Mentz observing that he had left nothing to his son Louis, reminded him that at the least forgiveness was his duty; ‘ Yes, I forgive him,’ cried the dying prince, with great emotion; ‘ but tell him from me that he ought to seek forgiveness of God, for bringing my grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.’

“ Lothaire succeeded his father in the imperial dignity, and after a reign of fifteen years, took the habit of a monk; that, according to the language of those times, he might atone for his crimes, and though he had lived a tyrant, die a saint. In this pious disguise he expired, before he had worn it a week.”

CHARACTER OF RAYMOND EARL OF TOULOUSE.

[From the same.]

“**R**AYMOND, the sixth count of Toulouse, in whose territories the Albigenses chiefly abounded, still humanely extended to them his protection and patronage. Pope Innocent, by a bull, had excommunicated him as favourer of heretics—he was prohibited the communion of holy things and of the faithful—all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and power was dispensed to any catholic man not only to act against his person, but to seize his dominions, and dispossess him of them, under the pretext that by the prudence of the one they might be effectually purged from heresy, as they had been grievously defiled by the wickedness of the other. Yet he does not appear to have been in the least diverted from his purpose by these horrid proceedings. His character is variously represented by the friends and enemies of his party. The former describe him, not only as generous and brave, but as pious and virtuous, while the latter revile him as a hypocrite. The true account of him seems to be, that whether he had adopted the sentiments of the Albigenses or not, he humanely sympathized with them—that he understood the spirit of true religion to be a spirit of tolerance; that he studied to promote the real interests of his country, and with these views, at least, that he was desirous to protect all such as were useful members of society, whatever might be their peculiar religious tenets. Under such patronage their members rapidly increased, but it proportionally

inflamed the indignation of the fierce and bloody inquisitors.

“While affairs remained in this critical posture, it unfortunately happened that Peter Chatineau, one of the inquisitors, was assassinated, and Count Raymond was suspected of being, at least, privy to the murder. The catholics loudly inveighed against the crime as of the deepest dye. The count was loaded with infamy, and with the highest censures of the church and, in a little time, an expedition of more than one hundred thousand cross-bearers (crusaders) was actually equipped against him. Raymond was justly alarmed—he offered to submit, promised obedience, and as a proof of his sincerity, delivered up into the hands of the pope seven fortified places in Provence. But that was not a sufficient sacrifice to ecclesiastical pride and malignity. He was required to present himself before the gates of the church of St. Agde, in the town of that name. Upwards of twenty bishops and archbishops were present, convened for the purpose of receiving his submission. He was required to swear upon the holy solemnities of the eucharist and the relics of the saints, which were exposed with great reverence before the gates of the church, and held by several prelates, that he would obey the commands of the holy Roman church. When he had thus bound himself by an oath, the legate ordered one of the sacred vestments to be thrown over his neck, and, drawing him by means of it, he was brought into the church, where, having

having scourged him with a whip, he absolved him. It is added, that 'he was so grievously torn by the stripes in scourging, that he was unable to go out by the way in which he had entered the church, but was forced to pass, quite naked as he was, through the lower gate. He was also compelled to undergo the same degrading process at the sepulchre of St. Peter the martyr at New Castres.'

"The immense army of crusaders, however, being now in motion, was not to be reduced to a state of inactivity because the earl of Toulouse had effected his reconciliation with the see of Rome. On the contrary, they every where attacked the Albigenses, took possession of the cities in which they were known to be, filled the streets with slaughter and blood, and committed to the flames numbers whom they had taken prisoners. Raymond had a nephew of the name of Roger, who was more bold and determined than his uncle. He was at the head of seven fiefs, or baronies, dependant, however, upon the earl of Toulouse, and he evinced no disposition to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of Rome, nor abandon the people who had put themselves under his protection. Among the humiliating stipulations imposed upon the earl of Toulouse, the one most repugnant to his feelings was, that he himself should lead the crusading army against Beziers, the capital of his own nephew's dominions, which was in effect now to make him the instrument of the destruction of the Albigenses, as he had hitherto been their protector, and indeed the destruction of his nephew also. This has ever been the detestable policy of the court of Rome, never to be satisfied with reasonable offers of submission, without degrading the wretched

suppliant, even in his own eyes. The earl continued with the army a few days, and then took his leave of the legate, choosing rather to take a journey to Rome, in order to humble himself before the pope, a privilege which could not be denied him, than continue with it to be a spectator of the murder of thousands of peaceable and virtuous men, and the ruin of his own nephew.

"When the army advanced towards the neighbourhood of Beziers, the fate of the city was easily foreseen, and the nephew of Raymond, fully sensible that it could not be defended against an hundred thousand men, went out of the city, threw himself at the feet of the pope's legate, and supplicated his mercy in favour of his capital, beseeching him not to involve the innocent with the guilty, which must be the case if Beziers were taken by storm—that there were many Roman catholics in the city, who would be involved in one indiscriminate scene of ruin, contrary to the intentions of the pope, whose object was understood to be, solely the punishment of the Albigenses. Numerous other topics of entreaty were urged by the young prince, but the answer of the legate to all he could plead was, that 'all his apologies and excuses would avail him nothing, and that he must do the best he could for himself.' Thus foiled in his object, the earl of Beziers returned into the city, convened the inhabitants, to whom he explained the ill success that had attended his mission, and particularly, that the only condition upon which pardon would be granted by the pope's legate was, that the Albigenses should abjure their religion, and promise to live according to the laws of the Roman church.

"The catholic inhabitants of Beziers

Beziers now interposed, using every entreaty with the Albigenses to comply with that stipulation, and not be the occasion of their death, since the legate was resolved to pardon none, unless they all consented to live in subjection to one rule of faith.

"The Albigenses replied, that they never could consent to purchase a prolongation of this perishing life at the price of renouncing their faith—that they were fully persuaded God could, if he pleased, protect and defend them. But they were as fully persuaded, that if it were his good pleasure to be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be an high honour conferred upon them to sacrifice their lives for righteousness' sake—that they much preferred displeasing the pope, who could only destroy their bodies, to incurring the displeasure of God, who is able to destroy both soul and body together—that they hoped never to be ashamed of, nor forsake a faith by which they had been taught the knowledge of Christ and his righteousness, and at the hazard of eternal death, barter it for a religion which annihilated the merits of the Saviour, and rendered his righteousness of none effect. They, therefore, left it to the catholics and the earl of Beziers to make the best terms they could for themselves, but entreated that they would not promise any thing in their behalf inconsistent with their duty as Christians.

"Finding the Albigenses inflexible, the catholic party next sent their own bishop to the legate, to entreat him not to comprehend in the punishment of the Waldenses, those that had always been constant and uniform in their adherence to the church of Rome. In this interview the bishop explained to him

that he was their prelate, that he knew them well, and that as to the Albigenses, he did not think them so irrecoverable as to be past all hopes of repentance—that, on the contrary, he trusted a becoming mildness on the part of the church, which does not delight in blood, might yet reclaim them.

"The sanguinary ecclesiastie, however, was wholly deaf to the voice of humanity. Transported with rage, he gave vent to the most terrible threatenings, and swore that unless all who were in the city acknowledged their guilt, and submitted to the church of Rome, they should every individual be put to the sword, without regard to religious profession, age, or sex—giving instant orders for the city to be summoned to surrender at discretion. Under these circumstances resistance was vain; the assailants were immediately in possession of it, and its inhabitants, to the number of three and twenty thousand, were indiscriminately massacred, and the city itself destroyed by fire. Cæsarius informs us, that when the crusaders were about to enter the city, knowing that there were many catholics mixed with the heretics, and hesitating how they should act in regard to the former, application was made to Arnold, the abbe of Cisteaux, for advice, who instantly replied, 'Kill them all—the Lord knoweth them that are his.'

"The earl of Beziers, foreseeing the ruin which threatened his capital, made his escape, and withdrew to the neighbouring city of Carcassone. This place was much more strongly fortified, both by nature and art, than Beziers, and consequently more defensible. The city, or upper town, stands upon a hill, surrounded by a double wall; the lower town or borough is in the plain,

plain, about two miles distant from the city. Numbers of the Albigenes resided there; and many more fled to it for security. The young earl, who had now been fully instructed, by the horrible proceedings at Beziers, into the motives and determinations of the catholics, resolved, as far as was practicable, to defend Carcassone. He, therefore, convened his subjects; reminded them of the treatment which the inhabitants of Beziers had received, and that they had to do with the same enemies, who had indeed changed the place of siege, but not the cruelty of their dispositions, nor their wish to destroy them if they could effect it. He therefore gave it as his opinion, that it was preferable to die in defence of their city and privileges, rather than fall into the hands of such cruel and relentless enemies. That for his own part, he professed the Roman catholic religion, but he was fully aware that the present was not a war of religion, but a system of robbery, contrived for the purpose of getting possession of the dominions of his uncle, the earl of Raymond, and all that were related to him. He therefore urged the inhabitants to defend themselves like men, and to recollect that both their lives and the free exercise of their religion were at stake, pledging himself that he would never forsake them in so honourable a cause as was that of defending themselves against their common enemies, who, under the mask of dissembled piety, were, in effect, nothing better than thieves and robbers. This manly address infused courage into the hearts of his subjects—they pledged themselves to defend their sovereign and the city of Carcassone with whatever concerned them.

“ In the mean time, the army of

the crusaders had been augmented by the arrival of fresh levies from every part of France, as well as from Italy and Germany, to upwards of three hundred thousand men (some writers make them five hundred thousand), and had advanced to the walls of the town, when they rushed furiously upon the first rampire, filling the ditch with fascines, and making themselves sure of an easy conquest of the place. But they met with so valiant a repulse, that the ground was covered with the dead bodies of the pilgrims (as they called themselves) round about the city. The following day the legate ordered the scaling ladders to be applied, and a general assault to be made on the town, but the inhabitants made a resolute defence. They were, however, at length, overpowered with numbers, and beat back from the walls, when the enemy entered, and gave the inhabitants of the borough exactly the same treatment they had lately done to those of Beziers, putting them all to the sword.

“ The city, or upper town, however, was yet secure, but the besieging army lost no time in proceeding to its reduction. The legate commanded them to play all their engines of war upon it, and to take it by assault. But he had the mortification to see his soldiers of the cross fall by thousands—the ground covered, and the ditches filled with the dead bodies of his pilgrims. This immense army, in a little time, began to experience the want of forage, which the soldiers were driven to the necessity of seeking about the fields—add to which, that the term of forty days, for which they had originally enlisted, and in which time they were to purchase the bliss of Paradise, was now accomplished, and contenting

tenting themselves with that great object, they refused to enter upon any further conquest, and withdrew by thousands from the legate's standard. The latter, alarmed at the reduction of his army, and not finding the conquest of the city so practicable as he at first apprehended, had recourse next to stratagem for effecting his purpose. Amongst those who had joined his army with fresh auxiliaries under the walls of Carcassone, was the king of Arragon, in Spain. A plot was formed between this monarch and the legate to try the effect of negotiation with the earl of Beziers, and the former was deputed to solicit an interview and manage the whole affair.

"An interview accordingly took place, at which the king of Arragon expressed his wish to know what could induce the earl to shut himself up in the city of Carcassone against so vast an army of the pilgrims. The latter replied, it was the justice of his cause—that he was fully persuaded the pope, under the pretext of religion, had formed the design of ruining both his uncle, the earl of Raymond, and himself—of this he had had the most convincing proof when he undertook to intercede for his subjects, the inhabitants of Beziers. The pope's legate had refused to spare such of them as were catholics, and had even butchered the priests themselves, though clothed in their sacerdotal ornaments, and though they had ranged themselves under the banner of the cross: that that horrible instance of cruelty and wickedness, added to their proceedings in the borough of Carcassone, where his unoffending subjects had been exposed to fire and sword without regard to age or sex, had taught him the folly of looking for any

mercy at the hands of the legate or his army of pilgrims; that consequently he preferred to die in his own defence rather than be exposed to the mercy of so relentless and inexorable an enemy. He acknowledged to the king, that many of his subjects in the city of Carcassone professed a faith very different from that of the church of Rome, but they were persons who never did wrong or injury to any one, and that in requital of their good services to himself, he was resolved never to desert them. He also expressed his hope that God, who is the protector and defender of the innocent, would support them against that misinformed multitude, who, under the mistaken notion of meriting heaven, had left their own houses to plunder, burn, and destroy the houses of other men, and to murder, without reason, mercy, or discretion.

"The king of Arragon returned from this parley, and, in an assembly, consisting of the legate, the lords and prelates, reported the particulars of what had passed between himself and the earl of Beziers. The king was requested to withdraw a little while, on which a consultation took place, and being again called in, he was commissioned to return to the earl and propose to him, that, at his intercession, the legate had consented to receive him into mercy, upon the following terms. He should be permitted to come out of the city, and to bring with him a dozen more, with their bag and baggage. But, with regard to the rest of the inhabitants, they should not leave the city except at his discretion, of which they ought to entertain the most favourable opinion, because he was the pope's legate: that all the inhabitants, both men, women, maidens, and children,

children, should come forth without so much as their shirts or shifts on, or the smallest covering to hide their nakedness, and that, finally, the earl of Beziers should be kept in strict custody and confinement, and that all his possessions should remain in the hands of such a successor as should be chosen for the preservation of the country.

"The Spanish monarch was fully persuaded, that propositions so degrading as these were, it was needless to offer to the earl of Beziers; he, nevertheless, complied with the legate's request, and submitted them to the earl, who gave an immediate reply that he would never quit the city upon conditions so dishonourable and unjust, and that he was resolved to defend both himself and his subjects by every means that God had put within his power.

"Finding himself thus foiled in his attempt to move the earl of Beziers, the legate soon had recourse to a less honourable, but much more deep laid plot. He insinuated himself into the graces of one of the officers of his army, telling him that it lay in his power to render to the church a signal instance of kindness, and that if he would undertake it, besides the rewards which he should receive in heaven, he should be amply recompensed on earth. The object was to get access to the earl of Beziers, professing himself to be his kinsman and friend, assuring him that he had something to communicate of the last importance to his interests, and, having thus far succeeded, he was to prevail upon him to accompany him to the legate, for the purpose of negotiating a peace, under a pledge that he should be safely conducted back again to the city. The officer played his part so dexterously, that the earl imprudently

consented to accompany him. At their interview, the latter submitted to the legate the propriety of exercising a little more lenity and moderation towards his subjects, as a procedure that might have the happiest tendency in reducing the Albigenses into the church of Rome; he also stated to him, that the conditions which had been formerly proposed to him were dishonourable and shameful, and highly indecorous in those whose eyes ought to be as chaste as their thoughts: that his people would rather choose to die than submit to such disgraceful treatment. The legate replied that the inhabitants of Carcassone might exercise their own pleasure; but that it was now unnecessary for the earl to trouble himself any further about them, as he was himself a prisoner until Carcassone was taken, and his subjects had better learnt their duty!

"The earl was not a little astonished at this information—protested that he was betrayed, and that faith was violated; for that the gentleman, by whose entreaties he had been prevailed upon to meet the legate, had pledged himself by oaths and execrations to conduct him back in safety to Carcassone. But appeals, remonstrances, or entreaties, were of no avail; he was committed to the custody of the duke of Burgundy, and, having been thrown into prison, died soon after, not without great suspicion of having been poisoned."

"No sooner had the inhabitants of Carcassone received the intelligence of the earl's confinement, than they burst into tears, and were seized with such terror, that they thought of nothing, but how to escape the danger they were then placed in: but, blocked up as they were on all sides, and the trenches filled

filled with men, all human probability of escape vanished from their eyes. A report, however, was circulated, that there was a vault or subterraneous passage somewhere in the city, which led to the castle of Caberet, a distance of about three leagues from Carcassone, and that if the mouth or entry thereof could be found, Providence had provided for them a way of escape. All the inhabitants of the city, except those who kept watch upon the rampires, immediately commenced the search, and success rewarded their labour. The entrance of the cavern was found, and at the beginning of the night they all began their journey through it, carrying with them only as much food as was deemed necessary to serve them for a few days. 'It was a dismal and sorrowful sight,' says their historian, to witness their removal and departure, accompanied with sighs, tears, and lamentations, at the thoughts of quitting their habitations and all their worldly possessions, and betaking themselves to the uncertain event of saving themselves by flight; parents leading their

children, and the more robust supporting decrepit old persons; and especially to hear the affecting lamentations of the women.' They, however, arrived the following day at the castle, from whence they dispersed themselves through different parts of the country, some proceeding to Arragon, some to Catalonia, others to Toulouse and the cities belonging to their party, wherever God in his providence opened a door for their admission.

"The awful silence which reigned in the solitary city excited no little surprise on the following day among the pilgrims. At first they suspected a stratagem to draw them into an ambuscade, but on mounting the walls and entering the town, they cried out, 'the Albigenses are fled!' The legate issued a proclamation, that no person should seize or carry off any of the plunder—that it should all be carried to the great church of Carcassone, whence it was disposed of for the benefit of the pilgrims, and the proceeds distributed among them in rewards according to their deserts."

CLASSICAL STUDIES OF JAMES BENIGNE BOSSUET, BISHOP OF
MEAUX.

[From some Account of his Life and Writings: by CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.]

"ALL the bibliographers of Bossuet mention, that, in the early part of his studies, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; that he had repeatedly perused the works of the principal poets, historians, and orators of antiquity, and that Homer and Demosthenes among the Greeks, and Virgil among the Latins, were

his favourite authors. His acquaintance with them, gave him that chaste and nervous style, which is so seldom attained by persons, who have not formed themselves on those models. In the works of such writers, brilliant, pathetic, and even sublime passages are often found; but that, which constitutes the perfection of style, and alone enables

enables it to engage attention, when it is not excited by a sentiment, an image, or a turn of phrase particularly striking, the indescribable charm of the proper word in the proper place, is learned no where, but in the Greek and Roman school.

With how much difficulty it is attained, Bossuet himself is a striking example. The Benedictine editors of his works inform us, that his manuscripts are so much disfigured by obliterations, insertions, and corrections of every sort, as to be almost illegible. This is the case of almost all writers, whose works reach a future age. It was particularly the case of a celebrated orator and author of our times. Nothing seems more flowing or more easy than the style of the late Mr. Edmund Burke; it has all the appearance of an effusion of unpremeditated eloquence. But we are informed, that almost every period in his writings was written over three times, at least, before it satisfied its author; and that, even in that state, the work was printed, with a large margin, for the purpose of a still further revision; and was, even then, once more corrected before it was submitted to the public eye. Such is the toilsome drudgery to which every writer must submit, who aspires to be numbered among the classical writers of his country. Yet, after all the labour we have mentioned, the writings of Bossuet, those even, which he polished with the greatest care, are not wholly free from sins against syntax and grammar.

"Through life, Bossuet was a very early riser: and if, while he was in bed, his sleep was delayed or interrupted, he availed himself of it, to write his letters, or to commit to paper, any interesting thought which occurred to him; he also

frequently gave this time to prayer. No portion of time, he used to say, was so favourable to devotion, as the stillness of the night; none, when the Holy Spirit was more propitious to those, who invoke him.

"He had no regular hours for his meals: visits of ceremony, which the most imperious etiquette did not prescribe, he neither received, nor paid; but it appears that he was easy of access, and affable in conversation. He was so covetous of his time, as to deny himself the blameless recreation of a walk in his garden. Once, however, he fell into conversation with his gardener; and remarked that his garden had few of his visits.—'That is very true,' said the gardener; 'but, if the trees bore Chrysostoms, or Austins, or Ambroses, you would be devouring their fruit, from morning to night.'

"After he had completed his studies, classical literature seems to have had little of Bossuet's attention. He not only blamed the introduction of pagan mythology into works of religion, but thought, that it should be sparingly and guardedly used, even in mere works of taste.

"On the publication of M. de la Quintinaye's work on gardening, the celebrated Santeuil addressed to him some elegant Latin verses, in which he introduced the goddess Pomona applauding the work, and exulting in its success. Santeuil was engaged, at that time, in composing hymns for the new Breviary of Cluni; but it too often happened, that some profane subject attracted his attention, and made him truant to his sacred muse. On this, his friends often expostulated with him; he always professed to repent, and promised amendment, but too soon repeated the offence. The verses

to M. de la Quintinaye were a new crime: Bossuet affected to be violently angry at them; and both Fenelon and Fleury gave the poet a terrible account of the prelate's anger. To sooth it, Santeuil addressed to Bossuet a poem of exquisite art and beauty. He begins by professing his zealous and unvaried attachment to religion; mentions his sacred labours; observes that some relaxation from them was necessary; and where, he asks, can a poet seek relaxation, better, than in the sportive strains of poetic personification?—'And, after all, was there any thing really alarming in mentioning Pomona? Was Bossuet, the glory of the Gallican hierarchy, the oracle of the whole church, to whom even royalty listened with respect, was he to be scared at the name of Pomona? But the poet would never be guilty of the like offence: he would dedicate himself entirely to holy themes. As a penance for his offence, he would sing the praises of the eternal Father, his coeternal Son, and the Spirit which proceeds from both in strains, which Bossuet himself would vouchsafe to hear. Would not this atone for Pomona?—If it did not, he would dress himself in sackcloth,

sprinkle his head with ashes, tie a rope round his neck, and hold, like a criminal, a burning taper in his hand: at the head of an immense multitude, who were to serve for witnesses of his humiliation, he would present himself before the prelate, at the threshold of the altar, and, on his knees, confess his fault, and implore it's forgiveness.' To these verses, Santeuil prefixed an etching, in which he himself appeared the dismal figure described in his verses. With one hand, he seemed to strike his breast; and, with the other to hold a burning taper, with which he burnt his guilty verses. Bossuet was drawn in his episcopal robes, with his mitre and crosier, and seemed to stretch out his hand to the humbled and contrite bard. It is needless to say, that Bossuet's wrath was appeased, and that he took the bard into favour. 'Behold!' said Bossuet in a letter which he writ to him, on receiving the verses,—'Behold, what is gained by a little humility. You were guilty of a little fault; humbled yourself a little for it;—and in the instant, you compose the finest verses which you have yet produced.'

BOSSUET'S CONDEMNATION OF STAGE ENTERTAINMENTS.

[From the same.]

"IF Bossuet censured, with so much severity, a mere casual allusion to pagan mythology, no indulgence could be expected from him to stage entertainments. A letter, which Father Caffaro, a Theatine Monk, published in their defence, produced from him a very

eloquent reply. As the subject is interesting, and Bossuet's reply to Father Caffaro, is a fair specimen of his eloquence in controversy, an account of it, in this place, may be acceptable to the reader.

"The scenic exhibitions of Rome did not survive her: the theatres themselves

themselves and all their pride, pomp, and circumstance, perished in the general wreck, to which, the irruptions of the barbarians reduced the arts and sciences of the Roman world.

"The first glimmering of the restoration of the drama is discernible in some exhibitions, which generally made a part of the national feasts of the Carlovingian monarchs. These feasts were opened by a grand high-mass; the deliberation followed, and was succeeded by a sumptuous dinner. After dinner, shows of foreign beasts, and of animals, trained to do particular tricks and exercises, were exhibited; and ballad singers, harpers, and jugglers, the rude forefathers of the modern drama, also attended, and contributed their share to the festivities of the day.

"Chivalry introduced into them magnificence, order, and refinement. It is probable, that the tilts and tournaments of the feudal ages excelled, whatever ancient or modern times have produced, in the form of public spectacle; and to them, we owe the revival of the scenic art. The provençal bards often appeared at them, in companies, and recited tragic or comic poems. By degrees, they formed them into dialogues, and, to make their dialogues more interesting, put on a dress and gait suitable to those of the persons, whose characters they assumed. From this, the passage to an exhibition, possessing all the substantial requisites of a scenic entertainment, was easy; and, as nothing could be more congenial than these exhibitions, to the taste and manners of a chivalrous age, they soon attained a high degree of order. But there was more of pageantry in them, than of dialogue, and every thing about them had a military air. Devotion, however, had some share

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in them; so that there were, both secular and religious dramas. They were distinguished into mysteries, in which, remarkable events in the Scriptures, or in the lives of the saints, were represented; allegories, in which faith, hope, charity, sin, and death, and other mystic beings, were introduced to speak and act in personification; and moralities, in which, sometimes real, and sometimes fictitious characters were brought into scenic action, and a general moral was drawn from the exhibition. Of these entertainments, the mysteries were most popular: they were sometimes performed in churches. 'We cannot sufficiently wonder,' says the president Hénault (*Remarques particulières sur l'histoire de France, troisième rce*), 'that these mysteries were represented under the sanction of the most respectable magistrates. Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, whatever is most sacred in religion, was brought on the stage in a guise of familiarity, to which we cannot reconcile ourselves. But the difference of the times solves the enigma; and, while it shews the ignorance and simplicity, proves the good-humoured innocence of the age, which was fond of such exhibitions. We must not suppose that they were profanations of religion; they were spectacles, which, by placing religious subjects before their eyes, in a manner highly calculated to impress them on their conceptions and feelings, conveyed instruction to a gross and ignorant people. And, after all, are we not fallen on times, which make us regret this age of simplicity, in which there was so little of false reasoning, and so much of honest belief!'

"A confraternity, under the appellation of the confraternity of the holy passion, obtained from the parliament of Paris a patent, which

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conferred on the members of it the exclusive right of representing dramatic exhibitions in the city of Paris; but the disorders to which they gave rise, induced the parliament, in 1541 and 1548, to forbid their representing sacred subjects. At a much earlier period, the exhibition of them in churches, had been absolutely prohibited by the clergy. When these sacred exhibitions were interdicted to the confraternity of the holy passion, they assigned their privilege to a troop of comic actors, called the 'Enfans sans Souci.' There were other companies, but the *Enfans sans Souci* were always the favourite performers. Their privilege was revoked in 1584. They were succeeded by a company, called the 'Gelosii;' and those, by the company called 'L'Elite Royal,' which, in 1641, was indirectly sanctioned by an edict of Louis the XIIIth,—the magna charta of the French theatre. This company afterwards divaricated into two branches; one established itself at the hotel de Bourgogne, and the other at the hotel d'Argent aux Marais. The abolition of tilts and tournaments, the revival of the arts and sciences, the merit of some dramatic writets, the great extension of the city of Paris, the increase of its wealth and of the number of its idle inhabitants, and the consequential diffusion of gallantry; produced, in the capital, an universal passion for stage entertainment. It rapidly pervaded every part of the kingdom, so that, towards the end of the reign of Louis the XIVth., there scarcely was, in his dominions, a town of any consequence, which had not its theatre. The introduction of the Italian opera into France, in 1633, carried dramatic song and dance to their utmost pitch of refinement.

"Such was the rise and progress of the French stage. It was always viewed by the state with a considerable degree of jealousy. A capitulary of Charlemagne, of the year 809, ranks theatrical performers among discreditable persons. In 1181, Philip Augustus banished actors from his court; St. Lewis would never admit them to it; Louis the XIIIth. subjected the theatre to severe regulations:—those were adopted, and others provided by a legislative enactment, which, in 1680, Louis the XIVth. addressed, in the form of a letter, to the lieutenant-general de police. It seems to carry precaution, for the prevention of improper representations on the stage, and repressing immorality among the actors, as far as practical precaution, in these respects, can be carried.

"It will be readily conceived, that the church of France was more severe on scenic exhibitions, than the state. A multitude of French provincial councils are mentioned by French writers on this subject, which speak harshly of them: their censures of ecclesiastics, who frequent the theatre, are pointedly severe. The passages against the stage, which are cited from the rituals of particular churches of France, are numerous. Among the writers against the stage, it's adversaries are proud to mention, one of the royal blood of France, Francis-Lewis, prince of Conti. The uniform practice of the curates of the Gallican church was, to refuse the sacraments to theatrical performers, even in their last moments, unless they made a public promise that they would not appear again on the theatre; and, if they did not make this declaration, christian burial was denied to their remains.

"Still, the theatre was always frequented,

frequented, and, among those who frequented it, persons of the highest character, for probity, honour, and an exemplary discharge of duty, were always found. This was admitted by Bossuet. 'Great examples,' he told Louis the XIVth., 'may be cited in defence of the theatre; but the reasons against it are still stronger than these examples.'

"In this conflict of example and argument, on the lawfulness of stage entertainments, Father Caffaro undertook their defence, and proved himself an able advocate of their cause. The successive examples of Corneille, Quinault, and Racine, who had quitted the theatre to lead a life of religious retirement, and who had publicly expressed repentance of their dramatic performances, (and whose example was followed, in 1760, by Gresset, the author of the immortal *Vert-Vert*),—awakened similar sentiments of compunction in Boursault, a dramatic writer of some eminence in his day, and he confided his scruples to Father Caffaro. The father's reply to Boursault first appeared with the title, '*Lettre d'un Theologien, illustre par sa qualité et par son mérite, consulté pour savoir si la comédie peut être permise, ou doit être absolument défendue*;' but, after the first edition of it, the words '*Theologien illustre par sa qualité*,' were dropt in the title, and the work was announced as the letter '*d'un homme d'erudition et de mérite*.' It is generally prefixed to the '*Theatre de Boursault*:' in the edition of that work in 1725, it is now before the writer's eye.

"Father Caffaro begins his letter with an acknowledgèment, which may be thought to make the defence of the stage an arduous undertaking. 'The more I examine the holy fathers,'—these are his own

expressions,—'the more I read the works of theologians, the more I consult the casuists, the less I feel myself able to form any conclusion. The school divines are somewhat less hostile to the theatre; but I hardly find a passage in them, which sounds in its favour, when I feel myself overwhelmed by a torrent of passages from councils and fathers of every age, who have thundered against the theatre, and employed all the fervour of their zeal and powers of their eloquence, to make it an object of horror to christians.' He eludes the sentence, which these high authorities seem to pronounce against the stage, by bringing before the reader the abominations with which the theatrical representations of Rome abounded, and from which the theatre of his and our times are certainly free.—'But, you must read the fathers very carelessly,' Bossuet indignantly replies, 'if you find that, in the theatrical exhibitions of their times, the fathers condemned nothing more than their idolatrous representations, or their scandalous and open impurities. They equally condemn the idleness, the enormous dissipation of spirit, the violent emotions so little becoming a christian, whose heart should be the sanctuary of the peace of God, the desire of seeing and being seen, the criminal occurrence of looks, the being engrossed with vanity, those bursts of laughter, which banish from the heart all recollection of God, of his holy presence, of his awful judgments. In the midst of all this pomp and agitation, who, they ask, can raise his heart to God? Who would be bold enough to address himself to the Deity, and say to him, 'O my God, I am here, because it is thy holy will?' In the midst of the silly joy, and silly

tenderness,

tenderness of the stage, who can preserve a spirit of prayer? St John (Ep. I. ch. ii. 15, 16,) cries out to all the faithful, 'Love not the world, nor that which is in the world: for every thing in it is concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life.' In these words, the world, and the theatre, which represents the world, are equally reprobated. In the theatre, as in the world, all is sensuality, ostentation and pride; in the theatre, as in the world, nothing but a love of these wretched things, is inculcated.—All this and much more is said by the holy fathers, and all of it is applicable to the theatres of the present day.

"Father Caffaro cites, in favour of the theatre, several passages in the works of St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Antoninus, Bishop of Florence, St. Charles Borromeo, and St. Francis of Sales. In answer to the arguments drawn by him from these passages, Bossuet observes, that, in all of them comedies are mentioned abstractedly; that is, not as they actually exist, but as, by possibility, they might be constructed. In respect to the passage cited from St. Thomas, Bossuet particularly observes, that St. Thomas cannot be understood to speak, in them, of comedies, in the actual acceptation of that word, as comedies, in that acceptation of the word, did not exist in St. Thomas's day. 'At all events,' Bossuet says to Father Caffaro, 'you confess that the writers, whom you cite, allow no scenic representation to be innocent, which contains any thing contrary to good morals: Now, whether the scenic representations of the present times are contrary to good morals, is the point in discussion between us; your citations, therefore, prove nothing.'

"In reply to an argument which Father Caffaro urges in favour of

theatrical representations, from their being tolerated by the civil government of every country, Bossuet observes, that, if the state permits them, it is not because the state approves of them, but because the state is apprehensive that the absolute interdiction of them, might, in great cities, always abounding in vice and luxury, occasion still greater disorders.

"After thus endeavouring to remove what he insinuates to be an unwarrantable prejudice against the theatrical representations of modern times, in consequence of the harsh terms in which the antient fathers condemned the stage,—Father Caffaro proceeds to state, that the theatre of his day contained nothing contrary to decency or morality. 'Can you,' exclaims Bossuet,—'Can you then really assert, in the face of heaven, that dramatic compositions, in which the virtue and piety of a christian, are generally held out to ridicule; in which what the Gospel pronounces to be criminal, is generally defended and made agreeable: in which virgin purity is so often blurred by impudent acts and words?—Can you really assert that such compositions are free from crime?—Does it become the habit or name of a priest, to defend the silly gallantry, the maxims of love, the invitations to enjoy the gay hours of youth, which for ever resound in the operas of Quinault,—of Quinault, whom I myself have seen a hundred times bewailing these follies?—Is it for you, to recal him to compositions, which, since he has begun to think seriously of his salvation, he so bitterly laments?'

"You say, that stage entertainments only excite those passions indirectly, distantly and accidentally. But, what is the direct object of those who compose, of those who act, and of those who attend these
repre-

representations? The wish of the author and the actor is, that the spectator should be enamoured of the heroes and divinities of the theatre; that he should be taught the duty of sacrificing all but glory, and even glory itself, to love. Is it their wish that this should be taught indirectly, distantly, and accidentally?

"You are sensible that immodest paintings are universally condemned. But, how much more horrid is the indecency of theatrical representations! There, it is not an inanimate marble, it is not a dry tint; all is action itself. The persons are alive; the eyes, the tongue, the gestures are real,—and, while they seduce every imagination, and inflame every heart; talk not to me of passions which they excite, indirectly, distantly, and accidentally!—What are those speeches which excite youth to love, (as if youth of itself were not sufficiently inconsiderate), which make them envy the very birds whom nothing disturbs in their loves, and which prompt them to rebel against the laws of reason and modesty?—Do these, and a hundred lessons of the kind, only excite passion, indirectly, distantly, and accidentally? If they do not excite it instantly and outrageously, the author, the performer, and the spectator, are equally disappointed.

"After this,—do you dare say, either that the end and aim of the theatre is not to excite directly, and, by his own very powers, the fire of concupiscence? Or do you dare say, that concupiscence is not evil? Can you say, that the virgin modesty of a well-educated daughter, is only distantly and accidentally offended by the dramatic heroines who talk over their combats, their resistances, and their defeats? The modest, amiable, virtuous heroine of the theatre, confesses her failings, the seductions

of her heart; and the whole theatre applauds her. What a lesson does she give?—how well does she enforce it?"

Father Caffaro then remarks, that he did not discover, from what he heard in confession, the wonderful malignity of the theatre, or the crimes of which it is said to be the source: 'Probably,' says Bossuet, 'when you say this, you are not thinking of what actresses and singers have to confess, or of the scandals of their loves. Is it nothing to sacrifice the sex to public sensuality, in a manner still more fatally dangerous than is done in places which cannot be named? What christian mother, or if she were a pagan, what decent mother, would not behold her child in the grave, sooner than behold her on the stage?—Was it for this disgrace, she would say, that I reared her with so much tenderness and care? Did I preserve her, day and night, under my wings, for this public prostitution? Who does not look on these christians,—(if, living in a profession so opposite to their baptismal vows, they may yet be called christians),—who, I say, does not look on them as slaves exposed to sale in a public market? Their sex consecrated them to modesty, to the retirement of a well-regulated house, and how do they appear on the theatre? Do they not appear with all the parade of those Sirens in the temple of Vanity, so well described by Isaiah, whose looks are deadly, and who receive back, in the applause which is given them, the poison which they fling among the spectators? Is it no crime for a spectator to pay for this luxury?—none, to nourish this corruption?—none, to teach them or learn from them, what ought never to be known?"

"'But,' says Father Caffaro, "you

'you can't take a step, open a book, or even enter a church, without meeting with something which excites your passions;—it is therefore no objection to the Theatre, that you find in it objects which excite them.'—'The reasoning is excellent,' says Bossuet:—'the world abounds with unavoidable dangers, therefore you should multiply them. Every creature you meet with is a snare to man, you may therefore invent new snares for his ruin. Every object that meets your eyes may excite your passions; you may therefore add to your dangers by seeking objects whose elegance and refinement make them more dangerous.—Rather say,—the dangers of the world are already too great, let us not add to them:—God vouchsafes his assistance to us, in dangers inseparable from our condition, but he abandons us in dangers of our own seeking; he has assured us that all who love danger shall perish in it.'

"Such is the general tone of Bossuet's reply. It was communicated privately to Father Caffaro. He almost immediately answered it by a letter, in which he protested that the letter which he had addressed to Boursault in defence of the theatre, was not designed for publication, and intimated that it had been altered in some respects in the impression; but he seems to admit that the alterations in it were not of importance. He professes to be convinced by Bossuet's arguments of the errors of the doctrines contained in it, and promises to retract them. This promise he performed by a letter addressed by him, a few days after, to the Archbishop of Paris. He expresses in it the great concern which, his having written the letter in question, had

given him; he retracts it unequivocally, and concludes by saying, that after a full examination of the subject, he was perfectly convinced that the reasons urged in defence of Stage Entertainments were frivolous, and that the reasons given by the Church for her condemnation of them, were solid and unanswerable.

"The dispute was renewed several times in the course of last century. In the first year of it, the actors on the French theatre presented a petition to the pope, in which they represented to his holiness that it was the year of the Church's centenary jubilee, and therefore a time of indulgence and benignity; that, since the church had first passed her censure on theatrical exhibitions, they had undergone a complete alteration, and been purged from the indecency and ribaldry which had provoked those censures; they prayed therefore for a removal of them. but his holiness was inexorable; and, by his direction, some works were published to justify the church's severity. Towards the middle of the century a contest on the tendency of stage entertainments took place between Rousseau and D'Alembert. The latter, in an article in his *Miscellanies*, censured the magistrates of Geneva for not permitting a theatre within that city. Rousseau undertook the defence of the magistracy, and replied to D'Alembert in a letter which has been much admired, both for its eloquence and argument. The principal object of it, is to shew that the morality of the stage is not the morality of real probity; that comedy places virtue in a ridiculous light, and makes immorality agreeable, and that tragedy makes crime an object of admiration, by the splendor of talents and glory with which she

she radiates it. D'Alembert replied to Rousseau: his letter contains many sensible observations, but, as a literary composition, sinks before that of his antagonist. In 1761, the celebrated M^{ellie} Clairon professionally consulted with M. Huerne de la Motte, a French avocat, on the reprobation of actors by the civil law of France, and the supposed excommunication of them by the Gallican church. M. Huerne de la Motte delivered his opinion, in a long dissertation, in which he attempted to shew that the laws both of the state and the church against the theatre, were founded in prejudice, and that the supposed excommunication of the actors was an invasion of the liberties of the Gallican church. On the motion of M. Joly de Fleury, the Procureur General of the King, the parliament of Paris ordered this dissertation of M. Huerne de la Motte to be burned by the hangman, and, on a general requisition of the French bar, M. Huerne de la Motte was expelled from it.

"M. Desprez d'Boissy, in his '*Lettres sur les Spectacles*,' (ed. 1774, 2 part, pa. 673) mentions, that two individuals having entered into an agreement to establish a new theatre, one of them, from motives of conscience, declined the adventure; that the other instituted, in one of the civil courts of Paris, a suit to compel him to perform his part of the contract: and that the Court was of opinion, that the contract was morally vicious, and therefore legally void.

"It only remains to observe on this head, that Bossuet moulded his letter to Father Caffaro into the form of an Essay, and published it with the title '*Maximes sur la Comédie*.'

Bossuet's "Exposition of the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church."

"Of all Bossuet's controversial works, this is the most valuable. In disputes of every kind, the first object of those who really seek for truth, is to ascertain the precise points in difference between them and their adversaries; then to see that they are pressed with precision, both in words and substance; and then to confine the discussion to them, with as little divergence as possible, into extraneous matter. It is surprising how much, by attending to these rules, good sense and good humour will lessen the number of apparent articles of disagreement, and reduce their weight.

"On the part of the Roman Catholics, this, by universal consent, has been admirably performed by Bossuet, in the work of which we are now speaking. It was composed originally for the private use of the Marquis de Dangeau; and having been communicated by him to the Maréchal Turenne, that great man was sensible of its merit, and circulated it every where: and thus it became generally known. Copies of it got into many hands: and a surreptitious edition of it, with several errors, was printed at Toulouse. This made it necessary that Bossuet himself should publish an authentic edition of it. In composing it, he was sensible how important it was, not only to himself, but to the whole church, that it should be absolutely free from error. With this view he caused a small number of copies of it to be privately printed, and he circulated them among several persons of acknowledged learning and piety in the Gallican church, with a request from him that

that they would favour him with their remarks on any parts of it that should appear to them obscure, erroneous or imperfect.—After he had received their communications, he published the work, and prefixed to it the formal approbations of the Archbishops of Rheims and Tours; of the Bishops of Châlons, Uzes, Meaux, Grénoble, Tulle, Auxerre, Tarbes, Béziers, and Autun.

“Soon after its publication, Bossuet received from Cardinal Bona, Cardinal Chigi, and Hyacinth Lelli, then master of the sacred palace, afterwards Archbishop of Avignon, the most unequivocal and unqualified approbations of it; and it was twice formally approved by Pope Innocent the 11th, first, by a brief, dated the 22d of November, 1679, and afterwards, by a brief dated the 12th of July, 1679. The clergy of France, in their assembly of 1682, signified their approbation of it, and declared it to contain the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church. It is translated into the language of every country where the Roman Catholic religion is either dominant or tolerated.

“Roman Catholics have but one opinion of it:—in public and in private, by the learned and unlearned, it is equally acknowledged to be a full and faultless exposition of the doctrine of their church.

“A translation of it was published in English, by the Abbé Montagu, in 1672; in Irish, by Father Porter, at the press of the Propaganda, in 1673; in German, by the Prince Bishop of Paderborn in the same year; in Dutch, by the Bishop of Castorie, in 1678; in Italian, by the Abbé Nazari, under the inspection of the Cardinal d'Etrees, who, himself, corrected the proofs of the impression. This translation was formerly approved of by Riccia, the secretary of the Sacred

Congregation of Indulgences, and by Father Laurence Brancati, librarian of the Vatican, and, with their permission, was dedicated to the Congregation of Propaganda. It was translated into Latin, under the immediate inspection of Bossuet, by the Abbé de Fleury, the author of the invaluable History of the Church. The Abbé Lenglet du Fresnoy mentions (*Memoires d'Arctigny*, tom. i. p. 336, note 6.), that the celebrated M. Basnage assured him that, in the opinion of protestants, it had injured their cause more than all other Roman Catholic works of controversy, collectively taken.—It is much to be lamented that the English translation of it is very ill executed.

“Several answers to it by Protestants were published; all of them agree in accusing Bossuet of disguising the tenets of the Roman Catholic church, in order to make them more palatable to Protestants. But surely this charge cannot be supported. When a body of men, so numerous and so respectable as the Roman Catholics, (what candid Protestant does not allow them to be both numerous and respectable?) declare, without a single dissenting voice, that a particular work expresses their tenets, fully and unequivocally, it is indecent and unfair in the extreme to charge it with disguising them. Should not those who make the charge, rather acknowledge that they had misconceived them?

“It is generally understood that the Roman Catholic church owes to this invaluable exposition of her faith, one of her most distinguished proselytes. The circumstance is thus related by the Cardinal Maury, in his *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire*, edition of 1810, first vol. p. 262.)

“Marshal Turenne was educated
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in the Protestant religion, and long continued attached to the principles of Calvin. While he adhered to them, he rendered his party every service which might be expected from his sincerity, his credit, and his glory. So highly was his probity respected by Lewis XIV. that the monarch never expected from the ambition or politics of Turenne, that change of his religious principles which he so earnestly desired, but which he knew could only be expected from Turenne's real conviction. The king repeated often, but never in the presence of Turenne, that, in the war of the Fronde, when it was of so much importance to oppose Turenne to the great Condé, the Queen Regent had promised him the dignity of high constable of France, the highest which a subject could fill in the old government, and the monarch used frequently to declare that he was ever ready, if, by a change of religion, Turenne would remove the only obstacle in its way to perform the engagements of his mother. One day, a sword of the most costly and exquisite workmanship was presented to Lewis XIV. to be worn by him, for the first time. The king extolled the workmanship of it; and Turenne, who was present, took it out of the hands of the monarch, considered it with attention, and expressed his opinion of the beauty of its workmanship, in terms of admiration, which were not common to him.—‘It gives me great pleasure,’ Lewis said to him with a very serious look, ‘that you are satisfied with the workmanship of this sword. I gave particular directions that it should be finished in the highest degree of perfection—Now hear my motive for it. It is the sword which I designed for the high constable of France; I

shall only wear it while that office continues vacant.—It will suit you wonderfully; and it is your's whenever you please to receive it. You know there is an obstacle to it (but it is an obstacle which you yourself can remove when you will;) and to my most sincere regret, this circumstance alone prevents me from delivering it at this very moment into your hands.’ Turenne immediately returned the sword to his Majesty, saying, ‘that he felt himself more honoured than he could express, by so flattering an expression of his Majesty's kindness towards him, and that, in his heart, he preferred it to all dignities. But,’ added Turenne, ‘the attachment which your Majesty shews to your religion, proves to me how I should preserve my attachment to mine.’

“Some years after this circumstance took place, Bossuet's Exposition of the Roman Catholic doctrine, appeared. In its manuscript state, it was put, by the Marquis de Dangeau, into the hands of Turenne. He read it over and over again, and was surprised to find the statement which it gives of the Roman Catholic faith so different from the hideous representation given of it by the Huguenot ministers. At first, in unison with their language respecting it, he considered it as a softened and unfair account of the doctrines which it was intended to exhibit; but when it afterwards appeared in print, authenticated by the approbations of universities, doctors, bishops, cardinals, and the Pope himself, he was satisfied that it contained the doctrine of the Council of Trent, the real doctrine of the Roman Catholic church. From that moment he determined to embrace the Roman Catholic religion; and Bossuet was the first person to whom he communicated the

the important secret. He desired him to make the circumstance known to his majesty; and, at the same time, opened to him his whole mind. 'His majesty,' he said to Bossuet, 'has, more than once, intimated to me his intention of conferring on me the dignity of high constable of France, when I

should abjure the Huguenot religion. Say from me to him that I abjure the Huguenot and embrace the Roman catholic religion from conviction. But I rely on his majesty's kindness to me, that he will never mention to me the dignity of high constable.'

CONFERENCE OF BOSSUET WITH M. CLAUDE.

[From the same.]

THE account which Bossuet has given of this conference is extremely interesting. It turned on some points of the most important of all the articles in dispute between Roman catholics and Protestants, the authority by which Jesus Christ directed christians to be governed in the disputes which he foresaw would arise on his doctrine. All Roman catholics, and all the protestants of the old school assert, that these disputes should be decided by the church. But, when churches themselves are divided, the question must be, which of them is to be obeyed. The Roman catholic says, it is that church which existed before all other churches, and from which all churches, not in union with her, have separated. This description, they assert, applies to the Roman catholic church, and to no other. She therefore, in their opinion, is the mistress and judge of controversies. Her authority, the separatists from her deny; and the dispute on this point is the most important of all their differences, as the decision of it involves the decision of every other article in dispute between them.

"M. Claude, the antagonist of

Bossuet in this conference, enjoyed the highest reputation in his party. Bossuet speaks of his learning, polite manners, and mildness, in high terms of praise. He mentions, that, throughout the conference, M. Claude listened with patience, expressed himself with clearness and force, pressed his own objections with precision; and never eluded an objection made to him, which admitted of an answer.

"The conference was held at the request of Mademoiselle de Duras, a niece of the great Turenne. Several Huguenots of distinction assisted at it; the countess de Lorges, a sister of Mademoiselle de Duras, was the only Roman catholic present.

"On the day preceding the conference, Bossuet, by the desire of Mademoiselle de Duras, waited on her, and explained to her what he understood by the words, 'Catholic church,' which he foresaw would frequently occur in the conference. He explained to her that, in his controversy with M. Claude, he should not appropriate these words to the Roman catholic church, but use them to denote generally what both M. Claude and he admitted, an external and visible society, which

which professed to believe the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to govern itself by his word. That, to found this society, the Son of God issued from his eternal Father; that, while he was on earth, he gathered round him certain men, who acknowledged him for their master; that, in subsequent times, the faithful aggregated themselves to that society, and formed, what is called in the apostles' creed, the catholic or universal church:—that, sometimes surrounded by infidels, sometimes torn into pieces by heretics, there had not, from the first moment of her divine origination, been one instant of time in which she had not possessed the faith, the doctrine, and the sacraments of Christ; or in which she had not been protected by him, or had not been visible, as the meridian sun, to all on earth: had there been but a single instant in which she ceased to profess the faith or possess the sacraments of Christ, it would necessarily follow that the promises of Christ, to teach her all truth, to be with her to the end of the world, and to prevent the powers of hell from prevailing against her, would have failed. That there is such a church M. Claude admits. But it cannot, says Bossuet, be the church of M. Claude.—‘The reformed church, to justify her separation from the Roman catholic church, must either charge the Son of God with a breach of his promise; or shew the other great and visible church, in which the true faith has been uninterruptedly preserved.—To assert the former would be blasphemy; to assert the latter would be to deny historical evidence. When the church of the reformers first separated from the one; the holy, the Roman catholic church, their church, by their own confession, did not enter into communion with a single

christian church in the whole world.’

“On the day after this conversation took place, Mademoiselle de Duras called on Bossuet, in company with M. de Coton, a Huguenot minister of distinction, personally known to Bossuet, and esteemed by him. By her desire Bossuet repeated to him what he had mentioned to her on the preceding day. M. Coton objected to Bossuet the promises of God to the Jews, and the frequent revolts of the general body both of the people of Israel, and the people of Judah, from the true worship: and concluded from it, that there might be a temporary interruption of the church of God, without a breach of the divine promise. To this Bossuet replied, that it was evident from Scripture that, though a great, or even the greater part of the chosen people had apostatized, still the true worship of God never was extinguished, never ceased to be gloriously discernible either in Israel or Judah;—that, in the times of their greatest apostasies, the true worship was retained by a great portion of the people of each kingdom; and that each of them had a regular succession of prophets; so that the inspired writers (Paral. xxxvi. 5. Jo. xi. 7. xxv. 1. 4.) scrupled not to say, that every morning and night the Almighty Word arose and warned the chosen seed by the mouths of his prophets, against the surrounding idolatry. ‘These prophets,’ continued Bossuet, ‘were themselves a part of the people of God; they kept the people to their duty; and preserved a large part of them from corruption: and thus, though a frightful portion of them, and perhaps even the mass of them, fell into idolatry, there were always among them those who preserved pure, and visible

sible to all, the deposit of the true worship.' 'To them,' Bossuet said, 'Ezechiel (xliv. 13.) alluded, when he mentioned the priests and Levites, who, when the children of Israel went astray, always observed the ceremonies of the sanctuary; served the Lord, and appeared before him, to offer him victims.'

"Here the conversation with M. Coton finished. While they waited the arrival of M. Claude to open the conference, Bossuet took occasion to mention to Mademoiselle de Duras that, in the course of the proposed conference, he would prove to her satisfaction three things;—the first, that the Huguenots acted as if they believed that the authority of their church was infallible; the second, that, though they acted in this manner, it was a maxim among them, that every individual, however ignorant, was obliged to believe he understood the scriptures better than all the rest of the church. This seemed to surprize her much: he proceeded to mention to her the third, which she thought was still more strange;—that it was an article of the Huguenot creed, that there was a period of time during which a christian was obliged to doubt whether the scriptures were inspired by God, whether the gospel were a truth or a fable, and whether Jesus Christ were an impostor, or the teacher of salvation. He undertook to force M. Claude to confess all this, or to convince her, that all of it was an evident and direct consequence of his principles.

"After this, they were informed that M. Claude was come, and the conference began. We can only pretend to present the reader with a short outline of it: but we can confidently assure him that, if he takes an interest in such polemic discussions, he will be abundantly

gratified by perusing the whole of the account given of it by Bossuet. M. Claude's account of it has not fallen into the hands of the writer.

"Bossuet began the conference, by asking, 'if it were not among the articles of the reformed church of France, that disputes on faith should be determined, if possible, by the consistory; that, if they were not determined by the consistory, they should be determined by the provincial synod; that, if they were not determined by the provincial synod, they should be determined by the holy national assembly; and that those, who refused to acquiesce in the determination of the national assembly, were to be declared out of the pale of the church, and excommunicated.' He further asked, 'if the circular letter of the reformed churches, when they sent their deputies to the national assembly, were not expressed in the following words: 'We promise, before God, to submit to all that shall be resolved in your holy assembly; convinced, as we are, that God will provide over it, and guide you by his Holy Spirit, into all truth and equity, by the rule of his word.' Bossuet concluded by observing, that by this the reformed church appeared to act as if they acknowledged the infallibility of the national assembly. This was the first of the three points which he had undertaken to Mademoiselle de Duras to bring M. Claude to confess.

"The facts mentioned by Bossuet were candidly admitted by M. Claude: but he denied the conclusion which Bossuet drew from them; and, in a speech of some length, which Bossuet praises for its neatness and method, explained the nature of the arrangements mentioned by Bossuet. He said, that the different assemblies, mentioned
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by Bossuet, had different degrees of jurisdiction; but that, in all of them, it was a jurisdiction of discipline; and that the intrinsic value of the truth of their decisions, and even of the decision of the national assembly, depended solely on their conformity to the word of God: and thus, according to M. Claude, an ultimate power of enforcing discipline, but no infallibility in doctrine, was vested by them in the national assembly. A discussion then took place between Bossuet and M. Claude, to bring this to issue, and every word of it is highly interesting. At the end of it Bossuet observed to M. Claude, that if he understood him rightly, both the intermediate submission required to the consistory and provincial synod, and the ultimate submission required to the national assembly, were conditional; or, in other words, that a conscientious submission could only be required, if the party thought their determinations were conformable to the word of God. To this M. Claude assented: 'Then,' said Bossuet, 'the profession of submission might be equivalently couched in these words;—I swear to submit to what you shall decide, if I shall think your decision is conformable to the word of God.—What does this really amount to?' A short silence ensued: Bossuet renewed the conference, by saying, 'You believe that an individual may call in question the sentence of your church, even when your church pronounces in the last resort.' 'No, sir,' answered M. Claude, 'it should not be said, that an individual can lawfully doubt in such a case, as there is every appearance that the judgment of the church will be right.'—'To say that there is an appearance,' Bossuet replied, 'is to say that there is a doubt.' 'But,' answered M. Claude, 'there is more than an appearance. Jesus Christ has himself promised, that those who truly seek him, shall find him. Now, it should be presumed, in favour of the assemblies, that they seek him truly; and will, therefore, be certain of finding him. To be sure, if it should appear that there are cabals, or any other suspicious circumstance in the national synod, the confidence in it might be lessened, or absolutely withdrawn.' 'Then, let us leave these factions and cabals,' said Bossuet, 'out of the question. Let us suppose, that there is no faction, no cabal, nothing improper; and that every thing passes in perfect order: must its decision be received without examination?' M. Claude admitted that the right of examination existed. 'Then,' said Bossuet, 'you admit that every individual, whoever he be, may believe, and even ought to believe, that it may happen to him to understand the word of God better than the national assembly; and even better than a council assembled from the four quarters of the world.—For, on what can this right or duty of examination be founded, but because the individual may justly conceive, that he himself understands the word of God better than those whose decision he has a right to examine?'

'This was the second point which Bossuet had promised Mademoiselle de Duras to make M. Claude admit.

"Bossuet now considered that he had set M. Claude between the horns of a perfect dilemma. If M. Claude contended for the duty of submission to the sentence of the national assembly, under pain of excommunication, Bossuet opposed to him his acknowledgment of the right of individuals to try the propriety

priety of that sentence by their private judgments;—if M. Claude admitted this right of private judgment in an individual, Bossuet opposed to him the assembly's right to excommunicate him for exercising it. Contending for the former, M. Claude admitted the first,—contending for the latter, M. Claude admitted the second of the positions, which Bossuet had promised Mademoiselle de Duras to make him confess.

“The conference, however, proceeded. ‘Surely,’ said Bossuet, ‘this right of individual examination, which you recognize in each individual, must be accompanied with the highest individual presumption.’—‘That by no means follows,’ replied M. Claude; ‘When the synagogue declared that Jesus Christ was not the Messiah promised by the prophets, and condemned him to death, would not an individual, who believed him to be the true Christ, have judged better than the synagogue? Could you accuse such an individual of presumptuously believing that he understood the scriptures better than all the synagogue?’

“A more able reply than this of M. Claude cannot be conceived. It produced a great effect on all the persons present. Bossuet informs us, in his relation of the conference, that this effect of it was observed by him: that, though he himself was fully aware of the answer which he ought to give to it, he was afraid that he might not express it properly; and that he therefore made a silent prayer to God that he would inspire him to express it in such terms as would remove the impression made by M. Claude on the minds of the audience. After a moment's silence, he addressed M. Claude in these words: ‘You say

that my assertion, that the individual, who sets up his own private opinion, in opposition to that of the whole church, must be guilty of intolerable presumption, fixes the charge of equal presumption on those who believed in Jesus Christ, in opposition to the sentence of the synagogue, which had pronounced him guilty of blasphemy. Most certainly, my assertion proves nothing of the kind. When an individual now sets up his own private opinion in opposition to that of the whole church, he sets it up against the highest authority on earth, as the earth contains no authority to which an appeal from that authority can be made. But, when the synagogue condemned Jesus Christ, there was on earth a much higher authority than the synagogue; to that authority the individual, who reprobated the proceedings of the synagogue, might appeal. Truth herself then visibly existed among men; the Messiah, the eternal Son of God,—he, to whom a voice from above had rendered testimony, by proclaiming before the whole people that he was the well-beloved Son of God,—he, who restored the dead to life, gave sight to the blind, and did so many miracles, that the Jews themselves confessed no man had done the like before him,—he, the Jesus himself, then existed among men; and was the visible external authority, to whom there was a lawful appeal from the synagogue. His authority was infallible. I hear you say that it was a contested authority. I know that it was contested; but, as a christian, you are bound to say, that no individual could reasonably or conscientiously contest it. It was not therefore presumption, it was duty to disobey the synagogue and to believe in Christ. Bring back to me Jesus Christ

Christ in person ; bring him teaching, preaching, and working miracles, I no longer want the church. But don't take the church from me unless you give me Jesus Christ in person. You say you have his word. Yes, certainly! we have his holy, adorable word! But, what is to be done with those who understand it in a wrong sense? Jesus Christ is not present in person to set them right; they must therefore obey the church. Before Jesus Christ appeared among the Jews they were bound to obey the synagogue: when the synagogue failed, Jesus Christ came among men to teach them all truth, and they were bound to obey his voice: when he returned to his Father, he left us his church, and we are bound to obey her voice. There is not, no, there is not on earth, any visible higher authority to which you can appeal from her.'

" This, according to Bossuet's account, set Claude within a second dilemma: if he said that the sentence of the national assembly was not to be questioned, Bossuet proved his assertion to Mademoiselle de Duras, that the Huguenots acted as if they believed the authority of their church was infallible; if he said the sentence of the national assembly might be questioned, Bossuet's assertion that it was a maxim of the Huguenot church, that every individual might believe that he understood the scriptures better than the highest authority in his communion, was equally proved. With much apparent reluctance M. Claude veered to the latter position; and thus Bossuet professes to have performed his second promise to Mademoiselle de Duras.

" We now come to the last of the three points which Bossuet had promised Mademoiselle de Duras to

make M. Claude confess, and which appeared to her the strangest of the three;—that, 'in the opinion of Huguenots, there is a period during which a christian is under a necessity of doubting whether the Bible be inspired by God, whether the gospel be truth or fable, and whether Jesus Christ were a teacher of truth or an impostor.' Bossuet opened the discussion of this point by asking M. Claude, 'if a christian when he has the gospel put, for the first time, into his hands, must necessarily doubt whether it be divinely inspired before he can make an act of faith of its being the word of God.' M. Claude replied, that 'in such a situation, a christian does not doubt, but is ignorant, whether the gospel is divinely inspired. And permit me,' he said to Bossuet, 'to put the same question to you, substituting, in my question, the church, whenever in yours you introduce the gospel. I therefore ask you, in my turn, whether a christian, who has the authority of the church for the first time proposed to him must not, before he makes an act of faith of it, necessarily doubt and examine the grounds of that authority? You see that the question forces each of us into the same difficulties; whatever you say on the subject, in reference to the gospel, I shall say upon it in reference to the church.'

" The disputants were now fairly at issue on two points; the first, whether in respect to the gospel, M. Claude, by acknowledging the right of previous examination, admitted that, while that examination lasted, a christian must necessarily doubt that the scripture was the word of God; the second, whether, in respect to the church, the same arguments should not force a similar confession from Bossuet. They were

were distinct points, and Bossuet appears to have been anxious to keep them distinct.

" 'I perceive,' he said to M. Claude, 'the tendency of your expressions. Whether you will argue, or will have a right to argue, from my doctrine, respecting a christian's faith in the church, as I shall argue from your doctrine respecting a christian's faith in the gospel, we shall quickly see. For the present, let us stick to the fact. I aver that, according to the principles of your church, there is a moment, (I mean the period of examination) in which a christian (I don't speak of an infidel), must doubt of the gospel and of Christ.' 'I have said,' M. Claude answered, 'that he is ignorant; he does not doubt.' 'Can he then,' said Bossuet, 'when the gospel is thus, for the first time, presented to him, make an act of divine faith, that the book presented to him is the word of God.' 'He cannot,' answered M. Claude, 'he can only believe it out of deference to the authority of his parents, or of some other person. He is a catechumen.' 'No,' said Bossuet, 'he is not a catechumen; he is a christian; he has been baptized, and the alliance which baptism externally sealed on him, has been internally sealed on his heart by the Holy Ghost.' 'On that point,' said M. Claude, 'there are two opinions;' but M. Claude ingenuously added, 'I admit it.' 'Then,' said Bossuet, 'it follows that, in virtue of the faith infused into him in his baptism, a christian, who has attained the use of reason, is qualified to make an act of faith, when it is presented to him. I therefore ask you whether, before he has examined the gospel, a christian can make this act of faith.' 'I believe the scripture to be the word of God

as I believe God to exist.' M. Claude said that, after the christian had read the scripture, he believed it to be the word of God by divine faith; but that, until he had read it, he could not be led to this conclusion by human reasoning only. 'But human reason,' said Bossuet, 'is always fallible, and therefore always doubtful. And thus, according to your principles, there is a moment (that of examination), during which the christian necessarily doubts, or, if you prefer the expression, is ignorant of what you call the fundamental article of faith, that the scripture is the word of God, and therefore, during the whole time of examination, is an infidel.'

" In this manner Bossuet professes to have performed his third promise to Mademoiselle de Duras: it remained for him to defend himself against M. Claude's intimation, that, in maintaining a christian's obligation to believe, with divine faith, the authority of the church, it would be necessary for Bossuet to admit that he must previously examine the point, as he must doubt it, during the continuance of such an examination, and be therefore, during the whole of that period, an infidel.

" No such consequence attends the Roman catholic doctrine,' said Bossuet. 'The first instant after a Roman catholic or any christian comes to the use of reason, he may make this act of divine faith, I believe the church. I entreat you to observe, that I am speaking of a baptized person, of a christian, not of an infidel. In virtue of his baptism the christian has the habit of true faith, and therefore believes, when he attains the use of reason, in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, and in the

holy

holy catholic church. The apostles' creed contains all these articles: and the apostles' creed is not a set of conclusions to which a child arrives by examination, but a declaration of the faith infused into him 'at his baptism by the Holy Ghost. Against this the infidel may argue consistently with his tenets; a christian cannot. Thus the doctrine of Roman catholics is wholly free from the difficulty you have intimated. All Roman catholics, all christians, except protestants, believe the divine authority of the church to be an article of faith, infused by the Holy Ghost into every christian at his baptism. Now, it is a tenet of the church, that the scripture is the word of God. Thus, from the first instant of their reason, the Roman catholics believe their church and the tenets of their church; so that, as there never is a moment in which a Roman catholic doubts of the church, there never is a moment in which he doubts of the divine inspiration of the scripture, which is a tenet of his church. But you, who deny the authority of the church, are driven to the terrible inconvenience of being obliged to admit, that there is a period during which, it is in the necessity of things, that the christian doubts, or, if you prefer the expression, is without the belief of this fundamental article of faith, the divine inspiration of the scripture.'

"This was strong reasoning; but M. Claude rallied. 'This way of reasoning,' he shrewdly observed, 'must make every person decide in favour of his own church. The Greeks, Arminians, Æthiopians, even we, whom you think so much in the wrong, are baptized; by your account, therefore, all of us actually have the true faith, the

true scriptures, and the true interpretation of them.'

"Bossuet's acknowledgment of the force of this argument, and of the great impression which it made on the persons present at the conference, should be mentioned in his own words. 'A more forcible objection than M. Claude's could not be urged. The answer to it immediately occurred to me, but I was apprehensive of not expressing it in a manner to make it fully understood. I trembled as I spoke, for I thought the salvation of a soul was at stake; and I offered a prayer to God that, as he made the truth known to me, he would furnish me with words that would enable me to present it, in its full light, to my hearers. My dispute was with a man who listened patiently, expressed himself with clearness and strength, and was able to avail himself of any thing which the least want of precision opened to attack.'

"Such were Bossuet's feelings, as he himself has expressed them, on M. Claude's observation: the reader probably is curious to see how he delivered himself from the consequences to which it seemed to lead. He remarked to M. Claude that the reformed church was to be distinguished from the Greek, and from all the other churches which he had mentioned; as the members of all those churches professed both to receive, at their baptism, the faith of the true church, and to believe, with divine faith at their first use of reason, her divine authority: so that, in their own opinion, there never was a moment in which the members of those churches were without faith in the true church, or faith in her authority, or faith in her scriptures: while, on the other hand, M. Claude, and all

the communicants with his church, admitted it to be an article of their doctrine, that, during all the period which preceded, or was employed in examination, they had not faith in the true church, in her authority, or in her scriptures; and thus, as to the point immediately under discussion, all those churches might be cited against M. Claude.

"After this preliminary observation, Bossuet proceeded to consider M. Claude's assertion, that, as the members of all those churches, and also the members of the Huguenot churches were baptized, it necessarily followed from Bossuet's own doctrine, that they continued, while they were members of the church, in which they were baptized, to possess the true faith, the true scriptures, and the true interpretation of them. This brought the disputants to immediate issue:—Bossuet replied, that, when a person is baptized, the Holy Ghost confers on him, without regard to the faith of the person who baptizes him, or the church, in which he is baptized, the faith of the church mentioned in the apostle's creed; the faith of the holy Catholic church:—that the baptized person continues a member of that true church, till the example of his parents, or some other circumstance, seduces him from it. Thus, said Bossuet, the

members of the churches which have been mentioned, and the members of your church, are in error, not on account of an erroneous faith which they received in baptism, but because they have abandoned the true faith,—the faith of the holy Catholic church, which they received in baptism."

"This was Bossuet's reply to his adversary's attack:—and the conference now drew to its conclusion.

"Both Bossuet and M. Claude published accounts of it; and, as it generally happens in such cases, their accounts disagreed. On this circumstance, Bossuet expresses himself with great good temper and moderation.—'It is not my intention,' he says, 'to accuse M. Claude of wilful misrepresentation. It is difficult to remember, with precision, the things which have been said, or the order in which they were spoken; the mind often confounds things that were spoken with things that occurred afterwards; and thus, without the slightest intentional aberration from it, truth is often disfigured.—All I say of M. Claude, he has my leave to say of me.' This is the language of a Christian and a gentleman. Violence ever injures the cause which it is intended to support, and often refutes the accusation in aid of which it is used."

SUICIDE OF MR. GEORGE GORINGE.

[FROM MR. MALCOLM'S MISCELLANEOUS ANECDOTES.]

"MR. George Goringe, a gentleman of Staffordshire, excited dreadful alarm at Newport Pagnel in March 1696, by the determined manner with which he repelled every effort to save him from self-destruction. The last scene of his life will serve for the present purpose; and may the following narrative (should it meet the eyes of despondency)

spondency) rouse the party to a sense of the atrocity exhibited by Mr. G.! He arrived at the town already mentioned in a stage-coach, and remained at the Saracen's-head Inn: informing the attendants, after he had dined, that he was indisposed, they sent for Dr. Waller, who bled him; at the conclusion of the operation, several persons entered the room, upon which the pretended patient drew a pistol from his pocket, and presenting it at them alternately, commanded their instant departure; he then ordered a bed, and almost undressing himself, waited till the chambermaid withdrew, when he fired at his head, and severely wounded some part not immediately mortal.

"The people of the house rushed into the apartment, and found Mr. G. sitting upright in the bed with a second pistol in his hand, which he declared he would discharge at the first person who should approach him. Mr. G. having a servant with him, the poor fellow entreated that he might be an exception; but his obdurate master refused, and added, he was ready to bear any thing that the people present wished to say."

"A Mr. Duncomb resolved to make an effort to save the maniac, and had his name announced as that of a physician. This stratagem so far succeeded as to enable him to seize the hand which held the pistol at the very instant when the worthy gentleman would have wrested it from him, the two maids of the house who attended with a candle fled, and left the parties to contend in total darkness: thus circumstanced, Mr. D. very properly resolved on a speedy retreat, which he effected in safety; and his antagonist, now on the alert, would not suffer a man to enter the room, but lay on the bed occasionally convers-

ing with the female servants, whom he informed that he had determined to die by the means he had adopted, which was preferable to a lingering death.

"Several persons who felt deeply interested were at one time led to suppose that Mr. G. had fallen asleep, and sent his servant to ascertain the fact; the wary domestic approached with caution, and perceived the unhappy man extended, with the muzzle of the pistol close to his head: Mr. G. started, and aiming at the intruder, bade him instantly depart: on his perceiving that he was promptly obeyed, he resumed his first position, and for the last time. The feelings of every person acquainted with this most extraordinary case, were excited to the highest degree of irritation, and holding a council of what was best to be done, they resolved to assemble at the door, and rush thence to the bed, hoping to secure the suicide ere he could recover his faculties from the surprise consequent to their method of proceeding: the fatal moment arrived, they darted forward, the pistol was instantaneously discharged, and in the same dreadful moment Mr. Goringe breathed his last.

"Such was the fortitude or resolution evinced by the miserable self-destroyer, that though he was often heard in prayer, neither complaint nor expression of agony escaped him, although his torture from the wound must have been excessively acute. The following sentences were found in his pocket-book:

"My reason for killing myself is, first, because I would not be rendered a reproach unto, and derision of all mankind, and only become the sport of my fellow-creatures, and thereby be incapable of

serving any of them ; but rather than live in perpetual misery, I resolve wholly to trust in God's mercy and forgiveness, his pardon of all my sins, but especially this, through the merits and mercy of Jesus Christ, not thinking it more sin to kill myself than to kill a man, which might have been my fate if ever I had been in the army : and in killing myself, I kill but a man already full of grief and misery, which to do, is but a piece of mercy, to deliver myself from the evils to come upon me, and my incapacity to be serviceable to mankind ; and upon these considerations, *Juras ire per altum semel quam semper.*

“ ‘ Envy and prosperity have been my ruin ; and though the devil has put them into possession of my temporals, they will meet with a reward. I was an entire and constant lover of my wife, though at some times I may have expressed the contrary, to try her ; a true friend to whomever I pretended, and all my designs just, where they have not been perverted by evil men. Let the sense of this judge of my being *compes mentis*. I desire my executors and trustees to give 40s. instead of 10, to the purchase of rings, mentioned in my will, and to raise 1000l. out of the estate for my daughter.”

ANECDOTE OF BRIDGMAN THE PIRATE.

[From the same.]

“ **A**VERY, or Bridgman, the pirate, was a native of Plymouth, and called Long Ben, probably from his having exceeded most of his contemporaries in height. Receiving a commission for an expedition from the Spanish government, he lay a considerable time at the Groyne, in company with some other vessels ; during this interval of leisure, Avery formed the hazardous design of becoming the merciless plunderer of the ships of all nations ; and having succeeded in seducing a sufficient number of seamen to navigate the Charles II. of 44 guns, he sailed as her commander, without the least interruption.

“ In the course of their voyage they plundered several Swedish and British vessels on their way to or

from Newfoundland, and afterwards visited the Portuguese island of Santa May, where Avery provided himself with every necessary by stratagem.

“ Taking advantage of the total ignorance of his character in the settlement, this subtle pirate invited the governor, his lady, and attendants, to an entertainment on board the Charles II. which they accepted ; but, in the midst of their pleasures, the unfortunate representative of his Portuguese Majesty received the unwelcome information that he was expected to supply the ship with provisions and stores, or take the alternative of a trip to the Red Sea. The governor preferred the lesser evil of the two, and sent orders on shore for large quantities of the articles demanded ; those were

no sooner received, than Avery restored his hostages to their liberty, who were conveyed to their residence, and the former sailed.

"On his arrival in the Red Sea, he endeavoured to procure information respecting a convoy of the pilgrimage to Mecca. While waiting for this purpose, the pirate discovered two vessels, one of which mounted 70 guns, and had a complement of 1300 men: calculating upon the superior courage and address of his crew, Avery did not hesitate to attack the ship; the Turks defended her with obstinacy for two hours, but had at the close of that period lost all their masts, which compelled them to surrender.

"The villains robbed the vessel of precious stones and gold to the amount of 200,000*l.* most inhumanly

treated the women on board, and then sent the ship adrift; fortunately for the sufferers they floated on the coast of India, where the natives hearing that the pirates were Englishmen, attacked the different factories, which were saved from destruction by the prompt protection of the government. Avery returned, and shaped his course for the island of Providence in the West Indies, and bribing the governor with 1000*l.* he shared his booty with his men, who came in parties to England and Ireland by different conveyances.

"Upon receiving intelligence to this effect, a reward of 500*l.* was offered by proclamation for apprehending Avery, and proportionate sums for the crew.

SPIRITED CONDUCT OF M. MASNER.

[From the same.]

"**M**ASNER was an inhabitant of Coire, the capital of the Grisons, and had deeply interested himself in the affairs of the Allies, when contending with France in the reign of Lewis XIV. for whom he acted as the Emperor's commissary in passing their troops through that territory. The French government, at a loss in what manner to punish him without involving themselves with his countrymen, at length determined to seize his son, and, by conveying him to France, thus to hold him as a hostage for the father's future conduct. Young Masner was then a student at Geneva, and had an intimate friend, as he

supposed, in a youth named Merveilleux: this villain, bribed by the agents employed on the occasion, contrived to lead the unsuspecting Masner within the boundaries of the French territory, where persons waited by appointment, who seized him, and carried him a prisoner to Lyons.

"Equally enraged and grieved at the hazardous situation of the youth, the elder Masner laid violent hands on the interpreter of the French embassy, and confined him in his own house at Coire, hoping that, by so doing, he should cause a discussion of the whole affair, and obtain the liberation of his son: accordingly

cordingly the ambassador of France made a formal complaint, and Masner justified his retaliation; but the former was too subtle for the latter, and he recovered his interpreter by merely promising, in the name of his master, to restore the prisoner, which promise the king never thought of performing.

"The government of France now supposed itself to be perfectly secure against any further molestation from Masner. This, however, was not the fact; for that intrepid gentleman hearing that the Grand Prior Vendosme had departed from Venice on his way to Paris, which would lead him through the Grisons, and across a narrow piece of territory belonging to the Germanic empire, he procured several trusty persons, well armed, who, with himself, waited in ambush on the territory alluded to, and at a favourable moment seized that great dignitary, whom he conveyed into Germany, determined not to lose a second hostage for the safety of his son. M. St. Luc, the French ambassador, immediately acquainted his court with Masner's new enterprize, and at the same time wrote the following letter to the government of the Grisons.

" 'MAGNIFICENT LORDS,

" 'The moment I was informed of the unexampled outrage committed by Thomas Masner of Coire, upon the person of M. the Grand Prior of France, I had the honour to send the King an account thereof. His majesty commanded me to signify to you his surprize that so mean a private man, without title or character, should presume to violate the alliance and neutrality, by seizing in your territories, a prince for whose blood all nations have a veneration.

" 'You may well judge, magnificent lords, that the King will not seek satisfaction from such a one as Masner. The better to convince you, and the other European potentates, of this, his majesty has ordered me to demand of you, in the first place, the enlargement of M. the Grand Prior, his retinue and equipage, which you will cause to be delivered to me, if you please, on the Swiss territories. I desire you, at the same time, to signify to me your intentions concerning the punishment the said Masner's crime has deserved. I assure myself, you will wipe off the dishonour with which that insolent person has sullied you; and shew that if nature produces monsters in your country, you know how to crush them sooner or later. By consulting your honour and consciences, you will preserve the general esteem you have acquired, and the friendship of the greatest King in the world, who is your most antient ally.

" 'If, contrary to his Majesty's expectation, you do not every thing that is suitable to your glory, with regard to the present case, the consequences must be imputed to yourselves. But I hope the public will be as much instructed by your conduct as they are scandalized at all the enormities of Masner. I impatiently expect, Magnificent Lords, a speedy answer, which will determine the King to take that course you shall oblige him to. I desire you, to this end, to call immediately a congress of the leagues; and to inform me, as soon as possible, what resolution you shall take. I wish it may be agreeable to the common interest, and that I may find opportunities to convince you what pleasure I take in serving you,' &c.

"As M. St. Luc declares, in the above official note, the Grand Prior was

was 'a prince for whose blood all nations have a veneration,' the reader should be informed, that he belonged to a natural branch of the house of Bourbon, a house that Lewis the Fourteenth omitted no opportunity to increase; and though he declared all those his very near relations legitimate, it has been said, the real princes of the blood royal were no great admirers of their brothers and cousins, nor had they any moral reasons for so doing if they generally resembled the very reverend Grand Prior, whose character is thus described in the *Memoirs of the Court of Lewis XIV.* by M. Anquetil and his uncle, also a Grand Prior, as portrayed by Bussi:

" ' Besides the Duchess of Portsmouth, this prince (Charles II.) had other inferior mistresses, of whom he was very jealous. The grand prior of France (Vendosme, brother to the duke of that name), then young and handsome, and since so much celebrated by Chanlieu, and other wits of the age, had been banished for some irregularities, and passed the time of his disgrace in England. He was there very well received by the king; and, by way of gratitude, he thought fit to seduce a girl to whom he knew Charles was violently attached. The monarch sent messages to the grand prior, entreating him to desist, which he disregarded. He offered him money, titles, and to obtain his accommodation with the court of France; all was in vain. The king forbade him to approach his palace. He laughed at the prohibition. He appeared every evening at the theatre with his prize, and placing himself opposite to the monarch, braved him with his victory. Charles, unable to find any other shift to get quit of him, wrote to Lewis, entreating that he might be

recalled into France. This was, however, only followed by a permission to return; to which the grand prior answered, that he found himself very agreeably situated in England, and still kept up the joke. The monarch, losing all patience, acquainted the King of France with the uneasiness his rival made him suffer, and at last obtained a positive order that he should instantly return to France.'

" ' St. Luc's memorial produced another from Mr. Manning, the British minister, addressed to the Counsellors and Commons of the three leagues of the Grisons assembled in consequence of this affair, which follows:

" ' **MAGNIFICENT LORDS,**

" ' You were surprized, no doubt, at the haughty and threatening manner, in which the ambassador of France at Soluthorn demanded of you, first the enlargement of the Grand Prior of France (seized by one of your members on the lordship of Razuns, and carried off into the territories of the august house of Austria, where he is at present) and then the punishing of him who did the action.

" ' To clear up this affair a little, which at first may seem of consequence to those who do not know the true state of the case, I entreat you to permit me, as a friend and servant of your laudable republic, to make following remarks upon the facts in question.

" ' Every body knows, Magnificent Lords, the treacherous means, used about the beginning of May last by hired ruffians, to seize and carry off the son of M. Masner, whom they had engaged to take the air with them on the territories of Savoy. 'Tis this base action, contrived and executed by the French on the per-

son of one of your members, an innocent youth of 16 years of age, who was following his studies at Geneva, and who had never done the least thing to draw upon himself the resentment of France; 'tis this villainous and scandalous treatment, I say, of one of the children of your republic, that you have just cause to take offence at, and was the motive of all that his imperial majesty's commissary has since done to recover his son. You see, magnificent lords, that the French were the aggressors, and first violated the neutrality by seizing a Grison, contrary to all right and justice, who had never done any thing against their interests. I will suppose France may have cause of displeasure against the father; but methinks 'tis ridiculous to make that a pretence for detaining the son. Is there any country in the world, except France, where the children are made responsible for the actions of their fathers?

“ ‘ You well know, magnificent lords, that Counsellor Masner used all the most respectful methods to recover his son so unjustly detained. Was ever any regard had to his supplications, or to the remonstrances which your laudable leagues had the goodness to make in his behalf? 'Twas to no purpose, to use public intercessions with the Count du Luc, and to urge to him the alliances and neutrality. All this makes little impression on the minds of certain ministers, who think themselves the only men privileged to commit violences without fearing reprisals. They openly made their sport of those applications to them, and thereby drove the father, provoked by their contempt of his submissions, and pierced with grief for the unjust imprisonment of his son, into a kind of necessity to pro-

cure his liberty by other methods. As for the grand prior of France, who has had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a man justly irritated against his nation, I will not enter into the reasons alleged to justify this reprisal, with the consequences of which the ambassador of France endeavours to terrify you. I will only say, that if ever any thing could extenuate a proceeding of this nature, 'tis in the present case. You cannot but remember, magnificent lords, that M. Masner, after the negotiation of M. Merveillieu by M. Vignier, in the name of the Count du Luc, trusting to the justice of his cause, took a resolution to make his appearance before an ambassador of France, who was incensed against him, to make his submission to him personally, to justify himself against what could be alleged against him, and to beseech him to cause his son to be restored to him. 'Tis natural to imagine, that had M. Masner been conscious he was really culpable, he would never have been so imprudent, as to put himself into the hands of the very person who would make himself his own judge; for what passed with respect to M. Renaud might well give him apprehension. Yet he was not suffered on that occasion to speak in vindication of himself, being dismissed, with a promise, however, that he should have this son.

“ ‘ But, alas! We know by the sad experience of half a century, an experience almost fatal to all Europe, what 'tis to rely on French promises. In short, M. Masner, finding all hopes of that kind vain, grew enraged at the insolence and perfidiousness of those who had no regard to what they had so solemnly promised him; and the anguish of his soul being continually heightened by

by the remembrance of his only son, he was incited by despair to the seizure which the Count du Luc complains of.

“ ‘ I should think, magnificent lords, that what I have here represented, ought at least to extenuate an action, which proceeded only from the excess of a father's tenderness for his child; and I have the more reason to write to you in favour of M. Masner, since her majesty the queen, my sovereign, is persuaded that the ill usage of him, with respect to his son, was brought upon him for his affection to the allies, and the considerable services he has done them. I desire you, therefore, to weigh maturely what I have had the honour to lay before you, and to depend upon it, that her majesty will never suffer wrong to be done to those who are engaged in her service or in that of her allies. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect esteem for you,

Magnificent Lords,

Your most humble,
and most affectionate servant,
F. MANNING.

Coire, Nov. 21, 1710.

“ On the succeeding day the Baron de Greuth, the imperial resident, presented the ensuing memorial:

“ ‘ His imperial majesty, being informed that the son of his first commissary, M. Thomas Masner, captain and counsellor of Coire, is by order of his most Christian majesty, imprisoned on the territories of France, near Geneva, has ordered me to apply to your excellency, that through your good offices the said prisoner may be treated with all the decent usage due to the son of an officer of such a rank, and who suffers only for his father's sake. I hope your excellency will grant

my request, that his imperial majesty may not be obliged to use reprisals. I am with very great respect,

Your Excellency's, &c.

BARON DE GREUTH.

Coire, Nov. 22, 1710.

*Count Deluc's Answer from Soluthern,
November 28.*

“ ‘ I received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me, by the emperor's order, the 22d inst. You judge rightly, that I do not want respect for so great a prince, and that I shall always esteem it an honour to evince the same, in all cases, where the king my master's service is not concerned: I shall also reckon it a happiness, if I can demonstrate to yourself, how much I value your merit. Wherefore I take the opportunity you give me to acquaint you, that they impose upon his imperial majesty and upon you likewise, who pretend that the son of Thomas Masner is detained in France upon account of the service the father has done for the emperor. 'Tis nothing less than that: and no great prince, nor any man of honour, can espouse the cause of a notorious robber, who might have had his son again, if he could have prevailed with himself to restore the sums he was proved to have in his hands; but instead of that, he imagined his pretended claim of his son's liberty gave him a right to commit an action unheard of till our times. You are not ignorant of this, sir; and I assure you myself you are troubled for it, since those who seized his highness the grand prior at the gates of Coire, and removed him into the territories of the empire, seemed to intend to make his imperial majesty an accomplice. You will be the more con-

convinced of this, by reading the letters Masner has taken the pains to disperse throughout Switzerland, and which men of the better sort look upon as fictitious, because they cannot believe that either the emperor or his ministers abet him in an action never thought on till now. Your concern for the glory of your master persuades me you will use your endeavours to convince posterity, that war cannot serve for a pretence to authorize an attempt, which may so much affect princes in what rank soever God has placed them.

“The cantons of Switzerland which professed the Roman Catholic faith resented the measures pursued by M. Masner; and, in a letter written by their order at an assembly at Lucern, directed to the magistrates of Zurich, they insisted that he should be cited to appear before the Helvetic body to answer for his having, more than once, violated the liberty of the frontiers; from all which facts it will appear, that few events have produced more extensive interference and dissension. The grand prior had been at first confined in the castle of Ensb, whence he was removed to Munich, as a place of greater security; and it was at this period that Mr. Manning again addressed the three leagues in consequence of De Luc's last note. Mr. M. observes, that as he well knew the friendship the Queen of England entertained for the magnificent lords, he should ill perform his duty did he not assure them his royal mistress felt her attachment increase in proportion to their danger from the menaces of France; and he hinted, that in such a predicament the advice of a friend might be particularly useful.

“After noticing the defamation they endured, he insists they ought

to resent it, as being applied through M. Masner, one of their members, a gentleman who had received preferment both from the emperor and themselves; and he treats the demand of the release of the grand prior in Switzerland as a mere jest, they well knowing that, as he was in the custody of the emperor, it was impossible they could comply. The following passage is so congenial to the feelings of Britons, that they should appear in Mr. Manning's own words: ‘You know very well how his son was basely betrayed, and that he is still detained prisoner in France. It is also evident, that this young gentleman has done nothing that might deserve such treatment; and this the ambassador himself owned in the presence of your deputies. I am sensible that several matters are laid to his father's charge; but supposing that the pretensions against him were real and well grounded (which yet is not granted), there is no law in the world that in a case of this nature makes the son responsible for the father; so that by necessary consequence it follows, that his son is punished and imprisoned in France unjustly: and there can be nothing more consonant to nature than for a father to endeavour, by all possible methods, to rescue his only and innocent son who suffers wrongfully.’

“‘Hence,’ he continues, ‘in the first transports of grief he seized Merveilleux, the pretended interpreter, and detained him, with the consent of the magistrates. Who then can blame M. Masner for seizing a person whom he knew, by undeniable proofs, had, together with his brother (an officer in the service of France) contrived the unjust seizure of his son?’ Having stated that Merveilleux was by no

no means an accredited character from the French court, he infers, that thus far every thing stood as a question of right, and he declares his conviction that the leagues could not punish Masner without denying their subjects all future hope of that protection due to the governed from the governor. As to the style of M. de Luc, precisely similar to that used by his court in the days of power, Mr. Manning invites a comparison between that period and the then moment, telling them to despise the threats of an exhausted nation, and to rely upon the protection of the allies; and he concludes with a recapitulation of the events of the connexion sometime subsisting between the leagues and France. 'I do not,' he proceeds, 'apprehend that you are still comprehended in the general league with the cantons of Switzerland, as formerly, since you concluded that of 1639 with Spain, for the recovery of the Valteline. Neither is it in respect to trade or vicinity; but only a simple service to some particular persons, which is notoriously known to be reduced to so small a matter, and that so precarious, that several have abandoned it; and which, at the next reform of the public expense, which the present misery of the French nation must oblige them to make very considerable, will almost entirely cease. It is true, you had whole regiments in the service of France for a considerable time; but they shewed so little regard to your nation, that the establishment ceased after the decease of General Saupé and Messrs de Salis, one a major-general and the other a brigadier; the latter of which, being a Protestant, and dying at Paris, was deprived for several years of a burial: a strange inhuman piece of

cruelty; unknown to infidels and barbarians. At last his friends were obliged to convey his corpse away secretly in a scavenger's cart, and carry it to be interred in the late Major-general Salis's orchard. A noble requital for his services!'

"Immediately after Mr. Manning had presented this note, the Baron de Greuth informed the leagues that his imperial master felt great surprize at the manner in which they had viewed the seizure of the grand prior; and no less that they should pay more attention to the representations of the French resident than to those of the imperial court, whose commissary had been so inhumanly treated through the medium of his son. The baron therefore desired to know, whether the threats of a person who had never presented his credentials to the leagues were to be regarded in preference to the request of a neighbour and ally, and whether that partiality did not furnish just reasons for resentment on the part of the emperor.

"The leagues, having deliberated on the above decisive intimations, transmitted the following letter to the Count de Luc:

" ' VENERABLE COUNT AND
COURTEOUS LORD,

" ' What your excellency wrote to our republic the 10th of November last, touching the person of Monsieur the Grand Prior de Vendosme, has been communicated to our laudable commons, and debated in an assembly of the states; and your excellency may have observed, among other things, by the letter we wrote to you the 17th of last month, how much our diet disapproved what has been done to monsieur the grand prior by M. Masner, our fellow-countryman and counsellor :

seller : but it is notorious that our republic has not been in the least fault on that account ; for the better proof of which the commons have thought fit to defer, to the next diet of the states, summoned to meet the 3d of February, 1711, the taking a final resolution upon the demand of releasing monsieur the grand prior, and bringing him back with all his retinue and equipages, to the same place from whence he was carried off. And as he has been conducted to the frontiers of Austria, we shall in the mean time desire his excellency the Baron de Greuth, his imperial majesty's envoy, to use his good offices with the court of Vienna ; to which end we shall make earnest instances to that envoy. We have thought fit to order and command Mr. Masner to appear before the said assembly, to inform them by what means monsieur the grand prior may be set at liberty. The plurality of the voices of the commons being requisite to assign what punishment shall be inflicted on the violator and his adherents, and the place of judicature not being agreed upon, patience must be had till the commons have given their peremptory determination thereupon. Wherefore we have judged it proper to inform your excellency of the result of this assembly ; we wish you whatever may contribute to your good, and are of your excellency,

“ The most affectionate chiefs and counsellors of the three leagues of the Grisons assembled at Coire.

“ Given in our name, and sealed with our privy seal, at Coire, the 26th of December, 1710.”

“ And in the month of January the injured and resolute Masner

wrote to La Chapelle in these spirited terms :

“ I took the liberty to write you four letters, the first of which was dated the 10th of September, wherein I proposed a conference in Switzerland, to be informed what demands are made upon me ; and to discourse at the same time of business, in order to end all this trouble : and as this was not accepted, I gave you to understand, sir, by my following letters, since the 15th of October (whereof I have taken copies for better informing the world of my own and other people's proceedings) that I readily agree to the arbitration proposed with regard to Bombarda, which might be dispatched in an instant, though his excellency the ambassador has thought fit, with extraordinary assurance, to write to an assembly of our states, a thing by no means to be maintained, as that assembly will find, by a troublesome experience ; and also that I was satisfied with the said arbitration, with regard to the other pretended demandants ; but that it was highly just, nay, indispensably necessary, that my adversaries should be named, that I might know whom I had to deal with. And I added in my two last letters, that though the situation of affairs was altered, and that it was no more mine, but his imperial majesty's business, I had not changed my sentiments, but remained firm. Nor did I stop at such a declaration, sufficient to reduce to reason the most unreasonable people ; but thought fit to give the public a full account of that affair by my manifesto, being ready to maintain my point, and to convince all mankind that his excellency will not find his account in calling me a robber, as he very bluntly does ; and furthermore, that if I am by such ill usage forced

forced to it, without longer observing any other measures, I will make it known to all the world, that, on the contrary, it is Frenchmen of an eminent rank that have made me disburse my own money for the king's service, and have sharped and cheated me of it, by not reimbursing me. This I can prove by authentic vouchers; as well as the notorious robbery committed in 1703 at Hockstet, of the value of a thousand pistoles in goods, contrary to the faith of a safe conduct (which cost six pistoles) for which I could never obtain any reparation, though our republic writ to Marshal Villars, and concerned themselves very deeply in it. If I had not learnt to respect a man of a high character, and minister of a great king, I would not suffer without retaliation such an unworthy treatment, but would make him answer in another and better manner, little regarding in a matter concerning my own honour, and the person of my son, how barbarously they use him, as they have already done, and would still do, which, you may depend upon it, shall not go unrevenged, as it may in time appear.

“ ‘ What his excellency has been pleased to insinuate to the Imperial envoy, the Baron de Greuth, by his letter of the 26th of last month, that the poor youth was not made prisoner for the services done by me to his Imperial Majesty, but for the sums which it is pretended that I do unjustly detain, is diametrically opposite to what his excellency writ to Merveilleux the 11th of May, and declared in presence of the deputies of Coire: and farthermore he writes of the 18th of September, to the leagues of the Grisons, that he would have employed his good offices to procure the enlargement of my son, if it had not been re-

fused to sign the writing in question; but that having informed the king thereof, several persons during that interval (though Mr. Vigier makes no mention of it in his letter of the 24th of August) had made application to his majesty, complaining of their losses. The envoy Baron de Greuth, and the other Imperial ministers, are persons of too great prudence and penetration not to understand the true situation of that unhappy affair, though it has been endeavoured to change the system of it, like theameleon's colour: but it is easy to avoid being imposed upon, since people are forced to make use of misrepresentations, shams, and tricks, in which there are such palpable and such frequent contradictions, that the silliest body may easily observe the weakness of their reasons.

“ ‘ The copies of the letters which his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to write in my favour to his most serene highness the prince, governor of Tirol, and to the envoy, which I have sent you without the least alteration, are not supposititious, but very authentic; nor can any body but the flatterers and hangers-on about the ambassador doubt of it; and especially that rash fellow Merveilleux, who presumed to write to one of his friends at Coire, that I had not reason to expect his Imperial Majesty's protection, and would find myself deceived. The letter lately written by the aforesaid envoy to our leagues is agreeable to that of his Imperial majesty, and keeps close to the purport of it; and consequently people should be convinced, that the most puissant protection of his Imperial Majesty is formally granted to me, and with good reason. The aforesaid letter from that envoy, and that from Mr. Manning, are a sufficient

sufficient answer to several points which I do not touch, and which are only made use of to colour such unusual proceedings against an innocent boy. Supposing that I had done all the things which are charged upon me (which however is quite otherwise), is there any precedent, on that account, to violate, in the person of my son, the law of nations, and all divine and human laws; to retort it upon him, and by that means exercise a Turkish revenge on me? A noble exploit, I must say!

"A Switzer, who had a hand in the business, has caused some overtures of accommodation to be made to me, bragging that every thing was in his power: but it is not of me that contributions are to be expected; nor am I to be scared by such bravadoes as he. In fine, his excellency will find at last that he has let himself be tricked by a pack of knaves, and I am very sorry for it.

"Though you sent me no answer, sir, to the three aforementioned letters which I took the liberty to write to you, since the 15th of October, I have given you the farther trouble of this, hoping that you will be the less displeased at it, because I will once more make you a reasonable offer, which is to choose at once arbitrators (but upon condition, however, that my adversaries shall be first named, with whom the matter is to come to an issue) provided that my son shall be put into the keeping of the magistrates of Geneva, to be again given up to the French, in case I be condemned, and do not make satisfaction; but if, on the contrary, I be absolved, that he be delivered into my hands. This is a fair method of ending the dispute. Propose it, if you please,

to his excellency, and believe me, &c.

MASNER.

"To this letter from Mr Masner the grand prior of France added the following postscript with his own hand:

"I desire you to tell the Count de Luc that the offers made by M. Masner appear so reasonable to me that I must needs advise and desire him to accept them.

PHILIP DE VENDOME.

"La Chapelle answered Masner, and referred him to a letter previously written by him, wherein he informed Masner, the situation of his affairs made him an improper medium through which to address the French ambassador; but, as the grand prior had pleased to add a postscript to Masner's letter, he felt himself impelled to violate an order he had received not to interfere in the question under discussion; and in conclusion he adds, the outrage committed on the prior prevents the ambassador from entering into any composition with him.

"Fresh instructions were shortly after received by Mr. Manning, which produced a third memorial on his part, announcing that the queen of England approved of all he had before advanced, and desired to reiterate her assurances of protection, not only to M. Masner, but to any other member of the leagues who might suffer as he had done for his attachment to the cause of the allies. He then mentions certain publications circulated by the partizans of France, and continues, 'You very well know, that when they dispersed so many false accounts of the affairs of Spain, we had received advice of the glorious victory which Count Staremberg obtained the 10th of December, 1710, with such a small army, that

It may be said with Tacitus, in this respect, *Nomen magis exercitûs quam robur*, because the enemy were three times stronger in number: however, like a second Xenophon, he traversed a vast extent of the enemies' lands with a handful of men, and rendered his retreat more glorious than that of the Grecian captain, because he crowned it with a signal victory.' Mr. M. next adverts to the altered tone of the court of France, and calls the attention of the leagues to the violation of their independence; ending with a critical examination of De Luc's last memorial. The effect produced by the above note was far from favourable, and Mr. Manning found himself under the necessity of forwarding the succeeding to the magnificent lords.

"It is certainly with much regret that I am obliged to remonstrate to you, by way of complaint, what happened on occasion of my making a visit to the president and directors in their own houses, where one of them had the boldness to say, that if any person was sent to them, to protect their country against the house of Austria, he was welcome, and not otherwise. I leave it to yourselves to judge, whether by such an expression he does not assume a sovereignty in a free state, where particular persons must not pretend to dictate and prescribe laws. I am the more surprized at it, because you very well know, that according to my power, I always recommended the welfare and concerns of your laudable leagues, and did my utmost to promote the late negociations of M. de Salis your envoy in Holland. I have all along been of opinion, and am still so, that her majesty has sent a minister to your republic and its allies to your honour. What punishment then ought to be inflicted on such

who presume to act so audaciously, contrary to the uncommon favour shewn to your state, and to prescribe the conditions on which the persons that are sent to you shall be acceptable, or not? Must not he be directly out of his wits then, to think that her majesty should act contrary to the interest of the illustrious house of Austria, so strictly allied with her majesty, whose justice and integrity is conspicuous to all the world? If this proceeding affected my own person only, I should have passed it over with silence; but the indignity is too great, and my character too much interested, not to demand a sufficient reparation upon this account. If particular persons have so little modesty, as to talk at such a rate, is it not high time for you to recognize your own sovereignty, and to acknowledge, in a grateful manner, the honour which her majesty does you, by sending a minister to your state? To this end, I demand of you, first, a declaration concerning what M. de Salis has advanced with so much arrogance, whether he was ordered by your laudable republic to do so; and if not, that then a speedy and sufficient reparation be made for the same? I have the honour of being, magnificent lords,

Your humble and affectionate
servant, MANNING.

"In this stage of the affair M. Masner published two letters which had been addressed to him by La Chapelle in July and August 1710; from those it appears that every attempt made to detach him from the cause of the allies proved unsuccessful. On the third of March the chiefs and deputies came to several resolutions, the purport of which were, that the Bailiff Masner ought immediately to give up his prisoner,

prisoner, with his retinue and equipage, either on the spot where they were seized, or in some part of Switzerland, under the penalty of the displeasure of his sovereign; and, to facilitate their wishes, they applied to the Envoy Greuth for the discharge of the grand prior. As to the censure to be passed on Masner, they proposed to establish a special tribunal at Ilanz for his trial. They then declare to the French court their ardent wishes for the release of young Masner, and entreat M. de Luc to use his utmost influence with his government for that purpose.

“ Masner entered his protest against these resolutions, because the leagues had commanded him to comply with their orders without stipulating for the restoration of his son; and he also declared his conviction that the tribunal which was to judge him ought to review the conduct of those who appointed it for thus violating his rights as a native of their country. These, however, are not the only reasons this unhappy man had for complaint, as the leagues decreed the confiscation of his estate, and two of the Roman catholic cantons banished him from their territories, where, if he appeared, two hundred crowns were offered for his apprehension.

“ Another memorial from Mr. Manning, presented about the same time, contains nothing more than a repetition of what he had before advanced. The Baron de Greuth had just then lost his royal master by the small-pox, which event, together with some well-applied bribes distributed by De Luc to the leagues, it was supposed might operate much to the disadvantage of Masner; but the court of Vienna soon dispelled his fears by an assurance that all the measures of the deceased emperor

were fully approved of, and would be continued. Mr. Manning, having by this time received further instructions from England, conveyed the queen's displeasure as to the conduct of Messrs. de Salis towards her minister, with what effect will be discovered by the succeeding note:

“ ‘ **MAGNIFICENT LORDS,**

“ ‘ Understanding that one Merveilleux, a man without any title or character acknowledged by your state, has been so impudent as to write insolently and falsely to you concerning me, presuming to calumniate a person who has the honour to be appointed resident of a great queen in your country, the duties of my office oblige me to make my application to you, to inform you how much I am surprized to hear, that you have allowed such an infamous piece to be read in your assembly, instead of dismissing it upon its first appearance. The thing is perhaps of greater nicety and importance than you at first imagined, for to permit in your congress, which represents the whole state, the reading of a letter from a private person, which insolently and unjustly reflects upon a public minister residing in your country, amounts undoubtedly to the suffering an affront to the prince by whom he is employed. I shall therefore leave it to you to judge the consequences that such a proceeding will have, when her majesty shall be informed of it: and in the mean time, you may be assured, that I will not so far expose my character, as to make any answer to such an impudent letter: and I shall at least expect, that the interests of your republic will prevail with you, to use in the same manner, a man lost to all sense of honour and reputation;

putation; a man who otherwise dares not appear in your country, because of the base and treacherous action which he has committed, in contriving himself the infamous plot of carrying off young Masner, and procuring it to be put in execution by his own brother.

“ I cannot help telling you, that I am furthermore very much surprized to observe the indifference with which you have received some of my letters, and the attention which you have at the same time given to those which have been sent you from the enemies of the queen, even from those who never presented any credentials to your state. I shall not at this time enlarge upon that subject, but shall freely tell you, that that is not the way to merit the protection which her majesty has so generously granted you, and the favours which she does yet give you ground to hope for. Remember, that that great queen has not sent me to reside with you for the advancement of her interests, but your own. Consider the prosperous efforts which she has so gloriously made for the preservation of the liberties of Europe. And after that, consider the ill countenance (not to speak of the ingratitude) which you will shew, in suffering yourselves to be persuaded by her enemies, who are at the same time the enemies of liberty and all mankind, and to have no regard either to her interposition in favour of your compatriot Mr. Masner, or to my just complaint with regard to the satisfaction I have so often demanded (and last of all by her majesty's order) for the affront offered me by Messieurs de Salis; and without which, I foresee that it will be impossible for me to remain in your country to do you service.

“ It is perhaps the last time
1812.

that I shall have the honour to write to you; and that I may have nothing to reproach myself withal, with regard to my behaviour with you, I beseech you to give a serious attention to this letter, and to consider, that those states have always been the most respected, and the most durable, where concord, generosity, gratitude, and justice, have had the greatest sway. I have the honour to remain, &c.

F. MANNING.

Coire, May 12, 1711.

“ Such was the danger of Masner that he thought it prudent to retire to Vienna, where he was most favourably received by the empress regent. That court hoping to bring this strange affair to a conclusion, granted the grand prior leave to visit France on parole for three months, on condition that he endeavoured to obtain the release of the young captive; this concession had no effect on the leagues, as we find by the further complaints of Mr. Manning, who received many aggravated insults, and at length an attempt was made to assassinate him. Mrs. Manning had gone to the baths of Pfeffers to improve her health, and her husband was on his return from thence when the event happened, thus related by Mr. Manning himself, in a letter to the diet of the Helvetic body:

“ ‘MAGNIFICENT AND PUISSANT LORDS,

“ Allow me, weak as I am, to do myself the honour to inform you exactly of the misfortune befallen me here: for, since the thing happened in the territories of Switzerland, I thought I could no where better apply myself than to the general diet of the laudable Helvetic body, for obtaining a satisfaction

G

suitable

suitable to the enormity of the crime. The thing, in few words, is as follows:

" ' Being this day se'nnight on my return hence to Coire, after I had used the waters here, I was surprized on the top of a pretty high mountain (which I was obliged to climb up), by a couple of banditti, who had hid themselves amongst the bushes. They flew upon me at once, with a hideous noise, without giving me time to put myself in a posture of defence; and having thrown me down on the ground, and drawn their sabres (or broad swords), after they had beat off my hat and wig, they gave me many blows upon my bare head, my neck, shoulders, arms, and hands. In a moment I was all in blood; but God gave me strength to get up upon my legs, and deliver myself out of their hands, by throwing myself down a precipice, where I received no hurt, neither by the fall nor the great stones which those wretches flung down after me. My servants, who followed me, were unhappily incumbered with my baggage, and were climbing up the hill at a good distance from me, while I was assaulted by those assassins. I was brought back half dead to the bath-house, where being dressed, the surgeon found ten wounds in my body, five on the head, and the rest on the arms and hands, besides several contusions. Two of those on my head go as far as the cranium, which is not however (thank God) offended. They give me hopes that I shall recover, with God's assistance, whose goodness and providence I shall all my life acknowledge, with continual thanksgivings, for such a miraculous deliverance

" ' I must inform you, magnificent and puissant lords, that there

are but two roads to this bath, and that I have since been informed, that a gang of those villains watched me in each. I know the faces of the two who assaulted me, whom I had seen three days before in the retinue of the Siedr Merveilleux (the Count de Luc's agent), who came hither from Ragatz, a village about two leagues hence, and his usual place of residence, accompanied by one Captain Davatz, of the county of the Grisons, under pretence of visiting a French officer, but indeed to make me know to those assassins, lest they should miss me. So black an attempt upon a public person in a neutral country, in violation of all the laws of God and man, does, I think, require that the necessary perquisitions should be made. I have heard that the Sienr Merveilleux was not ashamed as he passed through Zurich, the day after I was assassinated, to own that the thing was done by his order. I doubt not but you will cause justice to be done upon the infamous authors of such a base and perfidious piece of treachery, equally barbarous and unprecedented.

" ' This is, magnificent and puissant lords, all that I have judged necessary to represent unto you, till I shall receive the orders of the queen my mistress upon the matter in question. And, mean time, I pray Almighty God to shower down his most precious blessings upon your laudable and puissant republic, and your illustrious persons; being, with the most perfect consideration, &c. *F. MANNING.*

" Mr. Stanian, our resident in another part of Switzerland, warmly insisted on satisfaction for this dreadful outrage, which was reiterated by the Imperial ambassador to no purpose;

pose; this, together with the insolent attacks made by De Luc against Mr. Manning's character, and the most malignant processes against Masner, caused a peremptory order on the part of the Austrians to prevent, by every possible means, the passage of grain into the country of the Grisons. Far, however, from being intimidated, the diet of the Swiss cantons informed the French and Imperial residents that they would take effectual measures to preserve their neutrality, by preventing, for the future, the troops of either nation from passing through their territories: they also wrote to the Prince Palatine and Prince Eugene, requesting them to coincide with them in this determination: they made a resolution, at the same sitting, expressive of resentment at the attempt against Mr. Manning, which, it was generally believed, was merely superficial. De Luc did not remain an idle spectator of these transactions, but endeavoured to ruin the character of Masner, by publishing the depositions of Charles Grison and John and Ulrich Zellwegher, who accused that gentleman (to whom they had been servants) of embezzlements and cheating, as commissary, poisonings and intended assassinations. As these depositions were taken in presence of Merveilleux, they were generally disbelieved, though one of them offered a letter in proof from Masner to him, advising the destruction of papers which might criminate them. The friends of Masner were much alarmed for his safety; but, courageous and undismayed, he despised the villany of his waggoner, factor, and book-keeper, and went to Feldkirken, near Coire, a place belonging to the house of Austria, where he issued a vindication of his con-

duct against the following charges exhibited to the tribunal at Ilanz, and to which they solemnly cited him to appear and answer:

“ ‘ I. For having, of his own private authority, shut up the passages, and violently seized the gates of the town in 1690.

“ ‘ II. For having neglected the duties of the office he was honoured with in 1706, and relinquished his commission to seize one Somery, a French courier, thereby violating the neutrality, &c.

“ ‘ III. For having bales, boxes, &c. belonging to foreign merchants, and taking thence goods, letters, &c. put into the same, counterfeited money, &c.

“ ‘ IV. For sending corn out of the country, contrary to the prohibition in time of dearth.

“ ‘ V. For seizing, in a scandalous manner, and by his own authority, the Sieur Merveilleux in 1702.

“ ‘ VI. For detaining in prison likewise, by his own authority, one Carlo Grison in 1706.

“ ‘ VII. For involving the state in great difficulties, by having recourse to the protection of foreign powers, to the prejudice of his own sovereigns.

“ ‘ VIII. For attempting to seize several persons to hinder their giving evidence of his crimes.

“ ‘ IX. For insulting, in January 1711, the diet of the state with a numerous company of followers, amongst whom there were several suspicious persons.

“ ‘ X. For publishing scandalous libels against his superiors.

“ ‘ XI. For endeavouring with money, letters, and solicitations, to excite commotions amongst the people.

“ ‘ XII. For endeavouring to create disorders in the state, by

false suggestions or imputations spread amongst the commons.

“ ‘XIII. Forcoining false money, and by means of it committing several frauds.

“ ‘XIV. For stealing chests of foreign money, and putting counterfeit coin amongst it.

“ ‘XV. For counterfeiting seals, to seal up again several chests, bays, &c.

“ ‘XVI. For breaking open several chests, and taking thence silver ingots, and gold and silver thread, and filling them up again with earth, stones, &c. and,

“ ‘Lastly, For threatening to have his business decided by violence, and invading in several points the supreme authority of right belonging to the sovereign only.’

“ Aware of the consequences, he treated the summons with contempt; upon which his base and unworthy judges decreed as follows :

“ ‘Having heard and read the accusations, and several letters written by the accused, with all that has been alleged against him by the fiscal, after having implored the Divine direction and assistance, we have pronounced the following sentence against him; viz. That the accused, M. Masner, who is fled from justice, is deprived of his honour and employments, banished the three leagues of the Grisons, and all their dependencies, for ever; that three hundred ducats shall be given as a reward to any one (though a banditti) that shall kill him; and one thousand ducats to any person that shall deliver him alive into the hands of justice. We further sentence the accused as a malefactor, a breaker of the laws of God and this state, a rebel, a robber, false coiner; and, as guilty of other notorious

crimes he is accused of, to have his body quartered by the common hangman: but since he absconds, the execution is to be performed in effigy, and his rebellious papers against the state, or its representatives, to be burnt here by the hangman, his house to be pulled down to the ground, and his possessions here, or in foreign parts, to be forfeited to the fiscal. And such persons as have at any time insisted on his having his liberty, or corresponded with him by letters or by word of mouth, or shall hereafter harbour or conceal him, shall incur the displeasure of this state, and pay one thousand crowns. For this reason all the magistrates and every subject of this state are obliged by oath to execute this sentence against him the said Thomas Masner, without any form or process, whenever they shall apprehend him: but, because several natives, who have effects abroad, suffer already by having the same burthened with impositions, and confiscated at the instigation of the said Masner, we think it necessary to do them justice, and empower them to sue his children and offspring for a compensation of their losses and charges. This is our sentence pronounced for the sake of justice, and in the name of the supreme judges. Done at Ilantz, August 17, 1711.’

“ The French party having succeeded thus far, publicly threatened Swartz, a burgomaster at Coire, and other friends of Masner's, and actually caused reprisals to be made for the already mentioned prohibitions of the Austrians. This insolence did not meet with the reception hoped for by the three leagues, which it was supposed received a check through the ensuing memorial from the British envoy :

“ ‘MAGNIFICENT

“ ‘ ‘ ‘ MAGNIFICENT LORDS,

“ ‘ ‘ ‘ I received the letter which you had the goodness to write to me the 19th instant, besides a copy of the informations, taken by the bailiff at Sargants, about the projected murder of Mr. Manning: having perused them, my sentiments are the same with yours, that the said bailiff be ordered once more, to make a stricter inquiry into it, that the assassins themselves may be discovered. I must observe to you, though with extreme regret, the little inclination hitherto shewn by the bailiff to search into the bottom of this villany, in order to find out the contrivers of it: his indifference and remissness in his duty appear plainly, 1. Because he did not make the least inquiry in seven weeks after this execrable fact was committed, notwithstanding he was obliged, by virtue of his office, to have done it upon the first notice given him, without expecting an order from his superiors, that the murderers might have had no opportunity to make their escape. 2. He neglected to oblige the two persons suspected to be privy to this affair to corroborate their evidences by oath, whereas they ought to have been tortured, as has been practised on occasions of less importance than this. 3. The said bailiff, in all the interrogations he has put these two months past, did not ask the above-mentioned persons the names and characters of the assassins, who, in his partial informations, are concealed, under the name of servants or soldiers belonging to M. Merveilleux; though the principal end of this examination was, to discover the authors and actors of that horrible crime. Instead of proceeding in this affair as is usual on such oc-

casions, the bailiff delayed making inquiry into it, till there was no hope left of apprehending the criminals: it is true, that at last he took some examinations; but omitting the most natural and material points, he endeavours, as much as in him lies, to extenuate the barbarity of the fact, and to give you a false notion of Mr. Manning's conduct. If I thought it worth while, I could make a great many other remarks about the pretended informations; but since you, who are as much dissatisfied with them as I myself, have commanded him to make a stricter search, I will wait the issue of your new orders about it.

“ ‘ ‘ ‘ How imperfect soever the information taken by your bailiff is, it is, however, evident, that this villanous attempt was made by the servants of M. Merveilleux; and that the next day all three made their escape. What remains further necessary to convince you that M. Merveilleux was the chief contriver of this infamous fact? I dare assure you myself, that you have not the least doubt of it; and in this confidence, I demand of you, once more, justice against him. Summon him then to appear before you, in order to answer, if he can, the charge laid against him; even by the information of your bailiff. I have already acquainted you, that the ambassador of France cannot grant protection to the murderers, and that he has no right to do it. If M. Merveilleux can clear himself of the crime he is suspected of, it will be well; but if he finds himself guilty, and continues to abscond, to avoid the effects of your justice, I hope you will proceed against him, as is usual in such cases. This it is which the queen demands

demands of your justice, and of your zeal, which you are obliged to express, in repairing her honour, violated in the person of her minister. I pray God to heap on you his choicest blessings, and remain with great truth,

Magnificent Lords,
Your most humble servant,
STANIAN.

" They now thought proper to send deputies to Mr. Manning, and messages to the other foreign ministers, declaring their wish to preserve the friendship of their different courts; and even De St. Luc informed the leagues he desired the punishment of Masner, and not the ruin of his family: that gentleman soon after appealed to the university of Tubingen, in Suabia, against the process at Ilantz, and sent his wife to the emperor at Milan, to solicit his further interference, which she

readily obtained. Although St. Luc affected some degree of moderation, not a word escaped him respecting the release of young Masner; this exasperated the inhabitants of Coire, and they began to shew strong symptoms of displeasure towards the persecutors of this unhappy family, which was increased in a very considerable degree by the despicable conduct of Vendosme, who broke his parole, and, instead of returning to Germany, went to Paris, for the ostensible purpose of procuring the enlargement of their countrymen, and the representation of the elder Masner, who produced several letters from the agents of France, containing large offers to divert him from the cause of the allies.

" The peace which took place immediately after terminated this affair to the satisfaction of all parties."

DESCRIPTION OF SHIRAZ.

[FROM MR. MORIER'S JOURNEY THROUGH PERSIA, &c.]

ON the morning of the 30th Dec. the day fixed for our public entry into Shiraz, all the suite appeared in full uniforms, and the envoy in a Persian cloak or catabee made of shawl, and lined with Samoor fur; a dress permitted to the princes alone, and on that account assumed by Sir Harford, as the best means of conveying to the senses of the multitude, the high consideration of the office which he bore. We proceeded from our encampment at ten o'clock. The troop was dressed in their richest uniform, and

made a very pleasant escort. Our Mehmander marshalled the whole of the Persian horsemen so admirably, that none crowded upon us in our march, and they only played about as usual and animated the plain by their noise and games.

" About two miles from the city we were met by some of the chief men of the place. It was a long contested negotiation, whether they also were to pay the envoy the compliment of dismounting, nor would they have submitted to this part of the ceremony, if Kerim Khan, the bearer

bearer of the king's letter, had not rode forwards and represented to them, that as he was sent from his majesty to see that every respect was properly shewn to the representative of the British king, he must report their present conduct at Teheran. This hint had the desired effect; and, as their party approached, the chiefs dismounted, and I, with some other gentlemen of the mission, dismounted also, and went forward to meet them: the envoy formally expressed his determination to alight to nobody but the minister. Those who had yielded the honour thus reluctantly, were Bairam Ali Khan Cadjar, the Ish Agassi, or master of the ceremonies of the prince's household, and Hassan Khan Cadjar, both of the king's own family; Ashmed Beg, one of the sons of Nasr Oallah Khan, the prince's prime minister; and Mirza Zain Labadeen, the chief secretary. We proceeded slowly across the plain; the crowd and confusion increased almost impenetrably, as we approached the city, and nothing but the strength of our Mehmandar could have forced the passage. Mounted on his powerful large horse he was in all parts, dispersing one crowd, pushing forwards another, and dealing out the most unsparing blows to those who were disinclined to obey his call. At the gate, however, notwithstanding all his exertions, the closing numbers detained our progress for above a quarter of an hour; and volleys of blows were necessary to clear the entrance.

"At length it was effected: the envoy led the column, surrounded by the Persian grandees, and followed by the gentlemen of the mission in their rank, and the troop of the body guard. We passed through

many streets to the Bazar s-Vakeel, a long and spacious building, the shops of which were all laid out with their choicest merchandize to display on the occasion the plenty and prosperity of the country. The bazar itself is the most splendid monument of the taste and magnificence of Kerim Khan, who administered the affairs of Persia with sovereign authority, under the name of vakeel or regent, and died in 1779. The centre is marked above by a rotunda, and beneath by an enclosed platform; in the middle of which was seated the cutwal, or minister of police. The trumpet of the troop, which was sounded all through the streets, continued with finer effect under the covered roofs of the bazar. As the envoy passed, every one stood up; all knew at least the blows which followed any dilatoriness.

"After a long procession we arrived at the house appropriated for our reception. It was neatly built of a pale yellow brick, and was very spacious, though considerably out of repair, and indeed in some parts falling into absolute ruin. We were ushered into an apartment, where a large service of sweetmeats and fruits was prepared for us. Here we sat, until we had dispatched the usual forms of a visit with the grandees who had met us, and had accompanied us thus far. The remaining part of the day was occupied in receiving other less noble visitants, and in accepting the countless presents which were sent from various parts, and which consisted for the most part of live lambs, fruits and sweetmeats. The store of sweetmeats at last became so great, that they were distributed amongst our numerous servants, troopers, and ferooshees. Among those
who

who succeeded the original party of our guests, was an officer dispatched by the minister Nasr Oallah Khan with the intimation, that he deferred till the next day the pleasure of visiting the envoy, in the fear that at present he might be fatigued with his journey. But our more brilliant visitors were Yusuf Beg, a Georgian youth of pleasing manners, a favourite in the suite of the prince; and Abdullah Khan, who was nominated to officiate as our Mehmandur, till we should meet on the road an officer appointed by the king from his capital to assume the functions in the further progress of the mission.

"Nasr Oallah Khan, accompanied by many of the greatest men of Shiraz, paid their visit of ceremony to the envoy. The minister's manners were plain, his features hard, and his beard peculiarly black. The usual routine of complimentary speeches and of other ceremonies occupied both parties during his stay. The envoy, from the pressing invitation of the court, determined to hasten his departure towards Teheran; and eight days were fixed for our stay at Shiraz, though circumstances afterwards occasioned a further delay.

"Shiraz has six gates: it is divided into twelve mahalehs or parishes, in which there are fifteen considerable mosques, besides many others of inferior note; eleven medresses or colleges, fourteen bazars, thirteen caravansaries, and twenty-six hammams or baths. Of the gardens round, the principal are private property.

"Of all the mosques, the Mesjed Ali (built in the Khalifat of Abbas) is the most ancient, and the Mesjid No the largest. It was indeed originally the palace of Atta-

bek Shah, who, in a dangerous illness of his son, consulted the Molahs, and was answered, (as the only means of the recovery of his child) that he must devote to the Almighty that, which of all his worldly goods he valued most. He accordingly converted his palace into a mosque, and the Mahomedans add, that his son was in consequence restored to health. The Mesjid Juméh is likewise an ancient structure, and there are six others of an older date than the time of Kerim Khan. Of the more modern mosques of Shiraz the Mesjid Vakerl, the only one built by that prince, is the most beautiful.

"Kherim Khan begun a college, but never finished it: there were already six, one of the earliest of which (that founded by Imaum Kouli Khan) is still the most frequented. Another was added by Haussem, father of Hajee Ibrahim, the vizier of the late king; and the Peish Namaz and Moosht-hed (chief priest of the city) built another.

"The trades in Persia as in Turkey are carried on in separate bazars, in which their shops are extended adjacent to each other on both sides of the building. Before the reign of Kerim Khan, there were the bazars of the shoemakers, tinmen, crockery-ware-dealers, and poulterers, and about seven others: after his time the Bazar Saduck Khan was built; but the most extensive, as well as the most beautiful of all, was that already described, founded by Kerim Khan himself, and called the Bazara a-Vakeel.

"Of the caravansaries, the Kaisariéh Khonéh, built by Imaum Kouli Khan, and now in ruins, is the most antient. There is another old structure, which was restored from a state of great decay, and assumed

sumed the name of its second founder Ali Khan. There are five others, of which one is called daphaugan; or the dressers of sheep-skins for caps; another dakaukha, or dyers; another Hindooban, where the Hindoos reside. These were all built before the accession of Kerim Khan, a date at which the splendour of Shiraz revived. He added two within the city, and one beyond the walls, and others have since been erected.

"The same prince enriched his capital with three public baths, two within and one without the town. Four have since been raised, but there were already, before his reign, nineteen similar foundations.

"There are several mausolea in Shiraz; the most distinguished of those without the walls is that of Hafiz: there is also beyond the city, that of Mir Ali, son of Mirza Hamza, and grand-son of the Imaum Musa.

"In an evening ride we visited the environs, and, leaving the city by the Isfahan gate, crossed a bridge in very bad repair. The torrent (over which it was thrown) in the day of Chardin passed through the town; it now flows in solitude, a mournful proof of the decay of Shiraz. We came to the Mesjid Shah Mirza Hamza, a mosque erected by Kerim Khan, in a separate chamber of which are laid the remains of his son Abdul Rakeem Khan. In the front court is an old and majestic cypress. Although some parts of the fabric are in decay, it is still beautiful. Its walls are built of the fine brick employed in all the public works of its founder, and, indeed, in the best houses of Shiraz. Its cupola is covered with green-lacquered tiles of a semicircular form, which, fitted in close lines, give a symmetrical appearance of

ribs to its shining surface. At the foot of the cupola, in Persian characters, are verses from the Koran and invocations to the prophet. Continuing our ride from this mosque, we turned out of the fine high road, which is fifty feet broad and very even, and followed a smaller path on the right to the Hafizea on the tomb of Hafiz, the most favourite of Persian poets. This monument also, in its present state at least, is alike the work of Kerim Khan. It is placed in the court of a pleasure house, which marks the spot frequented by the poet. The building extends across an enclosure; so that the front of it, which looks towards the city, has a small court before it, and the back has another. In the centre is an open vestibule supported by four marble columns, opening on each side into neat apartments. The tomb of Hafiz is placed in the back court, at the foot of one of the cypress trees, which he planted with his own hands. It is a parallelogram with a projecting base, and its superficies is carved in the most exquisite manner. One of the Odes of the Poet is engraved upon it, and the artist has succeeded so well, that the letters seem rather to have been formed with the finest pen than sculptured by a hard chisel. The whole is of the diaphanous marble of Tabriz, in colour a combination of light greens, with here and there veins of red and sometimes of blue. Some of the cypresses are very large, but Aga Besheer, the present chief of the queen's eunuchs, who happened to require timber for a building, cut down two of the most magnificent trees. This is a place of great resort for the Persians, who go there to smoke kateons, drink coffee, and recite verses.

"After having done this, we proceeded forward, passing by the Chelten

belten, or forty bodies, until we came to the Haft-ten, or seven bodies, both buildings erected by Kerim Khan to the memories of pious and extraordinary men who lived there as Derveishes. The Haft-ten is a pleasure house, the front of which is an enclosed garden planted with rows of cypress and chenar trees (a species of sycamore, with a verdure like that of the plane,) and interspersed with marble fountains. In its principal room, which is open in front and supported by two marble columns, are some paintings, many of which represent the sanctity of the Derveishes' lives, and the ceremonies of the self-inflicted torments of their bodies. The principal paintings are Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, on the right; on the left, Moses keeping the flocks of Jethro. In the centre is the story of Sheik Chenan, a popular tale in Shiraz. Sheik Chenan, a Persian of the true faith, and a man of learning and consequence, fell in love with an Armenian lady of great beauty, who would not marry him unless he changed his religion. To this he agreed: still she would not marry him, unless he would drink wine: this scruple also he yielded. She resisted still, unless he consented to eat pork: with this also he complied. Still she was coy and refused to fulfil her engagement, unless he would be contented to drive swine before her. Even this condition he accepted: and she then told him that she would not have him at all, and laughed at him for his pains. The picture represents the coquette at her window, laughing at Sheik Chenan, as he is driving his pigs before her. The wainscoting of this room is of Tabriz marble: one of the largest slabs is nine feet in length, and five feet in breadth.

"We quitted this pretty place,

and taking the road to the right came to a magnificent garden, another evidence of the splendour of the age of Kerim Khan. From its founder it was called in his time Bagh-a-Vakeel, but it has since acquired the name of Bagh-e-Ishan-Nensah. An immense wall, of the neatest construction, encloses a square tract of land, which is laid out into walks, shaded by cypress and chenar trees, and watered by a variety of marble canals and small artificial cascades. Over the entrance, which is a lofty and arched passage, is built a pleasure-house. It consists of a central room with a small closet at each corner. The ornaments and paintings with which it is embellished, are more rich and more elegant than I can describe. The wainscot is of Tabriz marble, and inlaid with gold and ornamental flowers, birds, and domestic animals. The pannels of the doors are beautiful paintings, with the richest and most brilliant varnish; and the ceiling and walls are all parcelled out into compartments, which display equal execution. From the window I took a sketch of the tomb of Hafiz, which lay contiguous to it on the left hand. The town of Shiraz, with all its campagna, was full before my sight; whilst the setting sun threw the softest and most beautiful tints over the fine scenery of the surrounding mountains. In the centre of the bagh or garden is another of the principal pleasure-houses, which they call koola-frangee, or Frank's hat, because it is built something in the shape of one. There is a basin in the middle of the principal room, where a fountain plays and refreshes the air. The paintings and ornaments are not less beautiful, and are more varied, than those of the last described building. The cornices are laid out into small com-

compartments, where the painter has exerted his genius and fancy in delineating the most fantastical little pictures. Here are hunts of lions, there the combats of elephants and dragons: in one corner are dancing bears and monkeys, in another are represented the heroes and heroines of fairy tales. The whole procession and amusements of a marriage are drawn in one compartment, and next to them all the ceremonies of a circumcision. In short, if the painter's art had been equal to his fancy, these different compositions would have excited as much admiration as they now afforded amusement. The whole soil of this garden is artificial, having been excavated from the area below, and raised into a high terrace. The garden is now falling into decay; but those who saw it in the reign of Kerim Khan delight to describe its splendour, and do not cease to give the most ravishing pictures of the beauty of all the environs of his capital.

"Having enjoyed the present remains of the scene, we returned to the high road (on the right of which it is situated) and followed it to the Tengui-Ali-Abar, a fortified pass in the time of the greatness of Shiraz, and long indeed before that time. Here are the remains of that gate, of which Le Brun in his travels has given a very correct drawing. From the situation in which I sketched the ruin, I fancy that I must have rested upon the very stone where Le Brun took his view: and there is only that difference between the two, which unfortunately exists in the real scene; that mine presents devastation, where his picture displays life and cultivation. An old dervish now lives in a small cell close to the ruined gate, and re-

freshes the passing stranger with a cup of pure water. The remaining walls and turrets, which are nearly attached to the gate on the Shiraz side, still attest the artificial strength of the pass in former days; and the formation of the lands around points it out as a spot which the modern perfection of military art would render an almost impregnable hold.

"The Takht-a-Cadjar is a pleasure-house about a mile and a half east of the town, erected by the present family, and situated in an enclosed garden of about twenty acres. It is built on a rock, but is much inferior indeed both in solidity and ornament, to any of the works of Kerim Khan. From the upper window of one of its rooms, I took a view of the city, which extended itself beautifully before me. This pleasure-house is much visited by the prince; on the left side of it he has an enclosed place in which he keeps antelopes and other game. From the quantity of water which runs through it, the garden itself must be most luxuriant in vegetation, and in summer a most delightful spot.

"1st Jan. 1809. The first day of the new year was fixed for our visit to the prince. On the day appointed, accordingly Sir Harford, preceded by our Mehmendar, and followed by the gentlemen of his mission and the body guard, paraded through the town as on the day of our entry, until we reached the gate of state. The streets were filled as before, and the bazars displayed all their wealth. The first gate introduced us immediately from the bazar into the first court of the palace. The breadth and length of this court were of large and fine proportions. The high summits of its walls were crowned with arched battlements, the

the planes of which were worked in a species of close lattice. We proceeded through this court into another, the spacious area of which seemed to form a complete square. Its magnificent walls were covered in regular compartments with various implements of war arranged in distinct niches. Among them (besides spears, muskets, &c. and the small ensigns of their service) were the brass guns, called *zomboonek*, which are mounted on the backs of camels. Along the range stood soldiers in uniform of scarlet cloth, an awkward imitation of the Russian military dress.

"About thirty paces from the principal gate Sir Harford dismounted, and followed by us all, whilst the trumpet of the troop sounded the salute, advanced through the portico. Here the *Ish Agassi*, or master of the ceremonies, *Bairam Ali Khan Cadjar*, who had been seated in a small place opposite the entrance, rose at our approach to meet us. He then called for his staff of office, (a black cane with a carved pommel) and placing himself at the head of the party, led us through rather a mean passage into a spacious court, at the extremity of which appeared the prince. He was seated in a kind of open room, the front of which was supported by two pillars elegantly gilded and painted. This is called the *Dewan Khonéh*, or chamber of audience.

"In the centre of the court is an avenue of lofty trees, at the sides of which are two long canals: these numerous fountains throw up a variety of little spouts of water, to the jingle of the wheels and bells of their machinery. On all sides of the court were placed in close files a number of well-dressed men armed with muskets, pistols, and swords; these were the subalterns and the

better sort of the soldiery in the prince's guard. Amongst them were here and there intermixed officers of high rank. In the centre of the avenue, and on the borders of the canal stood in long rows, respectfully silent and in postures of humility, all the chief officers, khans, governors of towns and districts.

"When we entered the court, the *Ish Agassi* stopt and made a very low obeisance towards the prince; and Sir Harford and his mission made an English bow, and just took off their hats. These salutations, which were made four times in as many different places of the court, were repeated as we entered the *Dewan Khonéh*. The prince in all this looked at us, but did not stir a muscle; we now proceeded straight forwards until Sir Harford faced the prince, where he was then directed to sit, and we all took our stations in order. When we were seated, the prince said in a loud voice, '*Kosh Amodeed*,' that is, 'you are welcome;' which was repeated by *Nasr Oallah Khan*, his minister, who stood at about five paces from him in an attitude of respect. Sir Harford made the compliments required, when the prince desired us to sit at our ease. We, however, as in a former instance, chose to be respectful and uncomfortable, and to continue in the fashion of Persia.

"The prince then added a variety of flattering things, talked of the friendship of the two nations, said how anxious his father was to see the ambassador, and advised him to proceed to his court without delay. We had *kaleoons*, then coffee, and then (a compliment not repeated to a common guest) another *kaleon*. After this was over, we got up, and making an obeisance, quitted the prince's presence with every precaution

tion not to turn our backs as we departed. The same number of bows, repeated in the same places as on our entrance, closed the audience.

"Ali Mirza, the prince of Shiraz, is not the least amiable of the king's sons. After Prince Abbas Mirza, the governor of Aderbigian, and the heir of the crown, he is his father's greatest favourite. In person he is an engaging youth of the most agreeable countenance and of very pleasing manners. His dress was most sumptuous: his breast was one thick coat of pearls, which was terminated downwards by a girdle of the richest stuffs. In this was placed a dagger, the head of which dazzled by the number and the brilliancy of its inlaid diamonds. His coat was rich crimson and gold brocade, with a thick fur on the upper part. Around his black cap was wound a Cashmire shawl, and by his side, in a gold platter, was a string of the finest pearls. Before him was placed his kalcoun of state, a magnificent toy, thickly inlaid with precious stones in every distinct part of its machinery. To me the prince appeared to be under much constraint during the ceremony of our audience; in which he had been previously tutored by his minister: and I very easily believe, according to the stories related of him, that he exchanges with eagerness these etiquettes of rank for the less restrained enjoyments of his power. On these he lavishes his revenue; and in the costliness of a hunting equipage, the fantasies of dress, and the delicacies of the Harem are frittered away a hundred thousand tomauns a year. Young as he is, (for he is only nineteen) he has already a family of eight children. In his public government he is much beloved by his people;

and although the Persians are not inclined in conversation to spare the faults of their superiors, of him I never heard an evil word. He has not indeed those sanguinary propensities, which are almost naturally imbibed in the possession of despotic power; and where others cut off ears, slit noses, and pierce eyes, he contents himself with the administration of the more lenient bastinado.

"Nasr Oallah Khan is appointed by the king to remit to the court of Teheran any surplus revenue; an office probably neither easy to the minister, nor acceptable to the prince, whose immense and splendid establishments exact a very liberal proportion of the whole receipts of the province. In his actual service and pay the prince has only a force of one thousand cavalry, of which two hundred (the quota furnished by the Baktiar tribe) form his body guard; but in an emergency he could send to the war twenty thousand horsemen. His troops provide their own arms and clothing, and they receive annually in pay forty piastres, and a daily allowance of one maun (seven pounds and a quarter) of barley, two mauns of straw, and a quarter of a maun of wheat, except in spring when their horses feed on the new herbage. They have further, each in his own country, for the maintenance of their families, a certain allotment of land, which they till and sow, and of which they reap the annual fruits. When a new levy is ordered, the head of each tribe brings forward the number which the state has required of him.

"4th. At about one hour before sunset, we repaired to the house of the minister, to partake of an entertainment which was given to the envoy. We had scarcely dismounted from

from our horses at the minister's gate, when the crowd, anxious to obtain admission, rushed forward, and long impeded the passage of the suite; until our Mehmandar himself commanded respect by administering a volley of blows with a stick on the heads of the surrounding multitude. As soon as the envoy entered the court, (which appeared from the numbers already pressed into it, to be the scene of the amusement); the Persian music struck up, and a rope-dancer, whose rope stood conspicuous in the centre, begun to vault into the air.

"Abdullah Khan, the minister's son, conducted us into the presence of his father, where we soon ranged ourselves among a numerous company of the nobles of the place, who were invited to meet us. Abdullah Khan, who is a man of about thirty, and a person of much consequence at Shiraz, never once seated himself in the apartment where his father sat, but, according to the eastern customs of filial reverence, stood at the door like a menial servant, or went about superintending the entertainments of the day. As soon as we were settled, the amusements commenced; and at the same moment the rope-dancer vaulted, the dancing boys danced, the water-spouter spouted, the fire-eater devoured fire, the singers sung, the musicians played on their kamounchas, and the drummers beat lustily on their drums. This singular combination of noises, objects, and attitudes, added to the cries and murmurs of the crowd around, amused, yet almost distracted us.

"The rope-dancer performed some feats which really did credit to his profession. He first walked over his rope with his balancing pole, then vaulted on high; he

tended the rope to a tree in an

angle of forty-five degrees; but, as he was reaching the very extremity of the upper range of the angle, he could proceed no further, and remained in an uncertain position for the space of two minutes. He afterwards tied his hands to a rope-ladder of three large steps; and, first balancing his body by the middle on the main line let fall the ladder and himself, and was only brought up by the strength of his wrists thus fastened to their support. He next put on a pair of high-heeled shoes, and paraded about again; then put his feet into two saucepans, and walked backwards and forwards. After this he suspended himself by his feet from the rope; and taking a gun, deliberately loaded and primed it, and, in that pendant position, took aim at an egg (placed on the ground beneath him) and put his ball through it. After this he carried on his back a child, whom he contrived to suspend, with his own body besides, from the rope, and thence placed in safety on the ground. His feats were numerous (and as he was mounted on a rope much more elevated than those on which such exploits are displayed in England), they were also proportionably dangerous. A trip would have been his inevitable destruction.

"He was dressed in a fantastical jacket, and wore a pair of breeches of crimson satin, something like those of Europeans. The boys danced, or rather paced the ground, snapping their fingers to keep time with the music, jingling their small brass castanets, and uttering extraordinary cries. To us all this was tiresome, but to the Persians it appeared very clever. One of the boys having exerted himself in various difficult leaps, at last took two kunjurs or daggers, one in each hand;

hand; and with these, springing forwards, and placing their points in the ground, turned himself head over heels between them; and again, in a second display, turned himself over with a drawn sword in his mouth.

"A negro appeared on the side of a basin of water (in which three fountains were already playing), and, by a singular faculty which he possessed of secreting liquids, managed to make himself a sort of fourth fountain, by spouting water from his mouth. We closely observed him: he drank two basins and a quarter of water, each holding about four quarts, and he was five minutes spouting them out. Next came an eater of fire: this man brought a large dish full of charcoal, which he placed deliberately before him, and then, taking up the pieces, conveyed them bit by bit successively into his mouth, and threw them out again when the fire was extinguished. He then took a piece, from which he continued to blow the most brilliant sparks for more than half an hour. The trick consists in putting in the mouth some cotton dipped in the oil of Naptha, on which the pieces of charcoal are laid, and from which they derive the strength of their fire: now the flame of this combustible is known to be little calid. Another man put into his mouth two balls alternately, which burnt with a brilliant flame, and which also were soaked in the same fluid.

"The music was of the roughest kind. The performers were seated in a row round the basin of water; the band consisted of two men, who played the kamouncha, a species of violin; four, who beat the tamborin; one, who thrummed the guitar; one, who played on the spoons; and two who sung. The loudest

in the concert were the songsters, who, when they applied the whole force of their lungs, drowned every other instrument. The man with the spoons seemed to me the most ingenious and least discordant of the whole band. He placed two wooden spoons in a neat and peculiar manner betwixt the fingers of his left hand, whilst he beat them with another spoon in his right.

"All this continued till the twilight had fairly expired; when there commenced a display of fire-works on a larger scale than any that I recollect to have seen in Europe. In the first place, the director of the works caused to be thrown into the fountain before us a variety of fires, which were fixed on square flat boards, and which bursting into the most splendid streams and stars of flame, seemed to put the water in one entire blaze. He then threw up some beautiful blue lights, and finished the whole by discharging immense volleys of rockets which had been fixed in stands, each of twenty rockets, in different parts of the garden, and particularly on the summits of the walls. Each stand exploded at once; and at one time the greater part of all the rockets were in the air at the same moment, and produced an effect grand beyond the powers of description.

"At the end of this exhibition, a band of choice musicians and songsters was introduced into the particular apartment where we were seated. A player on the kamouncha really drew forth notes, which might have done credit to the better instruments of the west: and the elastic manner with which he passed his bow across the strings, convinced me that he himself would have been an accomplished performer even among these of Europe, if his ear had been tutored to the harmonies
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and delicacies of our science. The notes of their guitar corresponded exactly to those of our instrument. Another sung some of the odes of Hafiz, accompanied by the kamouncha, and in a chorus by the tamborinus.

“ After this concert, some parts of which were extremely noisy, and some not unpleasant even to our ears, appeared from behind a curtain a dirty-looking negro, dressed as a fakcer or beggar, with an artificial hump, and with his face painted white. This character related facetious stories, threw himself into droll attitudes, and sung humorous songs. Amongst other things he was a mimic; and, when he undertook to ridicule the inhabitants of Ispahan he put our Shiraz audience into ecstasies of delight and laughter. He imitated the drawling manner of speaking, and the sort of nonchalance so characteristic of the Ispahanecs. The people of Shiraz (who regard themselves as the prime of Persians, and their language as the most pure, and their pronunciation as the most correct), are never so well amused as when the people and the dialect of Ispahan are ridiculed. Those of Ispahan, on the other hand, boast, and with much reason, of their superior cleverness and learning, though with these advantages indeed they are said to mix roguery and low cunning. The exhibition finished by the singing of a boy, the most renowned of the vocal performers at Shiraz, and one of the prince's own band. His powers were great, descending from the very highest to the very lowest notes; and the tremulations of his voice, in which the great acme of his art appeared to consist, were continued so long and so violently, that his face was convulsed with pain and exertion. In order to aid

the modulations, he kept a piece of paper in his hand, with which he did not cease to fan his mouth. When the concert was over, we collected our legs under us (which till this time we had kept extended at ease) to make room for the sofas or table-cloths, which were now spread before us. On these were first placed trays of sweets viands, light sugared cakes, and sherbet of various descriptions. After these, dishes of plain rice were put, each before two guests; then pillaus, and after them a succession and variety, which would have sufficed ten companies of our number. On a very moderate calculation there were two hundred dishes, exclusive of the sherbets. All these were served up in bowls and dishes of fine china; and in the bowls of sherbet were placed the long spoons made of pear-tree, (which I mentioned on a former occasion), and each of which contained about the measure of six common table-spoons, and with these every guest helped himself. The Persians bent themselves down to the dishes, and ate in general most heartily and indiscriminately of every thing sweet and sour, meat and fish, fruit, and vegetable. They are very fond of ice, which they eat constantly, and in great quantities, a taste which becomes almost necessary to qualify the sweetmeats which they devour so profusely. The minister Nasr Oallah Khan had a bowl of common ice constantly before him, which he kept eating when the other dishes were carried away. They are equally fond of spices, and of every other stimulant; and highly recommended one of their sherbets, a composition of sugar, cinnamon, and other strong ingredients. As the envoy sat next to the minister, and I next to the envoy, we very frequently shared the

the marks of his peculiar attention and politeness, which consisted in large handfuls of certain favourite dishes. These he tore off by main strength, and put before us; sometimes a full grasp of lamb mixed with a sauce of prunes, pistachionuts, and raisins; at another time, a whole partridge disguised by a rich brown sauce; and then, with the same hand, he scooped out a bit of melon, which he gave into our palms, or a great piece of omelette thickly swimming in fat ingredients. The dishes lie promiscuously before the guests, who all eat without any particular notice of one another. The silence, indeed, with which the whole is transacted is one of the most agreeable circumstances of a Persian feast. There is no rattle of plates and knives and forks, no confusion of lacquies, no drinking of healths, no disturbance of carving, scarcely a word is spoken, and all are intent on the business before them. Their feasts are soon over; and, although it appears difficult to collect such an immense number of dishes, and to take them away again without much confusion and much time, yet all is so well regulated that every thing disappears as if by magic. The lacquies bring the dishes in long trays called conchas, which are discharged in order, and which are again taken up and carried away with equal facility. When the whole is cleared, and the cloths rolled up, ewers and basins are brought in, and every one washes his hand and mouth. Until the water is presented it is ridiculous enough to see the right hand of every person (which is covered with the complicated fragments of all the dishes) placed in a certain position over his left arm: there is a fashion even in this. The whole entertainment was now over, and we took

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our leaves and returned home. Such a fête costs a very considerable sum. Besides ourselves, all the envoy's numerous servants, and all the privates of his body guard were invited to it, and eat and drank in different apartments. The same dinner which had been put before us was afterwards carried to them, and I understand that, even in the common domestic life of a Persian, the profusion which is exhibited on his table surprises the European stranger; and is explained only by the necessity of feeding his numerous household, to whom all his dishes are passed, after he has satisfied his own appetite.

"5th. As we were at dinner on the following day, one of the prince's own feroshes brought a dish composed of eggs, &c. made up into a species of omelette, with two small bowls of sherbet, and a plate of powdered spices, which he announced as a present from the prince himself. These sort of attentions are frequent between friends in Persia, and, at the moment of dinner, it seems that the prince, who is particularly fond of the dish, was anxious that the envoy also should partake of it; though at the time of receiving it, the envoy suspected, that it might have been the trick of some one who calculated on a more valuable largess in return.

"6th. A zeeafet or entertainment was given this evening to the envoy by Mirza Zain Labadeen, chief secretary and private minister to the prince. This was so nearly a repetition of the former display, that any description may well be spared. One thing indeed may be remarked; as soon as the prime minister came into the room, he took the direction of the feast upon himself; and the master of the house, the real donor,

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sunk into the character of a guest. This is the case wherever the minister goes, as he is supposed to be the master of every thing, and to preside in every place, next after the prince his own immediate superior.

"On the 7th, Jaffer Ali Khan, (the English agent at Shiraz) Mr. Bruce, and I, went by the envoy's order to the minister, to propose certain measures. We were introduced into the Bagh-a-Vakeel, a garden belonging to the prince, and situated contiguous to his palace in the town. In the centre is a pleasure house called Koola-frangee, (and built on the model of the one of the same name in the Bagh-a-Jehan Nemah, on the outside of the city gates.) Here we conferred with the minister, and as, in quitting him, we were going out of the garden, we chanced to meet the prince himself, who asked us the common questions of civility, and passed on. In the evening, the prince invited the envoy to meet him on horseback at the Maidan, and expressed a wish to see the troop of cavalry go through some of its exercises and evolutions. We accordingly proceeded, and, when we perceived the prince, we all dismounted from our horses for a moment, and when he waved his hand, we all mounted again, and rode close up to him. His manners and appearance were most elegant and prepossessing. He was dressed most richly: his outer coat was of blue velvet, which fitted tight to his shape: on the shoulders, front pocket, and skirts, was an embroidery of pearl, occasionally (in the different terminations of a point or angle,) enlivened with a ruby, an emerald, or a topaz. Under this was a waistcoat of pearl; and here and there, banging in a sort of studied negligence, were strings of

fine pearl. A dagger, at the head of which blazed a large diamond, was in his girdle. The bridle of his horse was inlaid in every part of the head with precious stones; and a large silver tassel hung under the jaws. The prince was altogether a very interesting figure.

"Cornet Willock paraded his troop much to the prince's satisfaction, and in the interval his own men ran their horses up and down the course, firing their muskets in various dextrous ways. Unfortunately one of his cavaliers met with a very dangerous fall.

"Ismael Beg, the young Georgian favourite, also shewed off his horse. He carried the prince's bow and arrows, which were placed on each side of him, in quivers covered with black velvet, and thickly studded with pearls and precious stones. After this, the prince ordered his Russian prisoners, thirty in number, to draw up and go through their exercise. These poor fellows, commanded by their officer (who goes by the name of Roos Khan, or Russian Khan), went through every thing that they could do, and even formed a hollow square. To all this the Persians give the name of bazee or play. Nasr Oallah Khan, the minister, kept at a respectful distance, whilst the rest of the nobles and chief men were stationed in a crowd much further off. The prince remained an isolated and unsocial being, never speaking but to command, never spoken to but to feel the servitude of others.

"It is always the custom for the king and princes to order their visitors away, which they do, either by a nod of the head or a wave of the hand. We received this kind of licence to depart, and returned to town in the order in which we came out.

"8th. The last and most splendid entertainment was given this evening to the envoy by our Mehmendar, Mahomed Zeky Khan. His own house was not large enough to contain us and our numerous attendants; he received therefore the prince's permission to give it in that of Aga Besheer, the queen's head eunuch. The apartment, into which we were introduced, was still more elegant than any which we had yet seen, and if it could have been transported to England, would probably have excited universal admiration, and a new taste in the interior decoration of rooms. Like almost all the public rooms or dewan khonéh of a Persian house, it was in shape a parallelogram, with a recess formed by a Saracenic arch, in the centre of the superior line of the figure. The ground of the wall was of a beautiful varnished white, and richly painted in gold in ornaments of the most neat and ingenious composition. The entablature, if it may be so called, was inlaid glass placed in angular and prismatic positions, which reflected a variety of beautiful lights and colours. The ceiling was all of the same composition. In the arched recess was a chimney-piece formed in front by alternate layers of glass and painting. The whole side fronting the arch was composed of windows, the frames of which opened from the ground; and, though of clumsy workmanship compared with frames in England, yet aided by the richness of the painted glass intermixed with the gilding of the wood-work, they filled up the space splendidly and symmetrically.

"This fête corresponded in all its parts with the others that I have described; except that there was a greater variety of entertainments.

Besides the rope-dancer, water-spouter, dancing boys, and fire-eater, we had an exhibition of wrestlers, a combat of rams, and a sanguinary scene of a lion killing an ox. The wrestling was opened by two dwarfs, about three feet and a half in height: one with a beard descending to his girdle, with deformed arms and hands, but with strong and muscular legs. The other, with bad legs, but with regular and well shaped arms. Both had the appearance of those animals represented in mythological pictures as satyrs, or perhaps of the Asmodeus of *Le Sage*. The figure with the beard was the victor, and fairly tossed his antagonist into an adjoining basin of water. The professional wrestlers succeeded; the hero of whom threw and discomfited eight others, in most rapid succession. In this the combat of rams resembled that of the wrestlers: one bold and superb ram, belonging to the prince, remained the undisputed master of the field, for although a great number of his kind were brought to meet him, none dared to face him after the first butt.

"The scene of blood next begun. A poor solitary half-grown ox was then produced, and had not long awaited his fate, when a young lion was conducted before us by a man, who led him with a rope by the neck. For some time he seated himself by the wall regardless of the feast before him. At length, urged by the cries of his keepers, and by the sight of the ox, which was taken close to him, he made a spring and seized his victim on the back. The poor brute made some efforts to get loose, but the lion kept fast hold, until he was dragged away by his keepers. Both were again brought before us, when the

ox fell under a second attack of the lion. An order was at length given to cut the throat of the ox, when the lion finished his repast by drinking heartily of his blood. A very small cub of a lion, not larger than a water-spaniel was carried out, and the vigour with which he attacked the ox, was quite amusing. He fed upon him, after he was dead, with a relish which showed how truly carnivorous were his young propensities. This bloody scene was pleasing to the Persian spectators in general, although I thought that I perceived some who sympathized with us for the helplessness of the ox.

"In the course of the morning the prince's present to the mission was brought by Ismael Beg. It consisted of a sword and two horses to the envoy, and to each of the gentlemen *kalaats*, or dresses of gold brocade, a sash, and a shawl. Our appearance, when we wore our new dresses, which had not been made on purpose for us, was probably very ridiculous. We put the rich brocade Persian vest over our English clothes, having only taken off our coats: then wound the brocade sash round our waists, and lastly, put our shawls either over our shoulders, or fastened them into our cocked hats. This, with our red cloth stockings and green high-heeled shoes, completed the adjustment, in which we appeared before the prince. The morning of the 9th had been fixed for our parting visit; dressed in these gifts with which he had honoured us, we were introduced to the prince in a room called the private audience, in the *Bagh-a-Vakeel*. On walking

through the garden we met one of his brothers, a little fellow about six years old, and who could just totter under the weight of the brocades, furs, and shawls with which he was hugely encumbered. Several khans and men of consequence were standing before him, in the same attitudes of respect and humility, as they did before his elder brother, and attending to all his little orders and whims, with as much obsequiousness, as they would have shewn to a full-grown sovereign. It was singular that no notice was taken of an inadvertence which we committed: the dresses which we had received were honours to which a Persian looks forward through his whole life; but as they happened to be extremely inconvenient to us, we threw them off as soon as we left the prince's presence. An Englishman just invested with an order, would hardly so throw off the ribbon at the gate of St. James's. In strictness, the *kalaat* of Persia should be worn three days, as we afterwards learnt, when again we had received a similar distinction at Teheran, and treated it with similar disrespect.

"Before we left Shiraz, the merchants were all displeased with the envoy, for they had been accustomed in former missions to sell immense quantities of their goods at exorbitant prices; while now all their offers were refused, as most of the presents which were given by Sir Harford in our progress, were made in coin. The amount of these presents indeed was not always satisfactory to the receivers."

RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS.

[From the same.]

"AT eleven o'clock on the morning of the 13th, the envoy recommenced his journey towards Teheran. The prime minister, and the chief secretary, Mahomed Hassan Khan (the commander of the Karaguzloo tribe), the prince's lord chamberlain, and Mahomed Zeky Khan, our former Mehmandar, with Abdulla Khan, who had succeeded to that office *pro tempore*, accompanied us about the distance of a mile from Tengui Ali Acbar, and then all took their formal leave, except our late and present Mehmandars.

'At the distance of a quarter of a mile beyond the gate of the pass departing from Shiraz, one of the most compact of distant views presented itself. As we saw it from an eminence, the foreground was formed by the two bold acclivities, (which close into the pass and are connected by the gate), and the interval in the distance is filled up by part of Shiraz, the campagna and the mountains in the horizon. As our tents and baggage were still considerably behind us, we stopt and drank coffee at a hut, where is a reservoir of ice constructed by the prince on a plan which to us seemed simple and good. A deep trench of about fifty paces in length, and fifteen in breadth, is cut into the ground; other dikes are cut transversely, which, as they fill with water, are emptied into the reservoir. When this first layer of water is congealed, another draught is made from the dikes, and thus the ice is accumulated. A wall is built the whole length of the reservoir to screen the ice from the south wind,

which is here the hottest. We staid here about two hours, in which time Captain Sutherland ascended the highest point of the mountains to the west, and returned with the most brilliant account of the view: Shiraz and its plain were at his feet, the gardens and the whole delineation of the mountains and surrounding lands, laid out as if on a map.

"After we had quitted our late Mehmandars and their company, and had been joined by their successor Mahomet Khan, we begun to wind in the hills, and rode by the banks of the little stream of Rocknabad, until we came to a station of Rahdars, which is called Kalaat Poshoon, from its being the spot where the prince puts on the kalaats, with which the king is frequently pleased to honour him. The country through which we passed, is hilly and open; scarcely a shrub enlivens the brown mountains, which here and there are varied by the capriciousness of their stratification into forms as extravagant as they are inhospitable. The source of the Rocknabad is about twelve miles from Shiraz, into which its waters find their way, after meandering in a variety of directions in their progress towards it. There was nothing particularly interesting in the march of the day. Large flocks of pigeons, now and then flew over our heads, and the road here and there was occasionally strewn with ruined castles and caravanserais, which, though they bore a name, yet being uninhabited, are no longer worthy to be marked in the topographical history of

of Persia. After we had received the salute of a few miserable fusiliers, had heard the recitative verses of one or two poor Mollahs, and had trampled over two or three bottles of sugar-candy, we arrived at our encampment at Zergoon.

"Zergoon, when first seen, looks a respectable place: a mud wall surrounds it; but, as it was broken down in many places, it was not difficult to observe that the greater part of the houses within were mere shells, and their inhabitants proportionably wretched. It is situated close at the foot of a range of mountains at the southern extremity of a small plain, which is of the finest soil, and towards the town not ill cultivated. We calculated our march to have been thirteen miles from our tents at the Bagh-a-Vakeel at Shiraz, and on an average our route lay north-east.

"The night was interrupted by the disputes of the mule-drivers and the bustle of feroshes. We quitted Zergoon at nine o'clock, and, at the distance of about two miles, entered into the plain of the same name (confounded with that of Merdasht) of a most delightful soil and partially cultivated, which extends near fifteen miles east and west. We proceeded three miles further, and crossing the river Bend-emir, entered the real plain of Merdasht. The bridge is thrown over the river immediately behind a projecting foot of the mountains; it is called the Pool Khap, and has (besides two lesser arches, which in this season were unoccupied by water) two principal arches, and another of a second size, through which three the river runs. The Bend-emir is the ancient Araxes, and runs in a general direction from north to south; where we crossed it, indeed,

it was flowing from N. N. E. to S. W. It does not fall into the sea at Cape Jasques, (now at least, as has been said) though it still enters Kerman. I am told that it goes to Corbal, ten fursunge from Persépolis, a large place in the province of Kerman, where its waters are received and kept up by a very considerable dam called the Bund Emir, i. e. the Bund Emir Timoor, or the dam of Tamerlane. There are several Bunds at Corbal, and in the neighbourhood, each raised by a king. In the balook or district of Corbal, there is a village called Sedeh Nokara Khonéh, about eight or nine fursunge distant from Persépolis; where, in the common story of Persia, Jernsheed kept his royal drums and trumpets: the noise of which, when sounded there, reached his ears at Persépolis. According to the report which we received from the people of the country, the whole plain of Merdasht for many miles round is covered with interesting monuments of antiquity, mostly taking their direction to the southward.

"From the bridge to the extremity of the plain may be ten miles. At two miles from our encampment, near the remains of 'Persépolis,' we turned to the left to visit the ruins and sculptures of Nakshi Rüstam. Although they appeared close to us, yet the great variety of the streams (drains from the Bend-emir and another river) which have been made to irrigate the country, obliged us to make a circuitous route of at least four miles.

"The tombs and sculptures at Nakshi Rüstam are all contained in the space of about two hundred yards, on the surface of steep and craggy rocks, the fronts of which extend in a line from N. W. to S. E. On the N. W.,

N. W. they terminate abruptly, and take an eastward turn : and this termination is marked by the shaft of a column six feet high, which stands upon the eminence, and is of the very same stone as that on which it rests ; though it has not been left in its present position by the excavation of the adjacent parts, for I thrust a kunjur (a dagger) several inches between it and the surface of the foundation rock ; in which therefore there is obviously a socket to receive it. The top of the rock (on which the sculptures at Nakshi Rostam are executed) is levelled into a platform about twenty feet square : on this is an elevated seat or throne ; the ascent to which is by five steps, i. e. two steps and a landing place, and then three more. I think, however, that I perceived the remains of another step to the landing-place. The throne itself is an oblong nine feet by six, and the whole rock is a fine marble.

" Nearly under this column is situated the first and most northern piece of sculpture. It consists of two figures on horseback, and a third on foot. Chardin's description of this, as well as of the other monuments, is sufficiently satisfactory ; and I will therefore only mention where I differ from him. He says, that the size of the horses is suited to that of their riders : now to me they seem to be by far too small in proportion ; and the best proof of this is, that the riders' feet nearly touch the ground. What he calls bridles of chains of iron did not strike us as such. The whole furniture of the horses is admirably preserved, and I have endeavoured to draw it with the most scrupulous accuracy. The bridle of the horse on the right is exactly the same as those of the horses at Shapour, with

numerous knobs or buckles on the head-stall : that of the horse on the left is of another species of ornament, yet also with many straps and buckles. Both have a remarkable strap or piece of iron which reaches from the horse's forehead all down the front part of the face, covers the lips, and is fastened behind near the opening of the cheeks. The breast-plate of the horse on the right is composed of large round plates linked together : that of the horse on the left is ornamented with lions' heads. The man behind the figure on the left, holds (not an umbrella, as Chardin mentions, but) a fly-flap, which is common to almost all the principal figures at Persepolis. Each of these horsemen trample on a body ; that under the figure on the right is more correct and well preserved, than the other to the left. A Greek inscription is engraved on the chest of the first horse, composed of seven lines, the three first of which are illegible. Then nearly close under these lines are some characters, which are extremely effaced, but which I have endeavoured to copy exactly. They are evidently the same as those which I saw at Shapour. On the breast of the opposite horse there is also a small but very effaced inscription in the same characters.

" The sculpture next to this is composed of nine figures ; five on the right side, and three on the left, of a personage at full length, who stands in the centre, holding a sword before him with both hands, and bearing a globe on his head. The figures to the left are beckoning as it were to the others on the right. There is besides another curious figure at full length, behind the rock close to the sculpture, but still making part of the same piece.

" More

" More in the centre of the whole extent of rock, and nearly under the base of a tomb, is a very spirited piece of sculpture, representing the combat of two horsemen, who are in the very shock of the engagement. The figure on the left (as the spectator fronts them) has an immense crown with three balls on the top of three pyramidal points. Another ball of the same sort is on his right shoulder; and another on the summit of his horse's head. On the full stretch of his horse he presents his lance, which is seen to pass through the throat of his adversary. A quiver hangs by his side, and a sort of armour covers his middle, and the back part of his horse. A figure behind him, apparently his standard-bearer, holds a kind of ensign, which is a staff crossed at the top and ornamented with five balls. The remainder is admirably executed, and represents the other horse thrown backwards on his haunches from the shock of the first cavalier's onset, and the spear of his rider broken. The helmet, with which the second horseman's head is crowned, is more Grecian, than any which I saw among the ruins; and the whole, though much effaced, is executed with better proportions and effect than any of the others.

" After this I was delighted and surprised to find an exact copy, though in a gigantic scale, of the subject at Shapour, with one person in a Roman dress on his knees before the horse's head, and another whose hands are seized by the rider. Under the horse's belly is a long Greek inscription, of which I could make out only a few characters. There are, besides, other characters similar to those at Shapour, of which the annexed is a specimen.

" Next to this, is a sculpture

containing three figures: the one in the middle has a crown and globe on his head; his right hand is extended towards a female figure on his left, and they both grasp a ring. The third figure, which stands behind the male one in the middle, is defaced, and is apparently only an attendant.

" Nearly adjoining, is a much mutilated representation of a combat between two heroes on horseback. The first, clad in armour with a globe on his head, makes a desperate thrust with his lance (his horse being at its greatest stretch) at the other figure, whose horse is in the act of rearing, and who holds his lance, as if he were preparing to receive his antagonist. The figure with a globe on his head tramples a man under his horse's feet.

" The tombs are four in number. Captain Sutherland with some difficulty entered into the one furthest to the northward. A Persian mounted first, and then let down a shawl; by which, as by a rope, Captain Sutherland helped himself up. A platform is cut into the rock before the tomb, which he entered through a small door, and found a chamber thirty-seven feet in length, and nine and a half in height: facing him were three arched recesses, in which the bodies of the deceased had probably been deposited.

" In following the abrupt turn to the east, which the rock of the sculptures takes, we come to two square fire-altars, situated on a projecting mass and placed upon one base. They are six feet in height, and one side of the square is three feet. On the summit of each is a square hole. Further on in the recess of the mountain, are twenty holes or windows of different sizes, but all of the same pattern, with an inscription over them. The characters,

tets, according to our observation, differed from all that we found in any of the various remains which we visited. Facing nearly the middle of the sculptured rocks, stands an ancient fire-temple. It is a square building, one side of which measures twenty-four feet. It is of white marble, and of admirable masonry. In front there is a door; open indeed only at top, and which appears to have been opened thus far by force, for all the lower stones are mutilated. The inside exhibited signs of fire. On each side, except that on which the door is placed, are four apertures: they seem to have been scarcely intended to admit light; as (at this day, at least) they are each closely fitted with a stone. A small niche is over the door. A cornice, enriched with dentils, passes around the summit; and in the lines, where the stones have been fitted, oblong perpendicular incisions are made at regular intervals. The people call it a pigeon-house. The plain is covered with the wild liquorice; and we plucked some of refreshing taste on the banks of a stream, which (about a mile from the sculptures and tombs) turns a mill on the left of our encampment. We started snipes and ducks from the Rood-Khonéh-Sewund, which runs into the plain from the northward.

"As we had still two hours of day-light before us, we rode to Persepolis, and took a cursory view of the ruins. Our first, and indeed lasting impressions were astonishment at the immensity, and admiration at the beauties of the fabric. Although there was nothing, either in the architecture of the buildings, or in the sculptures and reliefs on the rocks, which could bear a critical comparison with the delicate

proportions and perfect statuary of the Greeks, yet, without trying Persepolis by a standard to which it never was amenable, we yielded at once to emotions the most lively and the most enraptured.

"At the distance of about five miles is a conspicuous hill, on the top of which, and visible to the eye from Persepolis, are the remains of a fortress. This hill is now called Istakhar, and is quite distinct from Persepolis. Persepolis itself is commonly styled by the people of the country "Takht Jemsheed," or the throne of Jemsheed: it is also called "Chehel Minar," or the Forty Pillars. Le Brun has given a drawing of this hill of Istakhar; and the original must strike every traveller the moment he enters the plain of Merdasht, as it has all the appearance of having been much fashioned by the hand of man.

"Jan. 15th. After reading prayers to our society, I hastened to the ruins. I went on this principle, that I would endeavour to draw and ascertain all that former travellers had omitted; and for that purpose I took Chardin and Le Brun in my hand, that I might complete all that I found wanting in their views and notices. Finding, however, that they differed from each other (and one of course therefore from the reality) in many essential points, I thought that an entire description of the ruins in their present state would answer my purpose better than a partial and unconnected account, referring only to the mistakes or omissions of others.

"The most striking feature, on a first approach, is the staircase and its surrounding walls. Two grand flights, which face each other, lead to the principal platform. To the right is an immense wall of the finest masonry

masonry, and of the most massive stones: to the left are other walls equally well built, but not so imposing. On arriving at the summit of the staircase, the first objects, which present themselves directly facing the platform, are four vast portals and two columns. Two portals first, then the columns, and then two portals again. On the front of each are represented in basso-relievo figures of animals, which, for want of a better name, we have called sphinxes. The two sphinxes on the first portals face outwardly, i. e. towards the plain and the front of the building. The two others, on the second portals, face inwardly, i. e. towards the mountain. From the first (to the right, on a straight line) at the distance of fifty-four paces, is a staircase of thirty steps, the sides of which are ornamented with bas-reliefs, originally in three rows, but now partly reduced by the accumulation of earth beneath, and by mutilation above. This staircase leads to the principal compartment of the whole ruins, which may be called a small plain, thickly studded with columns, sixteen of which are now erect. Having crossed this plain, on an eminence are numerous stupendous remains of frames, both of windows and doors, formed by blocks of marble of sizes most magnificent. These frames are ranged in a square, and indicate an apartment the most royal that can be conceived. On each side of the frames are sculptured figures, and the marble still retains a polish which, in its original state, must have vied with the finest mirrors. On each corner of this room are pedestals, of an elevation much more considerable than the surrounding frames; one is formed of a single block of marble. The front of this apartment seems to

have been to the S. W. for we saw few marks of masonry on that exposure, and observed, that the base of that side of it was richly sculptured and ornamented. This front opens upon a square platform, on which no building appears to have been raised. But on the side opposite to the room which I have just mentioned, there is the same appearance of a corresponding apartment, although nothing but the bases of some small columns and the square of its floor attest it to have been such. The interval between these two rooms (on those angles which are the furthest distant from the grand front of the building) is filled up by the base of a sculpture similar to the bases of the two rooms; excepting that the centre of it is occupied by a small flight of steps. Behind, and contiguous to these ruins, are the remains of another square room, surrounded on all its sides by frames of doors and windows. On the floor are the bases of columns: from the order in which they appeared to me to have stood, they formed six rows, each of six columns. A staircase cut into an immense mass of rock (and from its small dimensions, probably the *escalier derobé* of the palace) leads into the lesser and enclosed plain below. Towards the plain are also three smaller rooms, or rather one room and the bases of two closets. Every thing on this part of the building indicates rooms of rest or retirement.

"In the rear of the whole of these remains, are the beds of aqueducts which are cut into the solid rock. They met us in every part of the building; and are probably therefore as extensive in their course, as they are magnificent in construction. The great aqueduct is to be discovered

discovered among a confused heap of stones, not far behind the build-ings (which I have been describing) on this quarter of the palace, and almost adjoining to a ruined stair-case. We descended into its bed, which in some places is cut ten feet into the rock. This bed leads east and west; to the eastward its descent is rapid about twenty five paces; it there narrows, so that we could only crawl through it; and again it enlarges, so that a man of common height may stand upright in it. It terminates by an abrupt rock.

"Proceeding from this towards the mountains, (situated in the rear of the great hall of columns) stand the remains of a magnificent room. Here are still left walls, frames and porticoes, the sides of which are thickly ornamented with bas-reliefs of a variety of compositions. This hall is a perfect square. To the right of this, and further to the southward are more fragments, the walls and component parts apparently of another room. To the left of this, and therefore to the northward of the building, are the remains of a portal, on which are to be traced the features of a sphinx. Still towards the north, in a separate collection, is the ruin of a column, which, from the fragments about it, must have supported a sphinx. In a recess of the mountain to the northward, is a portico. Almost in a line with the centre of the hall of columns, on the surface of the mountain is a tomb. To the southward of that is another, in like manner on the mountain's surface; between both (and just on that point where the ascent from the plain commences) is a reservoir of water.

"These constitute the sum of the principal objects among the ruins of Persepolis, some of which I will

now endeavour to describe in more detail. The grand staircase consists of a northern and a southern ascent, which spring from the plain at the distance of forty-six feet from each other. Each again is divided into two flights; the first, terminated by a magnificent platform, contains fifty-four steps on a base of sixty-six feet six inches, measured from the first step to a perpendicular dropt from the highest at the landing place: the second, to the extreme summit of the whole, consists of forty-eight steps on a base of forty-six feet eight inches. Each step is in breadth twenty-six feet six inches, and in height three inches and a half. So easy therefore is the ascent, that the people of the country always mount it on horseback. The platform, where the two grand divisions meet, is thirty-four feet from the ground, and in length seventy. From the front of this platform to the portals behind is likewise seventy feet.

"The portals are composed of immense oblong blocks of marble: their length is twenty-four feet six inches, breadth five feet, and distance from one another thirteen feet. The two first are faced by sphinxes; the remaining parts of whose bodies are delineated in a baso-relievo on the interior surface of the portal. In passing through these, the next objects before the more distant portals are two columns, but (as there is a sufficient space for two others, and as the symmetry would be defective without such an arrangement) I presume that the original structure was completed by four columns. The second portals correspond in size with the former, but differ from them not only in presenting their fronts towards the mountain, but in the subject of the sculptures with which they are adorned. The ani-
mals

imals on the two first portals are elevated on a base. From the contour of the mutilation, the heads appear to have been similar to those of horses, and their feet have hoofs; on their legs and haunches the veins and muscles are strongly marked. Their necks, chests, shoulders, and backs, are encrusted with ornaments of roses and beads.

"The sphinxes on the second portals appear to have had human heads, with crowned ornaments, under which are collected massive curls, and other decorations of a bead-dress, which seems to have been a favourite fashion among the ancient Persians. Their wings are worked with great art and labour, and extend from their shoulders to the very summit of the wall. The intention of the sculptor is evidently, that these figures (emblematical perhaps of power and strength) should appear to bear on their backs the mass of the portico, including not only the block immediately above each, but the covering also, which, though now lost, certainly in the original state of the palace, connected the two sides and roofed the entrance. In these, as in the first portals, the faces of the animals form the fronts, and the bulk of their bodies, (called forth to a certain extent by the basso-relievo on the sides) is supposed to constitute the substance of the walls.

"Under the carcase of the first sphinx on the right, are carved, scratched, and painted the names of many travellers; and amongst others we discovered those of Le Brun, Mandelskœ, and Niebuhr. Niebuhr's name is written in red chalk, and seems to have been done but yesterday.

"A square reservoir of water, broken in many places, yet still appearing to have been of one single

block, was in the space, between the portals and the staircase which led to the grand hall of columns. The breadth of that staircase is fifteen feet four inches. It has two corresponding flights, the front of which, though now much mutilated, was originally highly carved and ornamented with figures in bass-relief. The stones which support the terrace of the columns are all carved in the same style, and are as perfect as when Le Brun made his drawings. On comparing indeed his designs with the originals, I found that he had given to some of the figures a mutilation which does not exist; for I discovered on a close inspection many interesting details of dress, posture, and character, which are omitted in his plates. One great defect pervades this part of his collection; in order to elucidate by the human form the comparative dimensions of the buildings, he has introduced figures so small, that, measured by them as a standard, the actual size of the objects represented would be three times their real magnitude. In fact, a man who stands close to the sculptured wall touches the summit with his chin, though the figures in the drawings of Le Brun would not reach half way.

"Immediately on ascending this staircase, stands a single column, but on closer observation I counted the bases (or spots at least where once bases were) of eleven more columns of two rows; forming, with the first, six in each row. They are quite distinct from the great cluster in the centre of the hall, and were therefore probably a grand entrance to it.

"Passing forwards through this double range, we observed large blocks of stone, placed at symmetrical distances (to correspond with the

the arrangement of the columns at the entrance, and those in the centre), and forming, probably, the bases of sphinxes or other colossal figures. Having taken some pains to ascertain the real plan and the original number of the columns in the great hall, I came to the following conclusions: I observed, in the first place, that there were two orders of columns, distinct in their capitals as well as in their height, and that, of the highest, two rows were severally placed at the E. and W. extremities of the hall.

"Between these and the mass of columns of less height and a different capital is the space on either side of one row, in which, however, no trace whatever of bases exists, and through which run the channels of aqueducts. The remainder in the centre consists of six columns in front, and composes with the four exterior rows a line of ten columns; each row contains in depth six bases, forming, with the twelve at the entrance, a grand total of seventy-two. On drawing out a plan of this arrangement, I find that it is symmetrical in all its points, and in every way in which I can view it satisfies my imagination; but, on comparing it with that laid down by Niebuhr, my own conceptions have accorded so exactly with those of that great traveller on this, (as well as on the ichnography of the general remains) that the introduction of my sketch becomes unnecessary.

"On one of the highest columns is the remains of the sphinx, so common in all the ornaments at Persepolis; and I could distinguish on the summit of every one a something quite unconnected with the capitals. The high columns have, strictly speaking, no capitals what-

ever, being each a long shaft to the very summit, on which the sphinx rests. The capitals of the lesser columns are of a complicated order, composed of many pieces. I marked three distinct species of base. The shafts are fluted in the Doric manner, but the flutes are more closely fitted together. Their circumference is sixteen feet seven inches. Some of their bases have a square plinth, the side of one of which I measured, and found it to be seven feet; the diameter of the base was five feet four inches, diameter of columns four feet two inches, distance from centre of base to the next centre twenty-eight feet. To the eastward of one of these, and close at the foot of one of the highest columns, are the fragments of an immense figure. The head and part of the fore-legs I could easily trace; the head appeared to me more like that of a lion than of any other animal, and the legs confirmed this supposition; as it has claws so placed, as to indicate that the posture of the figure was couchant.

"The grand collection of porticoes, walls, and other component parts of a magnificent hall, are situated behind the columns, at the distance perhaps of fifty paces, and are arranged in a square.

"On the interior sides of the porticoes or door frames, are many sculptured figures, which have been drawn with accuracy by Le Brun. They represent the state and magnificence of a king, seated in a high chair with his feet resting on a footstool.

"To the north of these remains, is the frame of what was once a portico, and where the outlines of a sphinx are to be traced among the rude and stupendous masses of stone. Further on, nearly on the same line
and

and bearing, is the head of a horse, part of which is buried in the ground. It is ornamented like the remains of that which we call the sphinx on the great portals, and is certainly the horse's head, which Le Brun drew, declaring that he could not discover the part to which it had belonged. Close to it, however, are the remains of an immense column, eight feet in diameter; the different parts of the shaft have fallen in a direct line with this head, and obviously formed with it one connected piece in the original structure, in which probably the fragment on the ground surmounted the capital, as the sphinx still crowns some of the remaining columns.

"In the time of Mandelsloë, (who visited Persepolis 27th January, 1688) the number of columns erect was nineteen: in a letter indeed to Olearius, (written from Madagascar on the 12th of July, 1689, and published by his correspondent) he states, that thirty remained; but, as he does not specify their position, he might have included those lying on the ground, and at any rate he was writing a private letter, from memory, in a distant country, at the interval of a year and a half. His own authority therefore in his book is a better evidence of the fact; and as he there omits another and much more curious circumstance, which he had asserted in the same letter, the value of that document becomes still more suspicious. Speaking of the celebrated inscriptions at Persepolis, he says, 'on voit aussi plusieurs caractères anciens mais fort bien marqués, et conservant une partie de l'or, dont ils ont été remplis.' Sir Thomas Herbert also, however, mentions that the letters at Persepolis were gilt.

"17th. On quitting Persepolis, I left our party in order to examine

a ruined building on the plain, which at a distance is generally pointed out as a demolished *cam-vanserai*. I passed the stream of the Rood Khonéh Sewund to the north, nearly where the road takes a N.E. direction, and came to a fine mass of stone, thirty-seven feet four inches square, which appears to have formed the base of some building. It is composed of two layers of marble blocks, the lower range of which extends about two feet beyond the line of the upper. The largest blocks, according to my measurement, are ten feet four inches in length, four feet four in depth, and three feet four in breadth; all still retain a moulding, and traces here and there of masonry which must have connected them with others. The whole building is filled up in the middle by a black marble, and in its N.E. angle one stone is raised higher than the rest. In the same angle, is a channel cut, as if something had been fitted into it. I took the following bearings: foot of the rocks of Nakhsh Rostam, N. 10 W. two miles; foot of the mountain of Persepolis, S. two miles; our encampment S. 20 W. two miles; road to Ispahan, N. 80 W.

"I was called from this spot by a chatter sent by the envoy to conduct me to some sculptures, which he had himself seen, (about four miles from the place on the same mountain of Persepolis,) by the side of the road to Ispahan. I found them indeed worthy of the minutest investigation, as no preceding traveller has described them, with any sufficient accuracy. They are situated in a recess of the mountain, formed by projecting and picturesque rocks. The sculpture facing the road is composed of seven colossal figures and two small ones. The two principal characters are placed in the centre:

centre : the one to the left is the same (not in position indeed, but in general circumstance) as that which we had so often seen represented at Shapour and Nakshi Rostam. He has the distinguishing globe on his head, and offers a ring to the opposite figure ; who, seizing it with his right hand, holds a staff or club in his left. Behind the personage with the globe, are two figures, one of whom, with a young and pleasing face holds the fan, the customary ensign of dignity : and the other, with hard and marked features, and a beard, rests on the pommel of his sword with one hand, and beckons with the other. Behind the chief on the right, are two figures, which from the feminine cast of their countenances appear to be women ; one wears an extraordinary cap, and the other, whose hair falls in ringlets on her shoulders, makes an expressive motion with her right hand, as if she were saying, "Be silent." Between the two principal figures, are introduced two very diminished beings, who do not reach higher than the knees of their colossal companions. In dress they differ materially from each other, and one holds a long staff. To the left, on a fragment of the rock, is the bust of a figure, who also holds his hand in a beckoning and significant posture. The largest of these figures I reckoned to be ten feet in height ; the small ones two feet eight inches. The whole of this is so much disfigured, that it is difficult to ascertain its various and singular details.

"In the same recess, and to the left of this sculptured rock, forming an angle with it, is another monument in a much higher state of preservation ; parts of it indeed have suffered so little, that they appear to be fresh at this day from

the chisel. The same royal personage so often represented with a globe on his head, and seated on horseback, here forms the principal character of the groupe. His face, indeed, has been completely destroyed by the Mahomedans, but the ornaments of his person and those of his horse, (more profusely bestowed on both, than on any of the similar figures which we had seen) are likewise more accurately preserved. They merit a particular description ; because as the composition was probably designed to represent the king in his greatest state, every part of his dress is distinctly delineated. I assign this subject to the sculpture, because no other personage of rival dignity appears in the piece ; and because the attitude of the chief announces parade and command ; for he presents a full face to the spectator, and his right hand, though now much mutilated, still rests on his side to indicate his ease and his independence. Nine figures, of which the first is nine feet high, wait behind him ; and, from the marks of respect in which they stand, can be attendants only on his grandeur. On each side of his head swells an immense circumference of curls ; he wears an embossed necklace, which falls low on his breast, and is therefore, perhaps, rather the upper termination of his garment ; but its counterpart, an ornament of the same description round the waist, is certainly a girdle. His cloak is fastened on his left breast by two massive clasps. A rich belt is carried from his right shoulder to his left hip, across an under garment, which, from the extreme delicacy of its folds, appears to be formed of a very fine cloth or muslin. The drapery of some loose trousers, which cover his legs down to the very ankles, displays equal delicacy

delicacy, and is probably, therefore, of the same texture. From the ankles a sort of bandage extends itself in flowing folds, and adds a rich finish to the whole. On the thigh there appears to hang a dagger. The horse is splendidly accoutred with chains of a circular ornament: his length, from the breast to the tail, is seven feet two inches; and on the chest is a Greek inscription, of which the letters are about an inch in height, and correspond in form with those of the latter empire.

"Opposite to the sculpture, in the same recess and on the right of the first, is another, containing the same two figures on horseback, holding a ring, which we had seen at Shapour and at Nakshi Rustam. On the general merit of these remains, I may say, that they are superior to those at Nakshi Rustam, and equal to those at Shapour.

"When I had sketched these monuments, and completed my observations, I hastened to join my party, who were then considerably advanced. A man who filled some station about the camp joined me. He asked my opinion on the probable design of these sculptures, and when I had told him my own conceptions, he assured me, that the royal personage here also was Rustam; and when I reminded him that their own traditional king, Jemsheed, might possibly be the hero, he replied in the true spirit of a system, "Jemsheed was but the slave of Rustam." Of the figures grasping the ring, one again (according to the same theory) was Rustam, in the act of proving his strength, by wrenching it from the other's hand."

MANNERS, DRESSES, AND CHARACTERS OF THE PERSIANS.

[From the same.]

TEHERAN, the present capital of Persia, is situated, as I ascertained by a meridional observation, in lat. 35°. 40. It is in circumference between four and a half and five miles, if we might judge from the length of our ride round the walls, which indeed occupied an hour and a half: but from this we must deduct something for the deviations necessary from the intervention of the gardens, and the slaughter-houses. There are six gates, inlaid with coloured bricks and with figures of tigers and other beasts in rude mosaic: their entrance is lofty and doomed; and

they are certainly better than those that we had then seen in any of the fortified places of Persia. To the N. W. are separate towers. We saw two pieces of artillery, one apparently a mortar, the other a long gun. The ditch in some parts had fallen in, and was there supported by brick work.

"The town itself is about the size of Shiraz; but it has not so many public edifices: and, as it is built of bricks baked in the sun, the whole has a mud-like appearance. Of the mosques, the principal is the Mesjid Shah, a structure not yet finished. There are six others, small

small and insignificant; and three or four medressés or colleges. There are said to be one hundred and fifty caravanserais, and one hundred and fifty hammams or baths. There are two maidans; one in the town, the other within the ark, a square fortified palace, which contains all the establishments of the king, is surrounded by a wall and ditch, and is entered by two gates.

"The Harem is most numerous, and contains a female establishment as extensive as the public household. All the officers of the king's court are there represented by females. There are women *feroshes*, and there is a woman *ferosh bashee*; women *chatters*, and a woman *chatter bashee*; there is a woman *arz begge*, and a woman *ish agassi*; in short, there is a female duplicate for every male officer; and the king's service in the interior of the harem is carried on with the same etiquette and regularity, as the exterior economy of his state. The women of the harem, who are educated to administer to the pleasures of the king by singing and dancing, are instructed by the best masters that the country can supply. An Armenian at Shiraz was unfortunately renowned for performing excellently on the *kamouncha*. The fame of his skill reached the king's ears, and he was immediately ordered up to court on the charge of being the best *kamouncha* player in his majesty's dominions. The poor man, who had a wife and family and commercial concerns at Shiraz, was during our stay detained at Teheran expressly to teach the king's women the art of playing on the *kamouncha*.

"The king's family consists of sixty-five sons. As they make no account of females, it is not known how many daughters he may have ;

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although he is said to have an equal number of both sexes. It sometimes happens, that many of his women are delivered on the same night, and (if we might give credit to a Persian) one of these happy coincidences occurred during our abode in the capital, when in one night six of his women were brought to bed, four of sons and two of daughters. The Ameen ed-Doulah had one, indeed, of the babes at his house; and a present was sent for it from Ispahan, composed of four mules laden with all sorts of rich clothes.

"The Taht-a-Cadjar is a pleasure-house built by the present king, about two miles to the north-east of Teheran. At a distance it presents a grand elevation, apparently of several stories; but these, on a nearer view, are the fronts of successive terraces. The entrance is through an indifferent gate, at the top of which is a summer-house. It leads into a spacious enclosure: in the middle is the principal walk, bounded on each side by some young cypress and poplar trees, and intersected at right angles in the centre by a stone channel, which conducts a stream at several intervals to small cascades. The building which stands on the first terrace is in form octagonal, crowned by a small flat roofed elevation. It is open by arches on all its sides, and its raised ceiling is supported by pillars. Its interior is arranged in a variety of water-channels, and through the centre passes the principal stream, which runs through the whole building and grounds. This little pleasure-house, though built of coarse materials and but rudely furnished, is erected on an excellent model, and is admirably calculated for the heats of the summer. Under it are subterraneous chambers. Proceeding

ceeding further on another terrace is a grand pleasure-house, constructed on a less perfect principle than that of the first, though still sufficiently adapted for a summer retreat. Through this also water is introduced from a terrace above. Before this place is a very extensive square of water, in which, as we were told, there were fish; we saw none, but the water itself is most luxuriously clear and refreshing. From this we ascended up two terraces much more elevated than the first; on these there were only small reservoirs, from which the water was continually falling into the basins on the successive descents, at the height perhaps of twenty feet between each terrace.

"At length we entered the main body of the building, which, like all other Persian houses, consists of a large square court lined on all sides with rooms of various dimensions and uses. The choicest apartment of the whole is a small one, placed in the very summit of the building, where every species of native workmanship in painting, glazing, and Mosaic, has been collected. We found here portraits of women, Europeans as well as Persians. The glass is beautifully painted, and the doors are prettily worked and inlaid with poetical quotations carved in ivory. From this there is a delightful view of the town and country. In the other rooms below, there are several pictures of the king and his favourites; one of the subjects is singular, as it represents his majesty in the costume of a sick man:

'The whole of this place is of brick, except the exterior wall, which is mud, flanked however by brick turrets. It is much inferior in workmanship to any of the brick buildings either of Kerim Khan, or of the Seffis. The soil on which it is

erected is indeed ill-adapted to the purpose, as it is salt; and the salt oozes out through the walls, and materially undermines their solidity.

'The king is building another summer residence, half a mile from the town, called the Negaristan. One house is finished, consisting however of only an arched room, in which are various channels for water and playing fountains. In the garden we found water cresses, of the eatableness of which the Persians appeared totally ignorant.

"The climate of Teheran is variable, in consequence of its situation at the foot of high mountains, which on the other side are backed by such a sea as the Caspian. For the earlier part of our stay it was moderate; till the 10th of March the thermometer, which was suspended near an open window in a room unexposed to the sun, was at 51° Fahrenheit. On the 10th, throughout the whole day, there was much snow; indeed on the following morning, when the thermometer was at 47°, the heat of the sun produced a partial thaw, which was succeeded by a frost so sharp, that before the close of the day, an officer of the suite, who weighed fourteen stone, was able to walk and slide upon a square reservoir before the Dewan Khonéh, even though the surface had been already broken at one corner. The fall of snow was a seasonable supply of moisture to the country, which had long been without any. On the new moon of March (the 15th of the month) the rain begun, and for some days continued regularly, clearing up about four or five hours before sunset, and gathering again at night. From the height of the walls which surrounded us, and the want of weathercocks or chimnies, I could collect but imperfectly the quarter

quarter of the wind; but, as far as I could judge, it was generally from the S. E. There is a wind sometimes rushing from the Albores on the N. of the bleakness of which the natives speak with dread. From the 23d of March (the first quarter of the moon) we had the true ethereal mildness of spring, with light breezes from the westward in the evening. Vegetation was making rapid advances: the rose-trees in the court of our house were already green, and the chenars had just begun to bud. The snow on the Albores was diminishing fast; and the weather generally, which sometimes lowered and then brightened up, was that of an English spring. The thermometer was about 61° to 64°, but in the middle of the day it reached 75°, and the heat in the close of the streets of the town was very sensible. In the first week of April the mornings were beautiful; but about noon a hot wind set in from the S. E. which increased towards the evening, and died away at night. About the second week the weather became cooler. Every thing was in high foliage, and all our horses were at grass. The heat was then becoming great: on the 19th the thermometer was at 82° in the shade, and at night we had thunder and lightning with a thick haze over the Albores. On the 21st the temperature, which in the interval had been at 86°, sunk to 67°. On the night of the 20th there had been a storm; and on the dawn of day we discovered that the Albores, which before had lost their snow, were again covered. These transitions are common to situations like that of Teheran. The rain refreshed the air, and gave strength to the grass, which in the more immediate neighbourhood of the town requires much moisture to enable it to

pierce the hardness of the soil. From this time the days continued cool, with rain and frequent storms; and the evenings became almost piercing; but the showers gave a new force to vegetation.

“Teheran is considered an unwholesome situation. The town is low and built on a salt, moist soil. In the summer the heats are said to be insufferable, that all those who are able (all perhaps except a few old women) quit the town and live in tents nearer the foot of the Albores, where it is comparatively cool. We had several illnesses in our family, which we attributed to the water. The symptoms were an obstinate constipation with great gripings, a disorder very common in the place. Our head Persian writer was long laid up with a fever, which brought him to the point of death. He was bled copiously six times in six days. These people put no faith in our medicines, and therefore he would not allow the physician of the mission to visit him. At length however he was persuaded by a ‘fall’ which he took in Hafiz, and which pointed out, that he should ‘trust in the stranger.’ The superstitious faith with which the Persians observe these falls is inconceivable: the oracle consists in taking the book of Hafiz, wherever it may chance to open, and reading the passage on which the eyes first happen to alight. That, by which the attention is thus attracted, is the prediction. Before they open the book, they make certain invocations to God. Dr. Jukes accordingly prescribed; but his patient I believe disregarded his advice; and we were despairing about him, when we were told that the king’s physician had been with him, and had given him a water-melon to eat, and that the sick man was now recovering.

The theory of Persian medicine is somewhat that of Galen: they attribute all sickness to one of two causes, heat or cold. If the patient is supposed to suffer from much heat, they bleed him beyond measure; if from cold, they give him cathartics in the same proportion.

"In the belief of Persia there is another and a simpler remedy for malady. Nor perhaps is the credulity confined to Persia: there is I suspect a more general superstition, that to relieve disease or accident, the patient has only to deposit a rag on certain bushes, and from the same spot to take another which has been previously left from the same motive by a former sufferer.

"In the time of the Sefsis there was also another superstition in Persia, which perhaps is not wholly extinct at this day. Every one who has read Chardin, will remember the history of the coronation of Shah Suleyman, who, because his original name was considered unlucky, was renamed and recrowned.

"The fruits which were in season at Teheran in the month of March, and which were served to us every day at dinner, were pomegranates, apples, pears, melons, limes, and oranges. The pomegranates came from Mazanderan, and were really here a luscious fruit, much superior to any that I have seen in Turkey. They were generally twelve inches in circumference. The vegetables were carrots, turnips, spinach and beet-root. Hives are kept all over the country, and we had at Teheran the finest honey that I ever ate, though that of Shiraz is reckoned better, and that of Kauzeroon (which the bees cull from the orange groves) is considered as still superior. Our mutton was excellent, and very cheap;

for a sheep costs two piastres only. The beef was sometimes good; but as their meat is not deemed desirable in Persia, oxen are not kept or fattened for the purposes of the table. We eat a hare which had been caught by a man in the plain, and which we afterwards coursed with our greyhounds. The Persians regard this flesh as unclean in opposition to the Turks, who eat it without scruple.

"In April we got delicious herrings from the Caspian, which appears the proper sea for them. They are much larger than those which we have on the English coasts, and are called by the Persians the *shah mahee*, "king of fishes." In the end of that month we received a fresh salmon of twenty-five pounds from the same sea also, as a present from the Ameen-ed-Doulah. The Persians call it *kizzel*, or golden: it was to the palate as good as any English salmon, though with some of us it did not agree quite so well.

"From the account which the prime minister gave us of a stone which is burnt in Mazanderan, there must be coals of the finest kind in that province. Among the products of Persia are gum tragacanth, assafoetida, yellow berries, henna (coarser than that of Egypt,) madder roots, which grow wild upon the mountains, and are brought down for sale by the *Eclauts* or wandering tribes; the Hindoos only export it as returns. Indigo is cultivated for the dying of linen and of beards, and grows about *Shooster Desfoul*, near *Kherat*, and in the *Laristan*. It is not so fine as the indigo from India, which indeed is a great article of the import trade of Persia. They use the leaf only for their beards. There is no cochineal. Cotton is produced enough for the interior consumption of the country.

country. The best manufacture which they make is a cotton cloth, called the kaduck; of this there is an exportation to Turkey. The finest is manufactured at Ispahan. The great and richest produce is the silk of Ghilan and Mazanderan. The manufacturing towns of Persia are Yezd, silken stuffs, stuffs of silk and cotton; Kashan, silks and copper ware; Koom, earthenware; Resht, silks, coarse woollen cloths of which the tekris are made; Shiraz, swords, fire-arms, and glassware; Ispahan, brocades, cotton clothes; Kermanshah, arms; Kerman, shawls.

"4th of May. The most beautiful part of the plain about Teheran is that to the S. E. The verdure, when I left the country, was most luxuriant; and the whole animated by peasantry and their cattle. Yet though the spring was thus far advanced, the mountain Demawend (whenever the clouds, which almost always concealed it, rolled away) appeared more than ever covered with snow. The direct distance to it from Teheran is about forty miles; to the base of the first mountain is reckoned fourteen miles. We had seen it when it was at least one hundred and fifty miles from us; and were told indeed, as I have remarked before, that it might be seen from the top of the minaret of the Mesjid Shah, at Ispahan, a distance of two hundred and forty miles. It is visible from Resht, and generally along all the south of the Caspian sea; and it is therefore very credible that that sea, which is not more than forty miles from the base, may be seen from the summit, of Demawend. But, according to some accounts, no one ever gained the top; according to others, there is a horse-road through the whole

ascent. I was told at Tabriz, by a man of Mazanderan, that he himself knew several who had reached the summit; and, indeed, that Derveishes, led by the information of their books, resorted thither from India to cull a certain plant convertible into gold, and tinging with a golden hue the teeth of the sheep that feed upon the mountain. At the foot of the Albores are many villages and pleasure-houses, and much cultivation; all the rest of the country in that direction is a blank with scarcely a shrub.

"On the east side of the plain of Teheran there is an elevated road of a fine bottom running N. and S. which seems to have been connected with the city of Rey. On the 4th of March we visited the ruins of Rey. They are situated about five miles in a south direction from Teheran, and extend as far as the eye can reach over the plain, E. and W. To the E. at the foot of a projecting range, which branches from the Albores, are the remains of the citadel, consisting of walls and turrets, built of mud bricks, which in most places are distinguished with difficulty from mounds of earth. The mass of the height, on which it is erected, seems rather of earth than of rock. Near the foot of the citadel stands a tower, which by our hasty calculation may be about fifty feet in height. It is built of a very fine species of brick, cemented by mortar. Its exterior is arranged in twenty-four triangular compartments, the base of each being about five feet, giving a circumference of one hundred and twenty feet. On the summit, between two rows of ornaments in brick, is an inscription in the Cuffick character; the letters of which are formed by small inlaid bricks. The interior was so full of straw

straw and other rubbish, that we could not explore it; the door is to the eastward. The style of building resembles much that of the Seffis; with this difference, that the bricks are put together with a greater portion of mortar, and are of a rather darker colour. About three miles to the southward on an insulated hill are other buildings, and a turret of the same style as the one just described; and between both is a round tower of stone, with a Cuffick inscription in brick-work. In this turret we observed through a window, that there was a winding staircase in the wall, but we could not find the entrance to it.

"Still further on, on the brow of a hill close under the mountain, is a building, partly of ancient and partly of modern construction; this is the tomb of one of the wives of Imaun Hossein. It is composed of two courts and two inner rooms; three old women officiate here over the remains of their female saint. There is much running water all around; part issues from a spring, which gushes out from under a rock. The mountains are arid, with surfaces indicating much mineral below.

"Rey is the Rhages of Tobit, and is the city where Alexander rested five days in his pursuit after Darius; after he had made a march of eleven days from Ecbatana or Hamadan. Arrian calls this city one day's journey from the Caspian Straights.

"Rey was reduced by Hubbe, the general of Jenghiz Khan; and from its scattered population arose the town of Teheran. Near the ruins is still a village called Shah Abdul Azeem, with a zeeauret or place of worship.

"Of ancient Persia I learned little. Currimabad is, perhaps, the

Corbiana of geography. Near Shiraz is a Bolouk of eighteen villages, called Fasa, from its chief place, which itself is about five or six menzils or thirty-five fursungs from Shiraz, and about nineteen from Persepolis. From Fasa to Firouzabad is four menzils; perhaps twenty fursungs. The ruins at both, and indeed in the line between them, are great.

"A native of Fasa, whom I questioned on the subject, told me that the remains at his city were considered more wonderful than any thing at Persepolis, except the columns. There are great stones with Persepolitan inscriptions. There is a large mound of earth, which, according to the people of his country, was transported by Turks from Turkish territory. The thaubet or government of this place is the most lucrative and respectable about the region.

"Jaffier Ali, resident for the English nation at Shiraz, informed me that the number of the Guebres (worshippers of fire) decrease annually in Persia. They are so reviled and distressed by the government, that either they become converts to Mahomedanism, or emigrate to their brethren in India. Their Atech-gau, or chief fire-temple, a large excavation in the ground, in which the sacred element was preserved, was at Firouzabad, seventeen fursungs south east of Shiraz. The orifice is now closed; and the fire indeed, according to a Mahomedan doctor, was extinguished on the day of the birth of his prophet. The remains at Firouzabad attest the former importance of that city. Yezd is now the great seat of the Guebres and of their religion; but they are more poor and more contemned in Persia, than the most miserable of the Jews in Turkey.

key. The works of Zoroaster were collected by his disciple Jamaz, into a book thence called the Jamaz Namah, which is now most scarce.

"II. The only hereditary title in Persia is mirza or meerza. The derivation of which word is from emir (ameer a nobleman) and zadé a son; &c. This species of nobility is traced very far, and is not creative. The title descends to all the sons of the family, without exception. In the royal family it is placed after the name instead of before it, thus, Abbas Mirza and Hossein Ali Mirza. Mirza is a civil title, and khan is a military one. The title of khan is creative, but not hereditary: the sons of khans are called aga or esquire, which is a Tartar title, and more common to Turkey than to Persia. The creation of khan is attended with few ceremonies, and those very simple. The king sends a kalaat or dress of honour to the person so created, and on his investiture the king gives him a firman announcing to all persons that the bearer of it is forthwith a khan; and this firman is worn three days on the top of the turban. Any person who derides this patent, or who refuses to call the bearer of it by his title, is liable to the penalty of death.

"The title of mirza does not hinder the possessor from receiving that of khan also; and then the name runs, for example, thus, Mirza Hossein Ali Khan.

"The different ranks of civil governors are—1st. The beglerbeg, who generally resides in the large cities, and controuls the province around: 2d. The hakim; and 3d. the thaubet, who severally govern a city or a town: 4th. The kelounter, who, besides the real governor, resides in every city, town, and village, and superintends the collection of

the tribute: 5th. The ket khoda, who is the chief of a village: 6th. The pak kar, who is servant or *hommes d'affaires* to the ket khoda, and who transacts the business with the rayat or peasant. The pak-kar accounts with the ket khoda, and he again with the kelounter.

"The kelounter is a man of consequence wherever he presides; he is an officer of the crown, and once a-year appears before the royal presence, an honour which is not permitted to the ket khoda. He also receives wages from the king's treasury, which the ket khoda does not. The kelounter is the medium through which the wishes and wants of the people are made known to the king: he is their chief and representative on all occasions, and brings forward the complaints of the rayats, whenever they feel oppressed. He also knows the riches of every rayat, and his means of rendering the annual tribute: he therefore regulates the quota that every man must pay; and if his seal be not affixed to the documents which the rayat brings forward in the time of the levy, the assessment is not valid, and the sum cannot be received.

"The three principal branches of the tribute which the people pay are 1st. Maleeat; 2d. Sader; and 3d. Peish-kesh.

"The maleeat is the hereditary original right of the crown, and consists in produce and money. The king gets in kind one-fifth of the produce of the land, i. e. of wheat, barley, silk, tobacco, indigo, &c. and articles of that description: and one-fifth in money of all the vegetables, fruit, and lesser produce of the earth, which the proprietor may sell. Though the proportion be paid in kind, yet it is assessed, not by the actual levy of

of every fifth sheaf, &c. but by an indirect criterion of produce, deduced from the number of oxen kept by the landholder; and this part of the revenue is collected accordingly by a corresponding rate imposed upon the growth of the land. Thus the possessor of twelve oxen is supposed to possess also an extent of land, the cultivation of which may require that number, and is therefore assessed to pay a quantity of corn proportioned to the assumed amount of his gross receipt.

"The king collects one-fifth also in money of all the vegetables, fruits, and lesser produce of the earth, which the proprietor may sell. Formerly these tributes, either in kind or in money, were only one-tenth: but their amount has been doubled by the present king.

"The inhabitants of towns pay according to an assessment imposed on the place, and founded on the number of houses which it may contain, and not according to their individual means. And this levy on any particular town is but a part only of that charged on the district which contains it; thus Ispahan, which for instance has Koom and Kashan within its administration, is required to furnish a specified sum, of which it pays part, and divides the rest among the second-rate towns, which again subdivide their own proportions among the villages around; and collect, each in their gradations, the appointed amount of the tribute, and transfer the whole to the royal treasury. The government requires that the collector of any given district should supply a stated sum, but it permits him likewise to add, as his own profit, whatever he can further exact. Most of these offices are bought

and sold. By the amount therefore of the purchase is regulated the rate of oppression. The scale descends; every minor agent is expected to accomplish an appointed task; but is left to choose his own means, and to have no other controul but his own conscience. This is the practice, whatever may be the theory of the administration of the revenue.

"The *sader* is an arbitrary tax, and is the most grievous to the *rayat*. It admits every species of extortion, and renders the situation of the peasant extremely precarious. This impost is levied on particular occasions, such as the passage of any great man through the country, the local expenses of a district, or on other opportunities which are continually recurring; so that the *rayat* is never certain of a respite. It is assessed in the same manner upon the number of oxen which he may keep. Thus, if sheep are wanted, he who keeps one ox is obliged to give a sheep, and so on with every other demand which may be made.

"The *peish-kesh*. This is called indeed a voluntary gift, but it must be offered every year at the festival of the *nerooz*; and like the regular taxes, is required in the same proportion, according to the means of the people.

"By these taxations the condition of the cultivators is rendered more particularly wretched. On the contrary, the merchants are less oppressed than any class in Persia. The shop-keeper indeed (*dukiandar*) pays tribute; but the proper merchant, (*sodager*) a distinct order, pays nothing at all to the state, except the duties of the customs, which are comparatively very small, being about one-tenth on the imports; and as they are not affected by any other imposition, they are the

the most wealthy part of the community.

“Landed property in Persia is hereditary, and is known by the name of waky. But on the delinquency of its proprietor, it may be seized by the king, and is then called *zapté shah*. It remains annexed to the crown, until the family are again restored, when the estate, according to the pleasure of the sovereign, may be returned. The king, while he retains such property, generally allows a portion of its produce to the relatives of the former owner, and this allowance is called *moustumerec*. Besides the *zapté shah* there are the *halissé* or crown lands, that from time immemorial have belonged to the kings of Persia. They are cultivated by tenants, who defray all the expenses, cattle, implements of agriculture, &c. and divide the net profits with the king.

“At the death of Kerim Khan, the royal treasury was nearly empty; but at the death of the late King **Aga Mahomed Khan**, it is said to have contained fifteen crore of tomauns. Since the times of Kerim Khan the value of bullion has increased greatly; the miscal of gold was then five piastres, it is now eight and a half; that of silver was three hundred dinars, it is now five hundred; and every year the price increases in some small degree. Provisions and labour have of course corresponded in proportion. There is no prohibition against the melting, or the exportation of the precious metals. Every one may convert his own bullion into any use. If he wishes to have his gold coined, he can send it to the mint to be struck into any piece of money; paying the value of a pea's weight of gold for every tomaun. The right of coinage is secured to particular

towns by firmans from the king. Most of the gold is clipped, as every Jew pares a little off. The shopkeepers also contrive to rub the coin on a black stone to try the purity of the metal; by this operation small particles remain on the stone, which are extracted with care, and reserved till a sufficient quantity for a coin be collected. Most of the silver in circulation comes originally from a very fine silver mine in Bokhara. There is another also in Aderbigian, and another near Shiraz, the latter of which is neglected, as the expenses have been found to exceed the produce. The king's treasure is reported, probably with much truth, to be immense. The Persians indeed affirm, that all the money, which is received into the royal coffers, remains there and never again gets into circulation. In a country so poor as Persia, in which there are so few people of any capital, the absorption of a million or a much smaller sum would be immediately felt. If therefore all the sums, which are annually poured into the king's treasure, had remained a dead stock in his hands, there would not now have been a single piece of gold in Persia. There is no corresponding influx of bullion. Persia exports yearly three hundred and fifty thousand tomauns in specie to India; to meet this drain there is indeed an inadequate supply from their trade with Russia, which purchases with gold all the silk of Ghilan; and again with Turkey, which pays in gold for all the shawls and the little silk which it exports from Persia. Yet it is possible that the king may reserve two-thirds of his receipts; and expend the remainder only, perhaps half a crore of tomauns. This supposition derives some probability, as well from the

the increase in the value of bullion as from the accounts of the treasures of Aga Mahomed; and further from the common belief of Persia, that a large proportion of the regular expenses of the royal establishment are defrayed by the Ameen-ed-Doulah, from sources connected with his office and power. Thus he pays the household, and clothes the servants; he supplies a part of the kalaats at the norooz; he furnishes the maintenance of the king's children, and clothes for the new-born infants, and necessities for the mother. In Persia, when a woman is five months in her pregnancy, she provides clothes for her expected offspring: in this situation the king's wives send to the ameen-ed-doulah a list of all the articles which they may want; and which, frequently at a large cost, he is obliged to produce on the spot. For this purpose he keeps in his house a magazine stored with every description of dress for every age. Every year he is obliged to build new rooms in the king's seraglio for the women whom his majesty may chance to add to his numbers; and for each of these rooms he provides a silver manzal or fire-pan, a lamp and two candlesticks of silver, basins, ewers, dishes, plates, &c. and all of silver. To answer these immense demands, the range of his exactions may well be believed to be unbounded.

"The aggregate of the population of Persia is divided into tribes, part of which live in fixed habitations, and others (the larger proportion indeed, and all the Arabs) live in tents. These tribes never emigrate from their own districts, but all have their winter and summer regions; in the former pitching their tents in the plain, in the latter the summits and declivities of

their mountains. To these districts they adhere strictly, as the line of demarcation for the pasturage of their flocks has been observed from ages the most remote. Each has its records, and can trace its genealogy to the first generation. The most considerable and renowned are the baktiar, that spread themselves over the province of Irauk; the failee, that live about the mountains of Shooster or Susa, and extend their frontiers to those of the Baktians; the Affshars, that live near the lake of Shahee; the Lacs, that are near Casvin.

"All the tribes pay tribute. When the king calls upon them for purposes of war, all (excepting the Arabs and the Failee tribe) are obliged to send a proportion of men, who are always ready at his summons.

"The names of every one of such men, the names of their fathers, and other particulars of their family, are all registered in the defter khona at the seat of government; and at the feast of the norooz, they attend the king to inquire whether their services for that year are required: if required, they wait the encampment of his majesty; if not, they are permitted to return, but in either case they receive a stated pay. This is one of the oldest customs in Persia, recorded in their histories from time immemorial. Each tribe has its chief, who is always a khan, and one of their own race. He generally remains with his people, and has a vakeel at the capital, who attends daily at the der-a-khoneh, and transacts all the business of his principal. He would be the baron of feudal times, if he were not liable to lose his post at the will of the king. Mr. Bruce informed me that there still exists in Persia an ancient custom, in cases of emergency,

of requiring from every mill (the wheel of which is turned by water) a man and horse armed and accoutred for the field; and of these they reckon one hundred thousand. The reason assigned for the king's never requiring the attendance of the Failees on his military expeditions is, that in time of old (some say the reign of the famous King Caïoum) the Failees fled and lost the battle, and incurred upon themselves and their posterity this interdiction of military service for ever. The people of Ispahan and of Kashan, who either urged or joined the flight of the Failees, were included in the same prohibition; and to this day bear the epithet of arrant cowards, more happy perhaps to live a quiet life at home, than to attempt to regain the reputation of brave men by fighting abroad.

"The supplies which are sent receive pay from the king, as well as arms and horses; and when in actual service are fed at the king's expense. When he no longer wants them they are dismissed to their own homes. The tribes compose the whole military force of the kingdom, except the king's body-guards, who are never disbanded, and form the standing army of the country. Each prince governor of the provinces has also his body-guard, which, in like manner, is never disbanded.

"The provinces of Aderbigian, Khorassan, Fars, Kerman, part of Irak towards Irak Arabi, are all governed by the king's sons. The prince of Aderbigian, it is said, can raise from his different tribes fifty thousand horse and foot, over which the king has no direct controul; but which, in case of war, he can call into action by requiring the attendance of his son with all his forces.

"In the same manner the prince governor of Khorassan can raise from his tribes twenty thousand horse and foot. The prince of Fars has likewise a similar command; but his troops have never been summoned to assist the king in his wars, as they are always left for the protection of the southern parts of Persia. The province of Mazanderan sends twenty thousand horse and foot to the king. As the Quajars or Cadjars, the king's own tribe, are resident in this province, he looks upon this force as his particular safeguard. This tribe is considered the most ancient and honoured in Persia: they reckon among themselves four kings—Fath Ali Shah, who was killed by Shah Thamas; Hassan Khan, who was killed by Kerim Khan; Aga Mahomed; and the present king, his nephew and successor. Of this tribe there are two races: the first is the Yokaree Bash, of which the king's family and that of the mother of the heir apparent are both sprung; the second is the Asheea Bash. The nobility of the king's progeny varies much according to that of the mothers.

"The two great tribes are the Baktiari and the Failee. They consist of one hundred thousand families each, which, at five persons in a family, makes two totals of five hundred thousand souls. The Baktiars, of all the tribes, send the most troops to the king's service. The king's body-guard consists of twelve thousand men, half of whom are disciplined in the European manner, and are called Jan-baz, in contra-distinction to those raised and disciplined by the princes, (and particularly Abbas Mirza, governor of Aderbigian,) who are called Ser-baz. 'Jan-baz' means one who plays away his soul; 'Ser-baz' means one

one who plays away his head only.

"The twelve thousand who form the king's body-guard are taken indiscriminately from the tribes, or from the population of the cities, but principally from Mazanderan and the tribes connected with the king's own race. They have their families and homes at Teheran, and in the neighbouring villages, and are ready at every call. They are divided into bodies of three thousand men, and do duty by turns in the king's palace, called the ark. They are called kechekchees or guards, and every such body has a ser kechekchee, or head of the guard, who always attends when his corps is on duty; and on the relief of the guard a mirza belonging to the corps reads over every man's name, and in case of non-attendance the defaulter receives punishment. These ser kechekchees are men of so much family and distinction, that one of the king's own sons enjoys the dignity. The kechekchees are distributed in all parts of the palace, and are always seen on guard on the towers of the ark. Their watchword is 'hazir, or ready,' which they continually pass from one to the other. They are a distinct body from the kechekchees of the city, who are solely attached to the police office, and do the duty of our watchmen, with this difference, that they have a right to ascend the tops of the houses in their midnight rounds.

"Besides this body-guard of twelve thousand, the king has three thousand goulams or slaves, who are horsemen, and always attend him when he makes an excursion. All these people, both horse and foot, are paid, fed, clothed, armed,

and lodged at the king's expense.

ve) is here figuratively

used to express their devotion to the king's service; for they are not in reality entered into a state of servitude by actual purchase: on the contrary, they are particularly honoured by the king, and his own favourite Ismael Beg is their commander. This chief is one of those who still exercise the noose with great skill; it is called kummund, and there are some instances of its being still used in their engagements.

Dress.—The dress of the Persians is much changed since the time of Chardin. It never possessed the dignity and solidity of the Turkish dress, and much less now than ever. So materially indeed have their fashions altered, that in comparing with the modes of the present day, the pictures and descriptions in Chardin and Le Brun, we can recognize no longer the same people. It is extraordinary that an Asiatic nation, so much charmed by show and brilliancy, (as the Persians have always been supposed to be), should have adopted for their apparel the dark and sombre colours, which are now universal among all ranks. In the reign of the Zund family indeed, light colours were much in vogue; but the present race, perhaps from a spirit of opposition, cherish dark ones. A Persian therefore looks a most melancholy personage, and resembles much some of the Armenian priests and holy men, whom I have seen in Turkey. Browns, dark olives, bottle greens, and dark blues, are the colours mostly worn. Red they dislike; and it is singular that this is a hue, which fashion seems to have discarded even in the countries far beyond the northern and eastern confines of Persia; for the merchants of Bokhara, who come down annually to Bushire to buy cloths, totally disregard scarlets, and for

for that colour will not give any thing like the price, which they will pay for others.

“ Although the climate requires full as much clothing as that of Turkey, I did not find in my stay among them, that the Persians clothed themselves by any means so warmly as the Turks. As the cold increases, the Turk increases the number of his pelisses, till in the progress of the winter I have frequently seen a small and puny man expand into a very robust and athletic figure : but the Persian’s wardrobe does not thus extend over him as the season advances.

“ The following is a general catalogue of the articles of their dress : 1. The *zeet jumah* : a pair of very wide trowsers, either of red silk or blue cotton, reaching below the ankle, and fastened by a string which passes through the top, and is tied before. 2. The *peera hawn* : a shirt generally of silk, which, going over the trowsers, reaches a few inches below the hips, and is fastened by two buttons over the top of the right shoulder. It goes close round the lower part of the neck, where it is sometimes ornamented by a ribbon or thin cord of silk. The opening of the shirt extends to the bottom of the ribs. 3. The *alcalock* : a tight vest, made of chintz, and quilted with cotton, which ties at the side, and reaches as low as the thin part of the calf of the leg. It has sleeves extending to the wrist, but open from the elbow. 4. The *caba* : which is a long vest descending to the ankle, but fitting tight to the body as far only as the hips : it then buttons at the side. The sleeves go over those of the *alcalock*, and from the elbow are closed by buttons only, that they may be opened thus far for the purpose of ablation, when the *namaz* or prayer is

said. There is another species of *caba*, called the *bagalee*, which crosses over the breast, and fastens all down the side by a range of buttons to the hip. This is generally made of cloth, or of shawl or cotton quilted, and, as the warmer, is most used in winter. 5. The outer coat is always made of cloth, and is worn or thrown off according to the heat of the weather. Of this dress, there are many sorts ; — the *tekmeh*, which has sleeves open from the elbow, but which are yet so fashioned as to admit occasionally the lower part also of the arm. These sleeves are generally permitted to hang behind. The coat itself is quite round, buttons before, and drops like a petticoat over the shawl that goes round the waist. The *oymeh*, which is like the *tekmeh*, except that from the hips downwards, it is open at the sides. The *baroonee*, which is a loose and ample robe with proportionably ample arms, generally made of cloth and faced with velvet, and thrown negligently over the shoulders. 6. Over the *caba*, comes the *shāl kemer*, which is the bandage round the waist. This is made either of Cashmirian shawl, or of the common shawl of Kerman, or of English chintz, or of flowered muslin. The proper size is about eight yards long, and one broad. To this is fastened (by a string neatly tied around it) a *kunjur*, or dagger, ornamented according to the wealth of the possessor, from an enamelled pommel set in precious stones, to a common handle of bone and wood. 7. Besides the outer clothes, which I have just mentioned, they have also coats trimmed with fur. Such is the *catebee*, which is an uncommonly rich dress, covering the whole of the body, with fur over the back and shoulders, fur at the cuffs, and fur

fur inside. It is made of cloth of gold and brocades, with large ornaments of gold lace in front, and forms altogether the most dignified among the habits that I remarked in Persia. 8. They have also a short jacket, called the *coordee*, which fits close to the body, but with loose flaps as low as the commencement of the swell of the thigh. 9. The warmest of their dresses is a sheep-skin with the fur inside, and the leather part outside. It is called, from its sudorific qualities, the *hummum* or bath, but it is more generally named the *pooshtee* or skin. It is an ugly and unpleasant article. The better sheep-skins come from Bokhara, and are covered with the finest wool certainly that I ever saw.

"The head-dress of every Persian, from the king to his lowest subject, is composed of one substance, and consists of a black cap about one foot and a half high. These caps are all jet black, and are all made of skins of the same animals. The finest are taken from the lamb, in the first moments of its birth; and they decrease in value down to the skin of the full-grown sheep, which the common *Rayat* wears. The lamb-skins are also used to line coats, and make very comfortable pelisses. The only distinction in the head-dress of Persia, is that of a shawl wrapped round the black cap; and this distinction is confined to the king, to the princes his sons, and to some of the nobility and great officers of state. Cashmere shawls have been discouraged of late, in order to promote the domestic manufacture of brocade shawls.

"Like the Turks, and indeed generally like other Asiatics, the Persians are very careful in preserving in the feet. In winter thick woollen sock;

and in the air or in a journey, they bind their feet and legs with a long bandage of cloth, which they increase with the advance of the cold. They have three different sorts of shoes, and two sorts of boots. 1. A green slipper, with a heel about an inch and a half high, with a painted piece of bone at the top. These are worn by the higher classes, and by all before the king. 2. A flat slipper, either of red or yellow leather, with a little iron shoe under the heel, and with a piece of bone over that shoe, on which, as in the first instance, the heel rests. 3. A stout shoe (with a flat sole, turning up at the toe) which covers the whole foot, and is made either of leather, or of thick quilted cotton. It is worn by the peasants, and by the chatters, or walking footmen.

"The boots are, 1. a very large pair with high heels, turned up at the toe, made generally of Russia leather, and covering the leg. 2. A smaller and tighter kind, buttoning at the side, and reaching only to the calf of the leg. When the Persians ride, they put on a loose trowser of cloth, called *shalwar*, into which they insert the skirts of the *alkalock*, as well as the silken trowsers; so that the whole looks like an inflated bladder. The *shalwar* is very useful in carrying light baggage, as handkerchiefs, small books, &c. &c. not unfrequently a slight meal.

"The Persians shave all the head except a tuft of hair just on the crown, and two locks behind the ears: but they suffer their beards to grow, and to a much larger size than the Turks, and to spread more about the ears and temples. They almost universally dye them black, by an operation not very pleasant, and necessary to be repeated generally once a fortnight. It is always performed

formed in the hot-bath, where the hair being well saturated takes the colour better. A thick paste of Khenna is first made, which is largely plastered over the beard, and which after remaining an hour is all completely washed off, and leaves the hair of a very strong orange colour, bordering upon that of brick-dust. After this, as thick a paste is made of the leaf of the indigo, (which previously has been pounded to a fine powder), and of this also a deep layer is put upon the beard; but this second process, to be taken well, requires two full hours. During all this operation, the patient lies quietly flat upon his back; whilst the dye (more particularly the indigo, which is a great astringent) contracts the features of his face in a very mournful manner, and causes all the lower part of the visage to smart and burn. When the indigo is

at last washed off, the beard is of a very dark bottle green, and becomes a jet black only when it has met the air for twenty-four hours. Some, indeed, are content with the Khenna, or orange colour; others, more fastidious, prefer a beard quite blue. The people of Bokhara are famous for their blue beards. It is inconceivable how careful the Persians are of this ornament: all the young men sigh for it, and grease their chins to hasten the growth of the hairs: because, until they have there a respectable covering, they are supposed not fit to enjoy any place of trust.

"Another singular custom is that of dying the hands and feet: this is done by the abovementioned Khenna, which is generally put over every part of the hands and nails as far as the wrist, and on the soles of the feet, the toes, and nails.

VIEW OF SYRACUSE AND ITS ENVIRONS.

FROM MR. VAUGHAN'S PRESENT STATE OF SICILY.

"**A**S far as Cassibili the soils and the cultivation are exactly like those described above; and we gazed with pleasure upon its little river, and the beauty of its banks, the clearness of its waters, and the attention that was exhibited in the irrigation and fertilization of its adjoining fields. Several of the common peasant women were washing their linen there, whose coarse compliments and rustic expressions made us smile. 'Behold,' said Signor Tommasi, 'the Naiads; who, in the songs of the poets, are so amiable, so fair, and so interesting. In reality, they

are what you see, simple and homely country wenches.'

"From Cassibili to Syracuse the country is not remarkable for the successful efforts of art; but it is beyond measure rich and redundant in the bountiful gifts of nature. It is a large and promising plain, on one side of which is the sea, and various little mountains and hills, which recede more or less from the shore, upon the other. Trees and farm houses are few; the soil, however, is for the greatest part fertile, and in some spots is black, fat, deep, yet crumbling, as can be seen

seen or desired: consequently we saw in various spots undoubted proofs of the most vigorous vegetation; and excellent oxen, which we judged to be the produce of the Modican bull and country cows: and we agreed, that the fertility of those fields must have contributed in no small degree to the fertility of that spot which was once the admiration of the universe.

“ In approaching a city that was formerly a competitor in power and grandeur to Athens, and mistress of the arts and urbanity of Rome itself, the sight of the obelisk without the town, and the two only remaining mutilated columns of the famous temple of Olympian Jove, present to the mind a thousand ideas and reflections on the history and fate of cities and nations, already recorded in the annals of the world, or yet lying hid in the impenetrable womb of time. Upon the wings, it may be said, of imagination, we pass rapidly back through the immense space of more than twenty-five ages, and we already think and speak of Archias, of Thrasybulus, of Dionysius, of Dion, of Timoleon, of Agathocles, of Marcellus—when the appearance of centinels and cannon, and redoubts and draw-bridges, and arrival of the carriages and servants of our friends, cut short the thread of our ratiocinations, and oblige us to attend to the civilities of our acquaintance, and the consideration of our accommodation at Syracuse.

“ We made every possible effort to prevent any one's being forewarned of our arrival, and for that purpose had secretly dispatched a person to secure us two rooms at an inn, or a convent, without saying who we were; but all our projects and precautions were rendered abortive by the watchful attentions and vigilant urbanity of the Marquis

Castellentini, who had so cleverly espied out our motions that he knew to a moment when we ought to arrive, and had stationed himself by the middle of the day in his carriage without the walls of the town, and with the provident anticipation of cordiality and regard had provided a philosophical reception, as he called it, at his house, for the administrator and his suite: from this we excused ourselves with unbounded acknowledgments, on account of the way of life we had proposed to ourselves during our stay at that place; nevertheless the marquis repeated his entreaties, and very vehemently urged our compliance: and forthwith there arose between him and Tommasi a most amiable struggle, in which these two redoubtable champions made their utmost display of graces and compliments, in subtlety and eloquence, till at last it was proposed by the help of two seconds, myself and the accomplished canon Scrofani, and agreed to at last by this courteous Polonius, that we should lodge at the convent, and eat our soup en famille at the house of the marquis without ceremony or display.

“ The entrance into Syracuse by four bridges and wet ditches partakes of the grand, and is rendered more noble by the gates on each side, and the four orders of fortification which bring to the recollection the works of Coni, of Alexandria, of Lisle, of Valenciennes, and other celebrated fortifications of Europe. To our mortification, however, we discover that the interior of the town does not correspond with so promising an exterior. The population is scanty, and few signs of opulence, or good houses, or streets; so that it should seem the best sort of eulogium to write this inscription: ‘ this was the ancient Ortigia.’ I will

will not here detail all that might be said of Syracuse, but only what we saw; and I must acquaint my reader that having gone with a resolution of staying but two days, we passed the whole of our time in running about and visiting antiquities, until we had tired both ourselves and our cattle, and wore out the patience of our excellent Cicerone, the Cavalier Landolina. The town of Syracuse is considered among the fourth in rank of the cities of Sicily, for excepting Palermo, Messina, and Catania, there are none others that can pretend to class above it; for some time past it does not represent, and return its member to the parliament from mere punctilio and etiquette of precedence, and yet the senate and citizens complain that their community is burdened with taxes beyond their just proportion, and that its ancient freedoms and privileges are not sufficiently respected by the deputation of the kingdom. This conduct of theirs appears strangely absurd. One can scarcely conceive how the vanity of the name, and a barren pre-eminence can induce them to renounce so essential a prerogative as having a member in the senate, who ought and could uphold the legitimate rights, and explain the pretensions of the country he represents.

"Its circuit, including its vast fortifications, is said to be three miles, and its population is supposed to amount to fourteen thousand inhabitants. They seem to believe there that only an age ago it amounted to forty thousand, and is lessened at least two thirds of its number. For my own part I should like to inquire into the foundation of such a belief, because neither the situation of the inhabited parts; nor the history of its political state, nor the

contemplation of its principal buildings, can induce us to believe such an inconceivable change in so limited a period as one hundred years. There are several churches, and houses of gentlemen sufficiently neat; but as to the streets, with the exception of the two principal, they are generally narrow and dirty, and unpleasant; there is nothing that deserves the name of a square, and the market itself would be mean; even among the inconsiderable towns of the island. The great harbour, as every one knows, is capacious, secure, and magnificent, and viewed from the citadel, displays itself to the eye with great beauty and advantage, in the figure of a majestic and noble ellipsis: it wants altogether the best ornament and most significant charm which it ought, and might have, a quantity of vessels, and a considerable trade, and it is disgusting and painful to behold this wonderful bay, which has received from the hand of nature such singular advantages, and might be so prosperous, empty and deserted, without navigation or commerce. They have made, and are forming projects to draw this most famous haven from obscurity, and the shameful state of degradation from which it is suffering; but these speculations do not go beyond proposing some public establishment or prerogative, or extension in their favour, such as a free port, a royal caricatore, upon a larger and more privileged plan, &c. &c.

"For my own part, I should never oppose any such signal, and perhaps efficient remedies, provided they do not trench upon the royal treasury, nor upon the prerogatives of other communities, who have equally a right to the consideration of their sovereign; but I should think these alone of little solid effect for the

object in view; and rather desire, that that most precious increase of an internal commerce, should be established upon the firm basis of a flourishing agriculture and manufactures within, not less than upon some partially favoured and overwhelming capitals.

"Like all the other small cities in Sicily, Syracuse has from time to time lost all its richest and most distinguished families, which supported its industry and promoted consumption, and within the last hundred years alone, six of the principal, (namely) those of the princes of Cathelica, of Linguagrossa, of Rossalina, duke of Belmurgo, of Verdura, and of Florida; and who have withdrawn, they say, from the circulation of the country more than seventy thousand ounces a year; not but there yet remain many great and wealthy families; and these, with the bishop, the seminary for the young clergy, the numerous garrison which is always there, and some opulent land-holders and merchants, still encourage and keep labour and activity alive, and cherish individual prosperity.

"Nothing is more common among the Syracusans than to complain of the great poverty of their country, and the sad decadence which they say it has suffered within the last century. I do not venture to contradict these discouraging assertions, as I have no public documents that would enable me to do so; but not being disposed, as I have previously said, to give credit to supposed greater happiness of our ancestors, and wishing as much as possible to look on the bright side instead of the gloomy, I feel a pleasure in declaring, as a traveller, that comfort appears general, and beggary almost unknown.

"Every one knows that this happy

circumstance, is a great measure arises from the presence of above a thousand well-clothed and well-fed English soldiers; but has there not always been a respectable garrison of our own? And if there had lately existed in Syracuse, as some affirm, such extraordinary misery, could it happen that it would have been removed or relieved to such a degree by the impulse of increased consumption and circulation within three years only? In short, I am far from believing it a rich town, but I must own my doubts of the pretended deterioration of its prosperity, nor can I suppose it less at ease than any other in the kingdom in proportion to its circumstances.

"The city contains one hundred and sixty seculars, and in 1790 two hundred, from which we may conclude, that as in the capital, so in the provinces, the number of ecclesiastics continues to diminish. We find within and without its bounds sixty-three churches, among which are seven convents for monks, and as many monasteries for nuns.

"The Syracusans, like every people upon the face of the earth, complain of their taxes. I can only say that in 1791, their quota was five thousand four hundred and seventy ounces, and that dividing this among fourteen thousand people, it is less than twelve taris per head, which in the abstract, and drawing a comparison with many places and people of Europe, cannot be considered an exorbitant tax. I believe that of late it has been somewhat increased, but as it can only be to the amount of a few taris a head, it does not alter my conclusion; and I also assert, that the inhabitants have less to complain of in their proportion than the vicious manner in which it is distributed and levied. In the matter of duties the manner

is often of more consequence than the quantity, and we are taught by history, that we may pay three, and feel no inconvenience, and on the contrary pay two, and remain burdened and oppressed.

"The Country.—The extent of the country of Syracuse I was not able to ascertain exactly; anciently, however, its territory was six thousand and more salms, Palermo measure; but after the dismemberment of St. Paolo, Solarino, of Cassibili and Florida, according to the conjectures stated to me by the Cavalier Landolina, it is reduced to about five thousand, and I have only to add what I read in the precious and learned memoranda of this country by the Marquis Gargallo, that with divers tenures, it comprehends nine manors, of which some are so small, as to amount to no more than one hundred salms, and some others are lately declared belonging to no district. That which appears certain is, that the lands belonging to Syracuse do not seem proportionate to its population: but this is a common evil in Sicily, and by a little reflection we may be persuaded that it would be both useful and just to equalize, as far as possible, the divisions and distributions, especially with regard to the duties and produce among the different districts of the various cities and lands of the entire kingdom. The soil, as I have before said, is for the greatest part fertile, and inclining to marl and friable; and in the environs of the town we have to admire soils so rich, and of such an excellent depth, that I scarcely remember to have seen it equalled in any of the suburbs of our other cities. They may indeed be compared in their texture to the putrid fertilizing particles of those of Mantua, of which Virgil has

made the encomium in his inimitable *Georgics*. We were gratified and surprised by observing the vigorous and luxurious vegetation of corn, of hemp, of vegetables, and all sorts of herbs and trees; but even these are not what they would be, if they could be persuaded to dry up the salt-pans, which, to an extent of two hundred salms Palermo measure, corrupt the air in summer, and are nearly useless as to what they produce; and if the celebrated Anapus, which is navigable for five miles, and in which the Papyrus grows spontaneously, was also turned to the irrigation and improvement of the lands.

"I have heard and read of a thousand projects for giving life and recovery to the forlorn and fallen Syracuse; but the major part are faulty in the outline, or insuperably difficult in the execution, and certainly there is none that can compare in efficacy and importance to that of drying up their unwholesome and sterile marches, and thus render a large portion of their land capable of irrigation, in imitation of the rich and luxurious fields of Lombardy. Land that can be conveniently watered in the latitude of thirty-seven degrees, may be absolutely driven to the utmost without attending to a regular mode of farming it, since it will yield in hemp, flax, cotton, medicinal herbs, &c. more than from a hundred to two hundred ounces gross profit. What immense wealth, therefore, may not be hoped for from the celebrated Syracuse, was the abundant and placid stream of the above-mentioned river, by means of convenient tanks and aqueducts and necessary implements, made to serve for the irrigation of its bordering and improveable tenures.

"And can this method be surpassed, I would ask, or equalled, or even compared by that which it is the object of some to achieve improvement by? Infinity of privileges, immunities, pre-eminences, and I know not what adjuncts of a similar nature.

"The richest productions of Syracuse are the wheat, oil, and also hemp; nor are they without fruit, pulse, flax, and olive plants, while pasturage is much neglected, or scarcely thought of. Of corn, it is conjectured that they sow annually more than two thousand five hundred salms, and reap more than twelve thousand; and therefore, in average years, they say this district yields nearly as much wheat as serves for the consumption of its population.

"Oil is a material object of industry, and the return to these proprietors and farmers in fruitful years, is laid at the quantity of fifteen thousand quintals; but the manufacture is as bad as can be; for they draw it off from the olive, so over-ripe and rotten, that they lose at least half, and what they do get is reckoned, and is sold as of the worst condition: some farmers, however, begin to open their eyes upon this subject, and I was informed a little high priced oil had been made by certain dilettanti there, by using more cleanliness, and pressing the olives before they were heated and spoiled.

"However excellent the wines made there are, the best tasted and smelling are those which are vulgarly called the Moscato: they obtain this from the Muscadell grape, cut very ripe and dried in the sun; and fifty, thirty, and even twenty years ago, it was in great request at home and abroad, and particularly

for Leghorn, Genoa, and England; now they are much lowered, for no other reason that I know of, but that the fashion for sweet wines has passed away, and that which prevails is for the dry; from the excellent quality of the soil and climate, and by means of the most advantageous species of vines, and a well conducted fermentation, wines might always be had in this country of a good keeping body, and in the utmost perfection.

"The average produce of a thousand vines at Syracuse is about five salms each, of 86 quartuccis of thirty ounces, by which a salm Palermo measure, planted with vines, returns about forty salms, which according to the actual price, is about one hundred and twenty-eight ounces. It is commonly agreed, that vines here do not produce one half of what they once produced, which does not surprise me, because they do not plant them sufficiently deep, they do not water their stocks enough, nor renew them from time to time with fresh planting, as is practised so successfully in Burgundy.

"The cultivation of hemp from the inducement of a high price is much increased here within a few years. They sow as much on the dry lands as the watered, because they are naturally deep, moist, and fat, with this only difference, that with the first they seed in March, the other a month later; at both periods they prepare the ground for this most lucrative plant by five or six ploughings, of which three would be sufficient, did they adopt a plough with one coulter, and made according to the rules of art. The seed they sow is generally three tumuli and three quarters of the common measure to one tumulo of land

land of four hundred and sixteen square cannas; and their average harvest amounts, according to their different lands, from one to two quintals each tumulo.

"Antiquities.—We viewed these rapidly, and without any design to study them. As they are described in an infinity of books, I shall do no more than notice them, for the purpose of giving a faithful and complete idea of my whole tour.

"Temples.—Besides the remains, which are mentioned above, of the temple of Olympian Jove, in that of Minerva, (now the cathedral,) we have to admire some fine columns; and the antiquarians shew in a house not far off fragments of columns, which are supposed to have belonged to the temple of Diana.

"The Latomia.—That, vulgarly called the Ear of Dionysius, is the most famous, because it returns a curious and most sonorous echo: there are many others here, as at the church of the Capuchins; which may be regarded as so many monuments of the ancient Syracusan grandeur. All this looks well; but, I would take occasion to ask (as an agriculturist) whether with so many and such extensive prisons, for such we are informed they were in Achradina, excavated under enormous rocks with so much labour and art, it affords consoling arguments of that public happiness, which Sicily is supposed to have enjoyed in those which they consider its most fortunate epochs?

"The Theatre.—Is in Neapolis; and of it there remains only an outline of the form and the seats shaped out of the living rock; which, however, do not partake of the grand. I requested Signor Landolina to tell me if possible how many persons it was calculated for in an assem-

blage of the people at a theatrical representation, and what it was capable of holding? and he told me, that according to the most patient calculations of an intelligent English traveller, it was found that it might have contained forty thousand people: to which I answered, 'That considering all the circumstances of the Greek Sicilian republics, such a capability in the theatre was a proof of a very large population; but not the enormous and inconceivable number of millions, as some learned men, too much inclined to the marvellous, have attributed to the ancient Syracuse.'

"The Amphitheatre.—Has been lately discovered, tolerably spared by the destructive hand of time, so that the seats may be distinctly observed, and they resemble those of the theatre.

"The Vomitories, the doors and entire portico, with the façade yet remain, &c.—We contemplated it with great attention and interest, but without pleasure; for our imaginations pourtrayed to us the painful scenes that were here exhibited from the horrid ferocity of the Romans, in the less happy times of this republic.

"Catacombs.—These dark and frightful caverns intended for the sepulture of dead bodies, so extend themselves, and are so deep in the bowels of the earth, that it is difficult, without considerable practice, to find the way out.

"The hermit established there and others assured us that they are cool in the summer, and always warm in winter; which may be explained by saying, that the air there communicating little or at all with the external air, preserves nearly the same temperature all the year round as is observed in the celebrated caves at Paris.

The Niches—Are very numerous, all cut in the rock, of various depth and size, according to the age, and it should seem the rank and circumstances of the person whose body they were intended to preserve.

"Baths and other Curiosities.—A House Bath, lately discovered, elegant and entire in all its parts, pleased us extremely, and led us to remark, that if cleanliness is so necessary every where, it must be more so at Syracuse, where the heat is excessive. Indeed, it is to be hoped that cleanliness begins to prevail more here, at Augusta and Catania than formerly; and if this most laudable custom gains ground, it will in time get the better of a very disgusting malady (the itch) complained of in these parts.

"The Venus,—Lately found in the midst of certain ancient columns, is a most exquisite specimen of the art of sculpture, and although it is without a head, that serves, instead of lessening its value, to raise it in the estimation of the passionate admirers of reverend antiquity.

The Arethusa,—Of which the poets have fabled so much, is a spring of little importance, that flows within the town near the sea; its waters are not drinkable, except in cases of great necessity.

"We paid a visit to it in company with many other gentlemen; and meeting upon our return with one of the Naiads I have already described, a hale looking damsel, a youth of our party, by his smiles, as he pointed to her, gave us to understand how much reality is to be

preferred to fiction and the shadows of poetry and painting.

Prices of certain Articles and Labour.

Wine. . ounces	3	6	the salm.
Hemp.....	7	0	the quintal.
Beef with the bone..	2	0	} the re- told of 20 et.
Fresh cheese	3	0	
Coarse ditto.....	2	0	

The day labourer,
with three pints
of wine and
breakfast..... } 3 0

Day labour of a
peasant to dig
in the vineyard,
soup and three
pints of wine. . } 3 10

Day work of other
country labour-
ers, with one
quartuccio of
wine..... } 1 10

"The Syracusans of condition, and who have received a good education, have the credit of being clever, ingenious, cheerful, and courteous; but the people at large are thought, I know not for what reason, to be of a moody, capricious temperament, and much disposed to idleness.

"On the fifth we directed our steps towards Catania by the sea-side, bidding adieu to Syracuse, with an earnest wish for an opportunity of contemplating more at leisure its former pretensions to power and magnificence, and most grateful for the attentions of our friends and acquaintance, more particularly the Marquis Castellentini and the canon Scrofano.

SICILIAN PEASANTRY.

[From the same.]

"Caltagirone, Sep. 10, 1810.
AT two o'clock I arrived at Caltagirone, which is a large and fine town, of 20,000 inhabitants; but as it has been described by other travellers, and I know you are better pleased to hear of people than things, I will tell you, that upon my arrival in the market place, I was surrounded by a crowd, with cries of—'Viva l'Inglese,'—all anxious to hear the news from the coast, at this interesting period—for it is inconceivable how little intercourse of information there is to the inland towns of Sicily, that are not immediately in the high road from the capital to Messina, &c. I conceive there is the same sort of information of what is doing at Petersburg, in the deserts of Siberia—that is to say, by the arrival of a traveller, who says what he pleases. They absolutely know nothing—there are no newspapers published in Sicily, where the press is severely restricted, except the 'Gazetta' of Palermo, which has only a few extracts from foreign papers, and no domestic news whatever, except the arrival and departure of the royal family; and the 'Gazette Britannica,' established lately at Messina, since the English have been there, which of course only gives military and circumscribed details, modelled by the hopes and wishes of the writer, which are truly patriotic. At length a spokesman advanced, to beg my Eccellenza (for we are all Eccellenzas), to tell them whether it was true that 10,000 French

had lately landed, 5,000 of whom were taken prisoners, and the rest cut to pieces by the English and peasants? As soon as I had qualified this news so as to leave them in perfect good humour, and particularly with the efforts of their countrymen, the peasants, I hastened to my locanda, which is even here bad, and dirty, and was ushered into a room by a robustious periwig-pated landlady, a woman of forty, dressed to the life, with the voice of a Stentor, who, if she was not perfectly qualified for a queen of the Amazons, could exhibit most formidable and prominent pretensions as Chief of the Staff—and while my baggage was bringing in, she ran through her history with surprising volubility; 'that she was overjoyed to see me, and delighted in the English; that she was an unfortunate woman, from having married a dolt, and a native of one of the provinces, by which she was condemned, though a native of Palermo, to pass the flower of her days in a wretched country town; but she was not without her hopes of getting there in the winter!' 'And where is your husband, *Donna amabile*?' said I—'Behold him!' said she—'Come forward, Don Pietro;' and at the door I beheld a miserable looking creature,

"So pale, so woe-begone,"
 "Drew Priam's curtains in the dead of night;"

who, making a low bow, said, 'he was entirely at my service.' Then make

make yourself useful,' said his amiable help-mate.

"When I sat down to my chicken, this interesting creature very coolly took a chair within a yard of the table, and on the opposite side sat a sleek-looking priest, such as you see familiar in every house throughout the country; who had taken up that position, by way of asking a few questions of the 'Cavaliere Inglese'—and after many apologies for the liberty he was taking, he begged to converse with me upon the subject of England, which the people of these parts were very anxious to hear about; and the opportunity of inquiring so seldom occurred; and by the time I had dined I observed half a dozen people collected round the door, with their eyes and mouths open, to hear the examination.—'And pray, signor! is it true what we are told, that you have no olives in England?'—'Yes, perfectly true.'—'Cospetto! how so?'—'Cospettone!' said the landlady.—'Our climate is not propitious to the growth of the olive.—'But then, signor, for oranges?'—'We have no oranges neither.'—'Poveretto!' said the landlady, with a tone of compunction, which is a sort of fondling diminutive of 'Povero,' 'Poor creature;' as you would say to your child, 'Poor little mannikin!'—'But how is that possible, signor?' said the priest; 'have you no fruit in your country?'—'We have very fine fruit; but our winters are severe, and not genial enough for the orange tree.'—'That is just what they told me,' said the lady, 'at Palermo; that England is all snow, and a great many stones.'—'But then, signor! we

have heard what we can scarcely believe, that you have not any wine?'—'It is perfectly true—we have vines that bear fruit; but the sun in our climate is not sufficiently strong, which must be broiling, as it is here, to produce any wine.'—'Then, Jesu Maria! how the deuce do you do?' I told them, that, notwithstanding, we got on pretty well—that we had some decent sort of mutton, and very tolerable looking beef—that our poultry was thought eatable, and our bread pretty good—that instead of the wine, we had a thing they call ale, which our people, here and there, seemed to relish exceedingly—and that by the help of these articles, a good constitution, and the blessing of God, our men were as hardy and as loyal and brave, and our women as accomplished and virtuous and handsome, as any other people, I believed, under heaven.—Besides, Mr. Abbate, I beg leave to ask you, what cloth is your coat of?'—'Cospetto! it is English,' (with an air of importance.—'And your hat?'—'Why that's English.'—'And this lady's gown, and her bonnet and ribbons?'—'Why they are English!'—'All English—Then you see how it is; we send you, in exchange for what we don't grow, half the comforts and conveniencies you enjoy in your island.—Besides, Padrona mia gentile! (my agreeable landlady), we can never regret that we don't grow these articles, since it insures us an intercourse with a nation we esteem!'—'Viya!' said the landlady, and 'Bravo!' said the priest; and between Bravo and Viva, the best friends in the world, I escaped to my lettiga!

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF MALTA.

[FROM MR. GALT'S VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.]

“THE entrance to the harbour of Valetta is truly grand. On each side, and in front, the fortifications rise in stupendous masses, with a watch-tower perched here and there on the corners. The buildings and domes above them have also a very noble appearance. Not a particle of smoke sullies the atmosphere; and every edifice looks as if it were only just finished. The internal appearance of the city corresponds to the magnificence of its exterior. The landing-place is an extensive crescent; from which a gentle ascent, partly excavated in the rock, leads towards a gate. The one side of this way is occupied with the stalls of dealers in fish, fruits, and other necessaries. Immediately in front of the draw-bridge is a handsome fountain, ornamented with a bronze statue of Neptune; and, on entering the gateway, the stairs, which conduct to the upper part of the town, immediately commence, making the entrance, in some respects, more like the vestibule of a great mansion, than the portal of a city. Nothing can be more striking than the streets which are first ascended after passing this gateway. They are, in fact, so many vast staircases; and the buildings that rise prospectively in the ascent, are ornamented with cornices and projections, so huge, that the architecture seems to have been designed to correspond in strength and durability with the fortifications.

“The domestic architecture of the Maltese cannot be considered

as regulated by the established rules of good taste; nevertheless, the picturesque effect is grand; and one meets, occasionally, with vistas that seem more like the conceptions of a painter than the limited realities of an inhabited town.

“*Inn.*—There was no tolerable hotel in Malta while I happened to be there; but one, sufficiently spacious, was preparing, and has since, I understand, been opened. The house, in which I obtained lodgings, had formerly been a tavern; but the owner was induced to give it up for a singular reason. ‘When it was an inn,’ said the waiter, a Sicilian, who spoke English, ‘it was so full of noises, that there was no living in it. The officers of the men of war came making noises. They went to the play, and came back making noises. Then there were the stranger gentlemen, all English, making noises—sitting up in the night, singing, roaring, jumping on the tables, breaking glasses. O, my God! what terrible noises! So we put down the sign from the wall; and, if there be less money now, we have no noises.’

“*Monopoly of Grain.*—The bread in Malta is the worst I ever tasted; and I was not a little surprised, when I learnt the reason. The government, as in the time of the knights, still monopolizes the sale of corn; and the profit derived from the trade is one of the principal sources of the revenue appropriated to defray the expense of the civil establishment. The simple statement of this fact, is, certainly, not calculated to convey a very favourable

favourable impression of the wisdom of the government. But there are peculiarities in the condition of Malta, which, perhaps, justify the monopoly, and render it necessary that the public sustenance should not, as in other countries, depend on the ordinary motives of private interest. In an island, the produce of which is inadequate to support its population above a few months, though the land is cultivated to the utmost, and where the foreign supplies are liable to be intercepted, it might be hazardous to trust a mercantile speculation only. The government, therefore, considers it prudent to have always a large quantity of wheat in store, and the oldest is regularly the first sold to the bakers. The granaries are not the least curiosities of the island. They are excavations in the rock, and are formed along the ramparts, and, in some places under the streets. At the mouth, they are not more than three or four feet in diameter, widening, however, to the extent of twenty and upwards, at the bottom, each capable of containing four hundred to above a thousand quarters.

Characteristics.—The Maltese, in their figure, are rather sinewy than muscular. They are, uniformly, more slenderly made than the English, and have a certain columnar appearance in the body, which I have never observed in any other people. Their national features are rather regular than pleasant, and their complexion is much darker than that of the Sicilians. In their habits, they are singularly frugal: a little garlick, or fruit, with a small piece of bread, is their common repast. Butcher-meat is a luxury of which they seldom partake. Their language is a dialect of the Arabic; but many speak

Italian and French. In Valetta, the young men, generally, understand English, of which the sounds accord, in some degree, with those of their native language.

"The great amusement of the Maltese is the enjoyment of conversation, sitting, in family parties, at their doors, after sunset. In speaking of national peculiarities, my observations chiefly refer to the practices and customs of the common people. There is but little difference between the genteel manners of one christian nation and those of another; all well-educated Europeans having now a great similarity in their domestic habits.

"When the magnitude of the Maltese public works, and the general character of the people, are considered, it is impossible not to draw a conclusion favourable to the government of the knights; who, whatever may have been the extent of their alleged licentiousness as individuals, must have ruled with wisdom, to form a people so comfortable and orderly, and, with their comparatively limited means, to construct works which rival the greatest monuments of the Roman empire. The population of the island, when the knights arrived, was reckoned only at twelve thousand; when it fell into the hands of the French, it exceeded a hundred thousand. I have been told, that the Maltese speak with regret of the reign of the knights, or, as they call it, of the time of the religion. This I was sorry to hear. The British have much difficulty in familiarizing themselves to foreigners. The contempt with which we are accustomed to regard every other nation, enables the French, by the practice of their habitual politeness, often to acquire a superior influence, even in those countries

countries which are the pensioners of Great Britain. There is no doubt that the French are, individually, a more accommodating and agreeable people than the British, who, instead of condescending to imitate their rivals in those little arts of address that win the affections, only the more vehemently despise such arts, for the sake of those by whom they are practised. The common consent with which the British undervalue the character and institutions of other nations, is strikingly exemplified in their mode of speaking of the Maltese; and a considerable degree of jealousy seems to be entertained, because the government endeavours to conciliate the native inhabitants. Men who spend much of their life abroad, especially such as are naturally of reserved dispositions, like the generality of our countrymen, acquire somewhat the character of recluse students. They attain a more comprehensive way of thinking, than those who take a part in the warfare of opinions; but they are apt to mistake logic for reason, leaving out, in their syllogisms, the most important of all considerations—peculiarities of habit and of feeling. Prejudices are the inductions of the heart; and the head is seldom able to form its estimates without being influenced by them. Whatever may be the prejudices of the Maltese, we can have no right to bend them in conformity to ours. We may endeavour, by the fairness, justice, and temperance of our conduct, to awaken their respect, and to excite them to imitation; but I know not what tyranny can be, if it do not consist in compelling men to act against the convictions of their understanding.

Publications.—In the year 1809,

I met with a singular literary curiosity in Malta. It was a narrative of the exploits of the Emperor Napoleon, printed at Paris, in Arabic characters, for the purpose of shewing, that he is a man sent by heaven to alter the condition of the world. It was ordered, by the French government, to be distributed wherever the language in which it is written is supposed to be understood. If any proof were wanting, to shew how thoroughly and entirely the ruler of France understands all the various means of accomplishing his ends, this might be adduced as one. It is impossible not to regret the supine indifference with which our government affects to condemn such artifices. In Malta, where thousands of Greeks and Turks are in the practice of constantly trading, we may be said to possess a fulcrum, on which we might construct engines sufficient to move the whole Mahomedan world; yet, so regardless are we of this advantage, that the press of Malta is of no public utility. The French publish a Greek and Italian newspaper at Corfu; but neither in Zante nor in Malta, is there a periodical publication of any description whatever.

Aspect of the Country.—The aspect of the country of Malta is, perhaps, more wonderful to a stranger, particularly to one who has come from a land of verdant fields, groves, and hedge-rows, than the fortifications of Valetta, amazing as these are. The whole island appears to be subdivided, by walls, into innumerable little properties, of not more than an acre or two in extent. Nothing that approximates to the definition of a tree is to be descried within the whole range of view, from the highest watch-tower on the battlements of the city. The appearance of the landscape, so destitute

titute of refreshing green, so intersected with stone walls, every where studded with churches crowned with domes, and, with the flat-roofed and windowless cottages of the peasants, is not to be previously conceived. To me, it constantly suggested the idea of a great cemetery, subdivided into family portions, and crowded with tombs and mausoleums. Malta has, in fact, reached that point of cultivation and population, which a wrong-headed disciple of Malthus would be apt to consider as affording the most melancholy subject of reflection. Every inch is tilled, and yet the produce has long been inadequate to the maintenance of the inhabitants; notwithstanding which, the very labouring class of the people are still so inconsiderate as to marry and beget children, as merrily as if they had all sinecures. Cows were long ago expelled; and the frugal-feeding goat supplied a competency of milk till the English came; but these epicures had again recalled those huge vegetable-devouring creatures; and, in the year 1809, I was told, that there were no fewer than three milch cows in the island of Malta! As a compensation, however, for the provender of the cows, our countrymen have introduced the cultivation of potatoes.

Mode of Travelling.—The common mode of travelling in Malta, is in single-horse close carriages, which hold two persons. They are called calishes, and are a very tolerable sort of vehicles. The driver never rides, but runs, all day, by the side of the horse or mule; and the fatigue which he will sustain, even under the influence of the scirocco, is almost incredible. Nor is he extravagant in his charges: for a dollar, a calish may be hired all the afternoon and evening. This

carriage is the only thing in the shape of a machine, that has struck me as peculiar to the Maltese. They are not, I suspect, a people remarkable for inventions; on the contrary, they seem to have reached a Chinese state of self-sufficient perfection, and are satisfied with their attainments. They have the most beautiful breed of asses in the world, and they keep them in a handsome sleeked condition.

Kitchens.—For some time after my arrival, I was a good deal at a loss to account for the manner in which dinners were prepared, and kept hot for large parties. I saw no smoke from the chimnies, no fires; nor fuel, in any place, sufficient for the supply even of a very frugal kitchen. Reflecting, also, on the excessive heat of the climate, I thought it impossible for the salamandrian constitution of the most veteran cook, to endure the additional fury of large kitchen fires, after our wasteful manner. I was informed, however, that the cooks made no complaints; and that the stoves were so arranged, as to occasion no inconvenient heat, and to require very little fuel. I was, in consequence, induced to examine a kitchen, which I found constructed according to what are called the Rumford principles; and I was told, that all the kitchens in the city were similar. The cooking apparatus of the Sicilians and Italians, is, I understand, much like that of the Maltese.

Water.—Although the island is but one great rock, thinly covered with soil, the inhabitants are well supplied with water. A small stream, which rises in the interior, is brought to Valetta, by an aqueduct, and distributed by public fountains. Every house in the city, as well as in the country, has also a cistern,

cistern, capable of containing a quantity of water sufficient to serve the family six months. These cisterns are filled by the rain from the roofs of the houses.

“Entertainments.”—Of the diversions of the Maltese, I observed none that I thought could be considered as national, except a simple game, which differs very little, in principle, from quoits. The players are each provided with a stone, of the size and shape of a four-pound cannon ball, which they throw towards a mark. The theatre is very neat. Like almost every other thing in the country, that is not actually alive, it is entirely composed of stone; even the partitions of the boxes are of that material. I was first made sensible, in this house, that the Italian comic opera is not an absurdity.

“Public Buildings and Institutions.”—The cathedral of St. John is celebrated for the beauty of its pavement, which consists of the monuments of the knights, executed in mosaic, each of which appears like one large plate of enamel painting. Several of the altar-pieces are valuable; but the riches of this church were sadly reduced by the French. When Buonaparte came to inspect it, for the pious purpose of reforming the luxuries of its service, it was observed, that he kept his hat on, to the great scandal of the priests. The portrait of the grand master, Pinto, in mosaic, is a great curiosity. It is not, at first sight, distinguishable from painting. The menial who attended me through the cathedral, pointed out, on one of the altars, a picture of the Virgin, whom he immediately seemed to address with many interjections of devout admiration; but, observing on her cheek the residue of the dinner of a sacrilegious fly, he sud-

denly expectorated in her face, in order to rub it the more easily clean.

“The palace of the grand master, in which the governor now resides, is a large plain building, equal to any of the royal monasteries of England. The corridors and state apartments, are superior to those of St. James’s, which, among other foolish flatteries, we are often told, at home, are equal to any in Europe. Contiguous to the palace, is the public library, the finest piece of architecture in the town. It was undergoing some repairs, preparatory to receiving the books of the Maltese library; a collection of nearly thirty thousand volumes, consisting of books which the members of the order had from time to time bequeathed. This institution had, formerly, a right to a copy of every book printed at the royal stampery of Paris, and possesses, in consequence, the best specimens of French typography and literature.

“The governor has a country-house near the village of St. Antonio. Like the palace, it contains a number of portraits, and a few respectable pictures; but it is celebrated chiefly for the gardens, which are laid out in the Italian style. They are of no great extent; yet, with all due deference to the manes of Kent and Brown, I find myself, in honesty, compelled to say, that, notwithstanding their trimness, fountains, and colonnades, I thought them both beautiful and appropriate. Where an extensive domain will admit, the imitation of rocks, woods, and lakes, may be introduced with propriety; but, in so small a spot as the gardens of Sr. Antonio, it would only be ridiculous. Besides, a flower-garden is a place dedicated to festivity; and the mind is insensibly disposed to gaiety, by the

the sight of objects, evidently formed only for ornament. During the time of Sir Alexander Ball, his lady held, weekly, a very stately and ceremonious public tea-drinking in these gardens.

"Sir Alexander Ball assigned to the merchants, the quadrangle of the building which was, formerly, the college of the jesuits; and it has been fitted up as an exchange. It also contains apartments for a bank, and an insurance company, which were established by subscription in 1809. There is a great disposition, in Malta, to imitate the commercial institutions of London, and to place business on as regular a footing, as the difference of circumstances will admit; but the want of a legislature is a great drawback on this laudable public spirit. The tribunals of the country may, in courtesy, recognize the institutions of the merchants; but the want of legality, cannot but greatly operate to their disadvantage. The claims of the bank, as a company, may be resisted in the courts of the united kingdom, where, also, the subscribers may be, individually, prosecuted for the debts of the company.

"*Farming.*—In this island, the farmer begins to turn up the soil in September, and continues his labour for the different crops that he intends to raise, till the end of April; at which time, all the seeds are in the ground. He is obliged to chip the rock under the soil every six or seven years, in order to recruit the fertility of the earth. The vegetables of Malta are excellent. The cotton, however, is inferior, and only fit for making sail-cloth and coarse checks, into which it is manufactured in the island. Were the absurd restrictions on the trade between this central station, for

selling colonial produce, and the West Indies, removed, the Maltese cotton sail-cloth might become an article of return to the latter. All the small vessels in the Mediterranean make use of cotton sail-cloth.

"*The privilege of Sanctuary.*—We have had possession of Malta upwards of ten years; and yet the public do not know whether it is to remain permanently ours, or to be resigned again, nominally to the knights, but virtually to the French. This uncertainty, and that defect of our foreign policy, in not having any definite plan for embracing into our empire such acquisitions as the events of war enable us to make, operate greatly to the disadvantage of this invaluable possession. An apprehension is felt, both by the natives and the British, that our statesmen will surrender Malta—one of the most important commercial and military stations that we ever obtained. The administration of justice is affected by this uncertainty and apprehension; and the greatest abuses are tolerated, merely because the existing government is only regarded as provisional during the war. It is still doubtful whether a British subject, in this part of the British dominions, may claim his birth-right—a trial by jury. It is indisputable, as far as precedent goes, that neither his person, nor his property, enjoy here that natural protection which it is the duty of all governments to afford, and which, elsewhere, the British subject has a right to demand; and, if refused, may prosecute the magistrate for the consequences of the refusal.

"Some time before my arrival at Malta, in 1809, as an English soldier happened to be walking along the street, a pig, belonging to a
Maltese

Maltese butcher, ran against him. The lad, irritated by having his uniform soiled, gave the animal a kick. Almost instantly the owner mortally stabbed him with a knife, and fled to the cathedral. Owing to some diffidence in the governor, out of respect to the popular prejudices, if such gentle terms can be applied to the transaction, the murderer was allowed to remain in the sanctuary; and the bishop was only solicited to deliver him up to justice. This injudicious mildness was equivocally answered. The governor grew more firm, and demanded the culprit. The clergy perceived that the sanctuary might, in the end, be forced; and they facilitated the escape of the murderer.

"It will not be surprising, if, out of this felonious affair, circumstances arise to exalt the horns of the priesthood. Inferior delinquents may take sanctuary with impunity; and, should it become necessary to violate the privilege of sanctuary, the disregard of ancient law and precedent may be plausibly complained of. In a case of such atrocious murder, as that which I have related, the governor would have been supported by the sympathy of the people; and, before the priests could have been able to poison their feelings, he might have dragged the butcher even from the very arms of the bishop. One act of well-timed decision is worth a million of expedients. Such procedure, as the governor ought to have adopted, would have abrogated in Malta the ecclesiastical power of harbouring criminals.

"It has been urged, in excuse for the indecision of the general, that the privilege of sanctuary formed a part of those ancient legal customs which we had engaged to respect. But an engagement to

connive at the protection and escape of delinquents could never be obligatory, because it is contrary to the law of nature and nations. The man who subscribes to such a principle, becomes himself a criminal. There is, however, a better reason for the abolition of sanctuary in Malta than reason itself. I mean to the priests. Henry VII. of England procured a bull from Rome to put an end to it in his dominions. Although his successors have renounced the supremacy of the pope, the papists must admit that the kings of England have inherited all the uncanceled privileges enjoyed by their ancestors; and therefore, as the successors of Henry, they have a regular ecclesiastical right to abolish the privilege of sanctuary, wherever their jurisdiction extends. From the moment that the island fell under the English crown, the priestly privilege of defrauding justice legally ceased to exist.

"*History.*—Malta was first known to have been ruled by an African of the name of Battus, who was an enemy of queen Dido, and subdued by the Carthaginians. From them it fell into the hands of the Romans; and the Saracens severed it from their empire. Roger the Norman, king of Sicily, having, in his turn, expelled them, it remained attached to the Sicilian monarchy till the emperor Charles V. gave it to the knights of St. John, after their expulsion from Rhodes. The French, under Buonaparte, surreptitiously obtained the possession, during the last war, but were, soon after, compelled to surrender it to the British.

"*Trade.*—The effects also of that ruinous infirmity in our foreign policy, which has, hitherto, led us to make conquests in war, for the express purpose of afterwards resigning

signing them, is very visible in the state of the trade of this island. In the course of my voyages and travels, I found that all the countries to which the British have still access, were supplied with colonial produce by the Americans. With Sicily and Turkey the Americans were in the practice of holding direct intercourse, although neither the Sicilian nor Ottoman governments are on any terms of correspondence with that of the United States. I found, also, that the coffee and sugar, in the market of Malta, was brought there by Americans, direct from Cuba and St. Domingo. It seemed, that, without any diplomatic address, exerted in these parts, the citizens of the United States enjoyed, within the Mediterranean, as great privileges, and as ample protection, as the British, with all their fleets, armies, and plenipotentiaries.

"In Sicily, notwithstanding the state of relation in which we stand with that kingdom, the Americans were just as much respected as we were. In Turkey they participated in all the privileges to which we could lay any claim; and, in Malta, our own island, they shared, to the utmost, every immunity which the British possessed. It will be difficult to discover, either in the conduct of the United States towards us, or in that regard which we owe to our own interests, a satisfactory reason for permitting them to enjoy such advantages—advantages enjoyed at the expense of our West Indian planters and merchants.

"Whenever the traders of any nation attain pre-eminency in a foreign market, it is either owing to some superiority of quality in their articles, or to a superiority of privilege, or to their ability in supplying the same kind of articles, at

a cheaper rate than other merchants. It is to the latter of these causes, that the exclusive pre-eminence, which the Americans have attained in the Mediterranean, must be ascribed. They load sugars and coffee in Cuba and St. Domingo, and come directly into this sea. The expenses of the voyage are not greater than those on a voyage from the West Indies to the united kingdom. If the invoice price of their cargoes be the same as the shipping value of our West Indian produce, they can afford to sell, in Malta, for example, at the same price that our planters can afford to sell in England. By our colonial system, we cannot carry colonial produce direct to Malta. It must be first brought to the united kingdom, there landed, there warehoused, and there shipped again, for Malta; and the expense of the voyage from England to that island, independent of the landing, warehousing, and shipping charges, is as great as that of a voyage from Cuba, or St. Domingo, to Malta; namely, the ordinary voyage of the Americans with colonial produce. If this expense be twenty-five per cent. it is, therefore, clear, that our colonial system has the effect of giving twenty-five per cent. of advantage to the Americans over our merchants, on all colonial produce that is sold in Malta. For the Americans, to reach the same destination, perform only one voyage, while we are, by law, obliged to perform two.

"If it be convenient to the great political concerns of the empire, that the colonies of the enemy should be conquered; as our original plantations must suffer by the effects of this policy, it is but just that we should endeavour to lessen their sufferings. It may be expedient to reduce

reduce the foreign possessions of the enemy, in order to procure certain equivalents when we shall come to negotiate for peace; but it is not judicious that we should entail, upon those possessions, which we do not mean to surrender, hardships that will, in the end, affect our own vital interests, more than the temporary injury which we inflict on the enemy. If it be intended to retain the new acquisitions to the utmost, and to regard them as integral parts of the empire, then the obligation of considering the state of the consumption of colonial produce; within the Mediterranean, in addition to the different other plans proposed for the relief of the planters, is indispensable. The enemy, aware of our belligerent colonial system, has, by most unprecedented regulations, which have proved lamentably successful, endeavoured to lessen the consumption of colonial produce on the continent. This has diminished the loss to him of the colonies which we have taken, and reduced the value of property to us, in those which we previously possessed. Were the actual condition of the colonies, collectively, the same as at the commencement of the war, such has been the diminution in the consumption of colonial produce on the continent, that the general value of plantation property is now materially impaired.

“The population of Sicily is commonly reckoned at a million and a half. The quantity of sugar used in that island is, perhaps, equal to the whole consumption of Scotland; and the quantity of coffee is, undoubtedly, much greater. Would not the exclusive privilege of supplying the Sicilians with colonial produce be regarded as a boon by our planters? Might not

this privilege be obtained, under the present circumstances of our connection with Sicily? If we garrison the fortresses, and continue the subsidy to the court, by which the people are exempted from a large portion of the expenses of the war, surely we could and ought to stipulate for some favour in return; and the privilege of selling colonial produce to the Sicilians might be a part of that favour. But, in the existing state of our colonial system, the court of Palermo might object to concede this privilege, because it would, in fact, be obliging its subjects to pay twenty-five per cent. more to the British, for the same kind of goods, which they obtain, at present, from the Americans. Were we to obtain, from the king of Sicily, the exclusive privilege of bringing colonial produce to his ports, and yet continue those existing restrictions, which oblige the planters to send their articles first to the united kingdom, we should, in fact, levy a tax of twenty-five per cent. on the sugar and coffee consumed by the Sicilians. I do not say that we ought not to do this; but, were the point agitated in negotiation, the king of Sicily has certainly a very solid ground of objection. Were we to grant our planters the freedom of direct intercourse with Malta, our own territory, and, it is to be hoped, an adopted and unalienable integral part of our empire, the objection of the Sicilian government would be obviated; because, by the vicinity of that island to Sicily, we could then afford to furnish the Sicilians with colonial produce, on terms, at least equal to those of the Americans, even if we did not take any steps to exclude the Americans from the Mediterranean.

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"By extending to the colonies the right of direct intercourse with Malta, we should secure a monopoly of the supply of Turkey with coffee and sugar: of the former, the Turks, in proportion to their number, consume more than any other people, and are daily becoming greater consumers of the latter. In the course of my travels in Turkey, I found, every where, that the coffee with which I was served, had either been brought from Malta or Smyrna. The colonial produce sold at Smyrna, had either come from Malta, to which it had been brought by Americans, or been imported by the Americans themselves. It is only in the houses of the great, that the Mocha coffee is to be met with; and, at present, not often there, owing to the Wechabi, the reformers of the Mahomedan faith, having interrupted the regular supplies.

"An important proportion of the produce of the colonies which we have taken from the enemy, is coffee; and the cultivation of that article, in our old plantations, is yearly increasing. To aspire to the monopoly of supplying Turkey with coffee, is impressed upon us by the state both of our old and new colonies. For excluding the Americans from Malta, even entirely, there can be no political complaint; far less for denying to them, in future, the privilege of carrying colonial produce there. They are not permitted to bring it into the ports of the United Kingdom; and, all circumstances considered, it is, certainly, very like negligence, if it be policy, to permit them to have, in a very great degree, a monopoly of the sugar and coffee trade, with the countries round the Mediterranean; particularly to allow

them to enter Malta on as free a footing as ourselves, and with those articles too, of which their sales operate to the detriment and loss of a numerous class of our own subjects. I do not know, whether our situation with the Porte is such, that we might attempt to procure a monopoly of the coffee trade to Turkey, by any public treaty. The Turks, individually, esteem us more than they do any other people; but our national influence is not, I am well convinced, by facts within my own knowledge, so great with the divan as that of the French. Were we to attempt to obtain, by treaty, any particular commercial privilege in Turkey, the French would immediately oppose us, and, I have no doubt, successfully. But, were we to relax our colonial system, and grant to our planters the right of direct intercourse with Malta, we should not require the dubious utility of diplomatic endeavours. The enterprise of our merchants would enable them to discover ways and means abundantly sufficient for securing the superiority and advantage which we ought to possess in the sale of colonial produce.

"We ought, also, as the masters of Malta, to consider, prospectively, the state of our relations with Turkey. It is scarcely to be doubted, that, sooner or later, France one way or other, will contrive to expel, from the Ottoman dominions, the few inconsiderable remnants that still exist, of our Levant factories. We should, therefore, take some decisive way of fixing insular establishments in the Archipelago; establishments, which our navy enables us, effectually, to protect, and which, even in the event of another war with Turkey, might be rendered perfectly secure, if judiciously

diciously selected. It is only by extending the ramifications of our insular policy from Malta, that we shall be able to maintain our superiority in the Mediterranean.

"In proposing to grant the freedom of direct intercourse between the colonies and our Mediterranean possessions, an objection might be made by those mercantile houses at home, who hold mortgages on West Indian property: but this objection could only be of weight, against an argument for extending the freedom of intercourse to countries independent of our own. Nor can it be urged by those merchants, that any mortgages are held by them, on property in the newly-acquired plantations: and, therefore, if for no other reason than for the interests of the planters in them, some alteration in our colonial regulations should be made. If there are objections of any validity, on the part of the mortgagees, against allowing a free intercourse between the old colonies and our Mediterranean possessions, there can be none why that intercourse should not be granted to the new. Here we have a clear view of the absurdity of adhering, under the altered circumstances of the world, to those

colonial regulations which were calculated for other times.

"Another objection, apparently of more importance, presents itself. By bringing the produce of the colonies to the mother country, and there re-shipping it for its ultimate destination, it may be said, that a greater quantity of tonnage and number of seamen are employed, than would be were the produce at once sent from the colonies to the ultimate destination; but, it must be remembered, that, at present, only a small part, or, rather, none of our colonial produce is consumed in the Mediterranean; so that the shipping and sailors that are supposed to be employed in this trade, have, in fact, no existence.

"It is chiefly with respect to the colonial interests, that the trade of Malta requires the early consideration of government. The obstructions, which it, at present, suffers, may be obviated, by an act of the legislature, in the course of a few days, and without any investigation of the circumstances of the island. But those things which regard the law and administration of justice, should be examined with care, and proceeded in with caution.

MODERN AND ANCIENT ATHENS:

[From the same.]

"I CANNOT describe the modern city of Athens in fewer words, than by saying that it looks as if three or four villages had been rudely swept together, at the foot of the north side of the Acropolis, and enclosed within a garden wall, between three or four miles in cir-

cumference. The buildings occupy about four-fifths of this enclosure; the remainder consists of corn-fields and gardens.

"The common estimation of the population of Athens is ten thousand souls; and it appears not to be far from the truth: and yet the city

city contains no less than thirty-nine parochial churches, besides the metropolitan, and upwards of eighty chapels. The metropolitan is sometimes spoken of as a parish church, and it is usual to say, in consequence, that the town is divided into forty parishes.

"Athens is the seat of an archbishop, whose jurisdiction comprehends all on the east side of Salona, as far as Zeitun, and extends to Cape Colonna.

"The famous University of Athens has dwindled into two pitiful schools, where classic Greek is professedly taught. The students are few, and their proficiency is small. Degrees are not conferred, and no literary honours are now known in Athens. There are several private schools; and the Athenians can, generally, read and write. The friar, in the Roman propaganda convent, instructs the children of the Catholics in the Italian language. Few of the Greeks can afford to allow their children to advance beyond the mere rudiments of instruction; and books are not to be purchased here.

"In Athens, there are eleven places of Mahomedan worship. The Turks have also three public schools, where their youth receive a slender species of education.

"Adjoining to the parish churches are several small houses, which are granted, free, by the bishop, to helpless women. Infirm old men retire to the monasteries, of which there are a great many in the territory of Attica.

"When I went to see the Piræus, there happened to be only two vessels in it. One destined to receive part of the spoils of the Parthenon; the other was delivering a cargo of human beings from the coast of Africa. The only trade at the Piræus, besides the little done

in the human commodity, is the exportation of the productions of the Athenian territory; of which about thirty-five thousand barrels of oil are annually shipped by the French merchants settled here, and from forty to fifty tons of madder roots. The oil is good; but the madder is inferior to that of Smyrna. A small quantity of nitre is also prepared in Athens. Considering the improvement which has taken place in the neighbouring islands, and particularly in Egina, it is probable that the Piræus may again become a frequented port. There is a little cotton raised in Attica; but the ground is so carelessly tilled, that the grain harvest rarely affords much for exportation.

"The temple of Jupiter Olympus, which was the largest fabric in Athens, presents now only a few columns; but they are of such majestic proportions, that they form a very impressive spectacle. No just notion of the figure or extent of the building can be conceived from them; but this obscurity, especially as they are seen standing in an open field, unobstructed with rubbish, enhances the interest and the solemnity of the effect. The Turks, and the baser Greeks, are in the practice of breaking down and burning the marbles of the ancients, in order to make mortar. Owing to this, all the rest of the hundred and twenty pillars of which this gorgeous edifice consisted, have entirely vanished away.

"The temple of Minerva, with the other buildings in the Acropolis, are the most celebrated of all the Athenian edifices. In point of influence on the imagination, all the elaborate sculptures of the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Pandroseum, and the Propylia, fall infinitely short of the ivied cloisters of a monastery.

or the ruder masses of a feudal castle. Artists may here find models; but the cursory traveller, who expects to be awed by the venerable aspect of ruin, will wonder at the apathy of his own feelings. He must become a student, in order to appreciate the excellence of the Grecian sculpture.

"Minerva, among the ancient Athenians, possessed nearly the same kind of pre-eminence, which the modern allow to the Virgin Mary. The worship of the Parthenia and the Panagia, differ only in ritual. Minerva is considered, by the mythologists, as the personification of the divine wisdom; and the fable of her issuing perfect from the head of Jupiter, they say, is descriptive of this notion. I have somewhere read, that one of her statues or temples bore an inscription which implied this opinion. Her contest with Neptune, for the wardenship of the city, is a very pretty allegory. The rival deities referred their respective pretensions to the twelve great gods, who decided, that the wardenship should be given to the one that produced the most useful thing to the citizens. Neptune instantly created the horse; and Minerva raised the olive. By the horse, navigation is hieroglyphically represented; ships are, also, often figuratively described as horses. The olive, which furnishes at once the means of light, food, and cleanliness, was preferred. This fable is but an account of an ancient dispute among the inhabitants of the city of Cecrops, whether they ought to devote themselves to maritime affairs, or to the cultivation of the soil. The question being referred to the twelve judges of the Areopagus, they decided in favour of the latter. The people, in consequence, preferred Minerva to Neptune.

"The temple of Theseus is the next object of admiration. It is an elegant Doric oblong columnar building, with a pediment of six pillars at each end. It has suffered less from time, or antiquaries, more destructive than time, than any other edifice in Athens. From the ornaments, it appears to have been dedicated to Hercules as well as to Theseus. The workmanship and architecture afford a favourable specimen of the state of the arts in the time of Pericles, by whose orders, I believe, this temple was raised.

"The character of Pericles had more magnificence about it than that of almost any of the Athenians. He possessed a powerful and commanding eloquence, and there was a generous ambition in his projects and actions, that makes him stand, in our imagination, more like a Roman than a Greek. Plutarch ascribes to him an intention of connecting the states of Greece under one head, in order to form a representative republic, of which Athens should be the capital. His great rival was Cimon, who courted popularity, like a candidate for our parliament, canvassing before an election. He clothed and fed the poor, lent money to the needy gentry, laid out gardens for the gay, and built porticoes for the indolent. Pericles, on the contrary, endeavoured to adorn the state, and to ennoble the sentiments of his countrymen. The temporary selfish expedients of Cimon have perished; but the remains of the structures of Pericles attract travellers, from the remotest lands, to Athens, even at this day. Cimon is said to have been the first who planned conversational porticoes. On this account, his statue should be placed in tea-gardens and coffee-houses; for the gardens

gardens and porticos of the ancients were exactly places of that kind.

"Next in rank, perhaps superior in beauty, is the monument of Lysicrates, adjoining to the monastery in which we lodged. It is generally known by the ridiculous name of the Lantern of Demosthenes, given to it by some ignorant Greek Cicerone, who, probably, heard of Diogenes and his lantern, and confounded the orator with the cynic. Diogenes had, certainly, a very correct opinion of the Athenians, of whom it may be said, that, by their ostracism, they punished virtue as other nations do vice. The monument of Lysicrates is a circular building, of the Corinthian order; about six feet in diameter. The frieze is ornamented with bass reliefs, representing the story of Bacchus and the Tyrrhenian pirates. It was built about three hundred and thirty years before the Christian era, in order to commemorate a triumph which had been gained in the theatre by a chorus of boys. In that age, it was fashionable, among the opulent Athenians, at their own expense, to entertain the public with theatrical exhibitions, and prizes were adjudged to those who excelled. It is, therefore, probable, that Lysicrates had given an entertainment of this kind, and had obtained the prize by the singing-boys who appeared in the spectacle, which, from the decorations on the monument, doubtless referred to the achievements of Bacchus. Themistocles gave an entertainment of this kind; and the inscription he erected, to commemorate the applause which he had obtained, recorded, that the tragedy, represented at his expense, was composed by Phrynichus, and got up by Adimantus.

"Our ideas of the splendour of

the antient nations are, for the most part, exceedingly erroneous, chiefly owing, I conceive, to their being derived from descriptions of temples and palaces; words which, of themselves, always charm up a number of gorgeous and unreal fancies. A painter, in giving a view of any occurrence which took place in the streets of ancient Athens, would be regarded as a man of a niggardly imagination, if he attempted to delineate the appearance of the town with historical fidelity. De Pauw, in his philosophical researches, informs us, on the authority of Aristotle, that the streets were narrow, obstructed with stairs, and the air darkened and confined by overhanging balconies. The houses were constructed with timber; and, from the general poverty of the community, we have no reason to imagine that they exhibited any extraordinary elegance of interior arrangement. Were we to judge of the domestic mansions of the English by the cathedrals and the remains of Popish grandeur, we should conclude that the country has greatly declined in magnificence.

"The temple of the winds is still one of the principal curiosities which travellers visit; not, however, on account of its architectural beauty, for little of that can be seen, but as the mosch in which the dancing dervishes exhibit their penitentiary gesticulations. When we went to see this performance, we found preparations made for Lady Hester Stanhope, to be a spectator, as well as for the other British travellers; a circumstance which shews the relaxed temper of Mahomedan bigotry.

"The ceremony began by a number of young and old Turks seating themselves in a circle, the chief priest on the one side, and, opposite

site to him, on the other, three men, each with a small kettle-drum, which was beat with a short stick, as the worshippers bent and bowed backward and forward, repeating ejaculations. When this had continued about twenty minutes, they all rose, and, forming a ring, with their arms round each other's necks, slowly moved in a kind of hitching measure, the drums regulating their steps, and timing their exclamations. Their devotion growing more fervent, two sprung from the circle, and, entwining their arms together, began to whirl about with an increasing velocity, till they emulated the swiftness of the fly of a roasting-jack. Their rapidity inflamed the energy of the others, till the whole, pressing to the centre, formed a solid mass, heaving and sounding. The first and cooler parts of the ceremony were irresistibly laughable; and, notwithstanding our utmost efforts to the contrary, not one of the spectators could maintain their gravity: but, as the passion of the penitentials warmed, the ludicrous impressions abated, and once or twice my ear was struck with a few pathetic accents. I could not, however, but remark two performers, evidently mere actors. One of them was a fat fellow, who seemed to have cherished the growth of his hair, in order that when flying dishevelled as he whirled, it might make the finer shew. The other was a dainty looking body, who dandled himself so prettily in the dance, that it was as impossible to believe that he did not think of the figure he was making, as to look at him with a grave face. We remained about an hour in the Temple, and, when we left it, the dancers were not tired.

"Passing from the height on

which the court of the Areopagus was held, and of which the form of seats and steps, cut out of the solid rock, still remain, travellers, before ascending the Museum-hill, are conducted to see two small excavated chambers, said to have been the prison where Socrates was confined, and died. The death of this philosopher is justly held one of the greatest stains on the character of the ancient Athenians. But the sin is of daily occurrence. The opinions which Socrates inculcated were at variance with the existing institutions of the nation; and, to attack subversively what the laws hallow and support, whether good or bad, will ever be a political offence. Persecution is the natural re-action of reformation. Reformers should consider the martyrdom to which they expose themselves as part of the means by which the establishment of their doctrines is to be accomplished.

"Philosophers profess, in their very title, not only to tolerate the opinions of others, but to consider discussion as the right and privilege of man; and it is commonly thought, that only statesmen and ecclesiastics yield to the instigations of bigotry. The bringing of the Apostle Paul, however, before the tribunal that condemned Socrates, is a proof that there is something in the spirit of incorporation which destroys the very principle of philosophy. For Paul was not persecuted at Athens by the clergy, who had their emoluments and immunities put to hazard by the promulgation of his doctrines, nor by the magistrates, who were bound to protect the priesthood in their possessions and enjoyments, but by the Stoics and Epicureans, who called themselves lovers of truth. They accused him

as

as a setter forth of new opinions ; and, because they could not refute, they endeavoured to destroy.

“ But the philosophers themselves were, in the end, destined to suffer the retribution due to their intolerance. Athens, in the third century after the preaching of Paul, was sacked by the Goths ; and it was proposed to the general to burn the libraries. ‘ No,’ said he, ‘ let us spare the books ; for, as long as the Greeks are devoted to them, they will not trouble us as soldiers.’ The contemptuous liberality of the barbarian was followed, in the sixth century, by the suppression of the philosophical schools.

“ From that period a long oblivious blank of seven hundred unmarked and uninteresting years is found in the Athenian history.

“ After the taking of Constantinople, by the Marquis of Monserat, in the year 1201, the territory of Athens and Thebes, united, were erected into a dukedom, and given to Otho de la Roche, a nobleman of Burgundy, who had followed the standard of the marquis. It remained in his family during the life-time of his son, and two grandsons. After their death, the ducal sovereignty was transferred to the French family of Briennes, by the marriage of the heiress to the elder branch of that race.

“ Walter de Brienne, the son of this marriage, succeeded to the duchy of Athens, and reduced above thirty of the neighbouring petty lords to his vassalage. In his time the Catalans, who, under the name of the great company, had terrified the inhabitants of Constantinople, retiring from Thrace, passed through Macedonia into Thessaly. Walter de Brienne, alarmed by their approach, and the rumour of their
ions, prepared an army ; and

advanced against them to the banks of the Kephissus with seven hundred knights, six thousand four hundred cavalry, and eight thousand infantry ; a force equal in number to the greatest efforts of the Athenian republic in the best days of its glory. The Catalans amounted only to three thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry ; but, notwithstanding the inferiority of their number, they so surprized him by stratagems, and assaulted him with their weapons, that his army was completely routed, and himself slain. Then, taking the city, they expelled his family.

“ His son, the titular Duke of Athens, constable of France, fell, not long after, in the memorable battle of Poitiers. The Catalans married themselves to the wives and daughters of the slain ; and, for fourteen years, under their sway, Athens was once more the terror of all Greece. Falling into factious divisions, in order to allay the consequent turbulences, they were induced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the house of Arragon ; and, during the fourteenth century, Attica was a province of the kings of Sicily, by whom it was bestowed on the Acciaoli, a family of Florentine extraction.

“ By the Acciaoli, Athens regained a faint but ineffectual lustre. They embellished her with new edifices, and she became the capital of a state whose jurisdiction extended over Thebes, Argos, Corinth, Delphi, and a part of Thessaly. In 1456, this temporary glory and independence was destroyed by Mahomet the Second, who strangled the last of the dukes, and educated his children in the religion and discipline of the seraglio. About the middle of the last century, the Athenians obtained for their superior

rior the chief eunuch of Constantinople; and, since that time, it continues to be governed by a Turk, who farms the revenue from that officer, and by eight primates, distinguished for their empty pride and sinister principles. The remains

of its ancient splendour are still objects of admiration; and it will, probably, long be venerated as a sacred shrine, to which the votaries of science and knowledge make occasional pilgrimage.

CUSTOMS, MANNERS, AND PRESENT APPEARANCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

[From the same.]

THE extent and grandeur of this famous metropolis have been greatly exaggerated. Instead of being, according to some travellers, twenty English miles in circumference, I doubt if it be near twelve. Were the port, with the channel of the Bosphorus, reduced to the breadth of the Thames, perhaps, with all Galata, Pera, and Scutari, Constantinople would not be equal to two-thirds of London; and it is not, like London, surrounded with a radiance of villages.

"In order not to give way, without some countenance of fact, to an opinion so contrary to the received, I left my lodgings near the Austrian palace, walked to the artillery barracks opposite to the seraglio point, and embarked, for the purpose of making the circuit of the city. I was rowed down to the Sultan's shambles, below the Castle of the Seven Towers; landed there; and, walking leisurely, along the outside of the walls, to the harbour, I embarked a second time, and was again put ashore at the Arsenal, from which I walked home. Deducting stoppages, it appeared, that the circuit of Constantinople, the seraglio, and gardens, with all that part of the harbour which is occu-

pied by the trading-vessels, the town of Galata, and a considerable part of Pera, was made in little more than three hours and a half. The boats were not rowed with any remarkable speed; the wind was contrary, in going to the Seven Towers; and the badness of the road and pavements obliged me to walk very slowly.

Population.—The population of Constantinople has been as much over-rated as the dimensions. Those who visit only the bazars must fall into a great error; for the appearance in them fully answers the ideas that are commonly entertained of the population. In the upper parts of the town, and in the streets not leading immediately to the markets of merchandize and provisions, there is no bustle, but, in many places, an air of desolation.

"In southern climates, as the handicraftsmen work in open shops, a greater proportion of the inhabitants are visible, than with us. In Constantinople, the workshops are generally open to the streets. Considering the stir in Palermo, the height of the buildings, and the huddling manner in which the major part of the inhabitants live there, and comparing them with the appear-

appearance, generally, of Constantinople, the structure of the houses, and the domestic economy of the Turks, I am almost inclined to think, that the capital of Sicily contains ten times the number, to the square mile, that Constantinople does. If there be a million in London and its suburbs, there certainly is not half that number in the whole of the Ottoman metropolis, including Scutari, as well as Galata and Pera, with all the other little dependencies connected with them, but known to the inhabitants by other names.

Appearance of the City.—The superb distant prospect of Constantinople only serves to render more acute the disappointment which arises from its interior wretchedness. The streets are filthy, narrow, and darkened by the overhanging houses. Few of the buildings are constructed of stone or brick. The whole habitable town, indeed, may be described, as composed either of lath and plaster or of timber. The appearance of the houses is mean; and many of them are much decayed. The state of the capital accords with the condition and decline of the empire.

“Constantinople, seen from the harbour, greatly resembles London, seen from the Thames. If it has no single feature comparable to St. Paul’s cathedral, the great moschs are splendid edifices; and the effect of the whole view is greatly superior to any that can be taken of London.

“*Seraglio.*—The grand seraglio of the sultan presents a confused assemblage of objects, houses, domes, trees, and pavilions. Many of the domes are surmounted with gilded ornaments, and the view is very elegant; but there is no central grandeur for the eye to rest on. The

spectacle, however, tends to fill the mind with the fictitious images of oriental pomp.

“During my stay in Constantinople, no foreign ambassador had occasion to be presented to the sultan; I had not, therefore, an opportunity of seeing the state apartments; and the ladies having come in from the summer-palace, permission to see the other chambers of the inner court could not be procured. But a gentleman, who once obtained access into the interior of the seraglio, has described the haram to me as consisting of very ordinary apartments. The floor of the principal room was covered with four English Brussels carpets, of different patterns; and, in another, he saw a number of English engravings. But nothing either ‘rich or strange’ seemed to have struck his fancy: I have, therefore, concluded, that it was about as consonant to the town, as the town is to the empire.

“The pavilion in which the sultan receives the public visits of the captain pashaw, is not difficult of access. It is a neat little square edifice, surrounded with a colonnade of unpolished marble, and crowned with a dome. It stands on the outside of the ancient embattled wall of the gardens, looking towards Pera. The ceiling, between the pillars and the inner building, is divided into quadratures, painted dark blue. The divisions are gilded, and the walls are encrusted with porcelain and marble. Here the sultan reposes on a throne of silver, lulled by the murmur of the sea, the hum of the cities, and the sound of a fountain that plays at his feet.—Notwithstanding all the glitter, and the costly splendour of the throne, few travellers would prefer this pavilion to the temple

in the gardens of Stowe. Nevertheless, it is a work of taste, for it is consistent in all its parts, and the subordination of parts is well preserved: but there is no object presented to the imagination. The guards admitted us, on asking them, as we happened to pass in a boat.

"I visited also, with a friend, a summer-palace on the banks of the Lycus, where there is a similar, but less splendid pavilion, and a baram, to which, as we were informed, the late Sultan Selim sometimes carried his ladies. As the baram is no longer used, the servants, who had charge of the building, readily admitted us into the apartments. They are, no doubt, much inferior to those of the grand seraglio, but they may be considered as furnishing a criterion by which to judge of them. The mansion itself is lath and plaster, fantastically painted; and the rooms are arranged along the sides of galleries. The interior has more the appearance of an extensive English inn, than of a palace. The apartment, or, as it perhaps should be called, the drawing-room of the principal sultana, is only twenty-one feet long, fifteen broad, and about ten in height. The ornaments were in no other respect remarkable, except in being clumsily carved, and gaudily gilded. I was diverted by the design of a landscape in one of the other chambers. It represented a gulph opening to the ocean. The surface of the sea was covered with boats, and the land adorned with moschs and villages. In the foreground was a stately bridge, through which the waters of the ocean were seen flowing, and tumbling down in foaming cascades. The baths of the ladies are small closets, about ten feet square, rudely paved with

unpolished marble, and, so far from being elegant, they scarcely deserve to be called neat.

"The grounds round this palace have great 'capabilities;' but they are in a slovenly/rude state. In the little adornment that art has attempted on them, a flagrant bad taste is evident. The waters of one of the branches of the Lycus are conducted into a straight canal, where they form two cascades, by rushing over a number of marble basons, in the shape of large shells. At each side of the upper of these two waterfalls, stands a little temple, like a parrot's cage, in one of which we saw a Turk, saying his prayers. Below the second cataract, opposite to the windows of the Pavilion, four large copper eels, twisted together, seem to have started up in the middle of the stream for the express purpose of spouting water. A Frenchman, I have been told, was the designer of the cascades and the eels.

"There are several summer palaces on the banks of the Bosphorus. Taken altogether, the residences of the sultan form a truly imperial establishment: but the art of the landscape-gardener is unknown at Constantinople; and the finest scenery in the world is neither valued nor admired.

Buildings.—The chief moschs are the great ornaments of this capital; but, though stately structures, it is impossible to look at them long without being disposed to think of old-fashioned cupboards, where punch-bowls, turned upside-down, are surrounded with inverted tea-cups, pepper-boxes, and candle-sticks.

"Mr. Canning having procured a firman, to allow the British travellers to visit the moschs, we assembled

sembled early in the morning, and, followed by a crowd of other curious strangers, who availed themselves of the opportunity, proceeded to the celebrated St. Sophia. I had been there, privately, before; for, by paying five piastres to the door-keepers, strangers may be admitted into the galleries. Though it is pretended that the view from them is greatly inferior to what is seen from the area below, it is still sufficient to satisfy all the common desires of curiosity.

"The present exterior of this building has no architectural symmetry. It consists of clumsy buttresses, raised to preserve it from the effects of the earthquakes that have so often threatened it with total ruin; and they conceal the whole of its original form.

"The interior, however, is very grand. The dome being shallower than that of St. Paul's, has the appearance of being larger. The supporters of the dome are so arranged, as to make the general effect resemble, in some degree, a vast pavilion; but, as a work of scientific art, the St. Sophia must be considered as a very clumsy structure. The ornaments of the capitals of the columns seem designed rather to imitate feathers than the acanthus, and the native beauty of the marbles is not enriched by any shew of taste or skill. In point of workmanship, it is immensely inferior to Westminster Abbey. Ten thousand men are said to have been employed in the construction of the St. Sophia, and nearly six years were consumed in completing it. The most remarkable of its ornaments are eight columns of red porphyry, which Aurlian placed, originally, in the Temple of the Sun, and eight others of green porphyry, a gift from the

magistrates of Ephesus. It is two hundred and sixty-nine feet long, and two hundred and forty-three broad.

"From the St. Sophia we went to the mosch of Sultan Achmet, which occupies one side of the ancient hippodrome. In external appearance it greatly excels the other; and the effect of the dim religious light of the stained (not painted) windows, is very fine. We also visited three of the other great moschs; but the uniformity which we found in them soon satiated our curiosity. There is little in these buildings that an artist would think it worth his while to study; and their uniformity was, to me, exceedingly tiresome. At Sultan Soliman's we halted. It is famous for having been the theatre of a terrible uproar, occasioned by the insolence and folly of a Russian ambassador, and the drove that attended him. Presuming on their privilege and protection, without regarding the Turks, who happened, at the time, to be praying, they went about measuring and making a noise, which so provoked the disturbed worshippers, that they rose in a fury, chased them from the mosch, kicking and thrashing the disturbers with an indignation which religious zeal and political animosity combined to heighten. The sultan, on being informed of the affair, sent to the ambassador, and persuaded him to pocket the affront with about fifteen hundred pounds sterling.

"*Schools.*—As in Christendom during the dark ages, any learning that exists among the Turks, is possessed by the priesthood. The schools attached to the moschs founded by the sultans, may be regarded as institutions similar to the colleges which were formerly connected

nected with the Roman Catholic cathedrals. Several are supported by revenues arising from certain villages or territorial-endowments; but they chiefly depend on allowances from the public income of the state.

"In the time of the late Selim, the academies were liberally maintained, and the progress of instruction was rapid; but since the revolution by which he was deposed, the necessities of the government have abridged the maintenance of the public instructors. In the time of Selim, a Switz mathematician, who had been recommended by a British minister, was paid at the rate of five and twenty pounds per month. His salary was afterwards augmented to thirty-five; but the native teachers were never so munificently rewarded. The occasional encouragement of foreign professors of knowledge, seems requisite to the improvement of nations.

"*Hospitals.*—There are two hospitals in Pera for the plague; and, in Constantinople, several for ordinary invalids. Except one for the insane, I believe that all the others are supported by the Christians. I visited the Turkish bedlam. The building, on the outside, is plain and simple; but the court, around which the cells are constructed, is built of marble, and the arcades resemble those of the Royal Exchange of London. Never having seen the interior of a mad-house, I was greatly shocked. Several of the patients, almost entirely naked, were fastened by chains fixed to iron collars round their necks, and sat at the grating of their windows, like savage animals in cages. The rooms were cleanly enough; and I could not avoid noticing, that all the patients had learnt to ask for money, except one, who appeared to be depraved be-

yond the power of description to delineate. In one of the cells, a young man, who was in a state of stupid melancholy, held out his hand instinctively. His face was pale, and his features assumed a slight cast of curiosity when we entered; but there was no speculation in his eyes. One of his friends, who had come to see him, was using a number of artifices to attract his attention; but he continued, regardlessly, to glare. In another cell, we met several ladies, with their slaves and children, diverting themselves at the expense of a merry madman. A young Turk, who was with them, collected paras for the entertainment. A more facetious lunatic, as we passed the door of his room, invited us to enter. His countenance was cheerful, and he professed to be contented.

"The physician of this hospital was an old, and, as far as beard served, a venerable personage. He told us, that there were four great classes of insanity, distinguished by their causes:

"First, Madness, which came from fevers.

"Secondly, Melancholy, which came from the fires in the city, or other great misfortunes.

"Third, Phantasy, which came from wrong conceptions of the imagination.

"Fourth, Fits of Delirium, which were produced by the magical devices of enemies.

"The first kind of insanity, he assured us, was rarely cured; but the second and third, often and easily. The fourth, however, was incurable, unless the enchanter could be discovered, and obliged to break up his spell.

"*The Plague.*—When the great population of this town is considered, the narrowness of the streets, the

myra; and which are, probably, the ruins of her bazars, and not the remains of temples and palaces. The capital of Zenobia owed its magnificence to commerce. Situated at a convenient distance, between the gulf of Persia and the Mediterranean, it was the grand resort of the caravans which conveyed the oriental luxuries to the Roman nations.

"In the midst of the deserts, and under a scorching sun, the inhabitants of Palmyra must have had recourse to artificial shades. Through all these southern and eastern countries, the practice of arranging the shops under sheds, and in bazars, is so universal, that it cannot be doubted to have prevailed in Palmyra.

"Strangers, from the appearance in the bazars, are apt to be as much deceived with respect to the riches of this capital, as with the population. A vast quantity of opened merchandize is at once presented to the eye; for a bazar is a great ware-room, in which the stocks of many appear as the property of one. People accustomed to the detached shops of London, large and opulent as they are, cannot pass, for the first time, through the bazars of Constantinople, without an emotion of surprize; but, when, in subsequent visits, the shops are considered individually, and the probable value of their contents is estimated, with the number of persons apparently interested in them, the stock will be found, comparatively, very small.

"The bazar of the jewellers is one of the places where the erroneous impression of Ottoman wealth is most likely to be deepest made. On applying for a trinket, the stranger is immediately beset by a crowd,

exhibiting their glittering temptations in so many various forms, that the visions of Aladdin seem realizing before him. Golden coffee cups, encrusted with diamonds and rubies, a whole spring of flowers made of the same gorgeous gems, and stars sufficient to furnish out another hemisphere, are displayed in rapid succession. If none of the patterns please, the Brazils and Golconda seem to shower their unset jewels for selection. But, though all this is much superior to the exhibition of any one shop in London, yet, when it is considered, that a single coffee cup, a star, and a flower, with two or three loose diamonds, constitute the whole stock of the most respectable lapidary, the delusion vanishes, and the stranger is more apt to wonder how so many people can live by the trade, than to admire the multitude of the riches. Constantinople has nothing comparable to the shops of the silversmiths in London.

"The bazar appropriated for the sale of military accoutrements is said to be the richest in the city; and I was told, that the merchants belonging to it have certain special corporate privileges. When any of them die, the fortune of the deceased is given out at interest among the members of the society, until his children are capable of judging for themselves; and the society, as a body, is responsible for the capital, and payment of the interest.

"*Antiquities.*—In so great a city as Constantinople, and which has suffered less from its conquerors than is generally thought, there cannot but be many curious remains, that travellers neither hear of nor have opportunities of seeing. Without attempting to make discoveries, I contented myself with endeavouring

ing to procure access to the most remarkable of those that are best known.

"Of the hippodrome, only three of the ornaments that decorated the middle of the area remain. The most eminent is the obelisk of granite, which still rests on four blocks of bronze, on a pedestal of white marble, adorned with bas-reliefs. The hieroglyphics on the obelisk, who shall explain? The bas-reliefs seem to represent, or rather, as it might be expressed, to reflect the appearance of the theatre when filled with spectators. On the basement of the pediment, there is the representation of a spectacle of the circus.

"Near the obelisk stands the column of the brazen serpents, which anciently supported the golden tripod consecrated to the Oracle of Delphos after the defeat of Xerxes. When Mahomet the Second made his triumphal entry into Constantinople, it is said that, as he passed along under this well-authenticated fragment of antiquity, he shattered, with his battle-axe, the jaw of one of the serpents. All their heads have since been broken off.

"About as far from the serpents as they are distant from the Egyptian obelisk, stands another obelisk, which was formerly covered with bas-reliefs in bronze. The apex overhangs the base; and it is evidently doomed to fall soon. In height and appearance it resembles the obelisk, near the Circus, in St. George's Fields, London.

"The Burnt Column stands on the spot where, during the siege of Byzantium, stood the tent of Constantine, the founder of the present city. The Forum, which anciently surrounded it, is described to have been elliptical, the porticos orna-

mented with images, and the gates built in the form of triumphal arches: but not a vestige of this forum remains. The pillar, in a mutilated state, still serves as a kind of central object to several streets. The base is concealed by mean buildings. It was originally surmounted with a statue of the emperor Justinian, and covered with bronze, which the Turks melted down for cannon, by kindling a fire round the shaft. Hence the origin of the present name.

"I have seen two of the great cisterns constructed for supplying the city antiently with water. The one, which the Turks call by a name descriptive of a thousand and one pillars, is dry, and occupied by silk-twisters. It is a vast subterranean building. The roof is sustained by a triple tier of pillars, as I was told: but only the third, and part of the second tiers, are above the earth. The other cistern is more magnificent, but not so easy of access, as it is under the house and gardens of a Pashaw. Although the vaulting, in several places, has fallen in, it still serves to collect the water from the aqueduct. Many of the pillars that support the roof have evidently been hewn for other purposes than to be sunk in water. They may be the relics of the ancient temples of Byzantium.

"The aqueduct, which brings the main supply of water to Constantinople, is a solid and stately fabric. It passes through the city like a great artery, from which the pipes of the public fountains proceed in ramifications like veins. It was originally planned by Adrian, for the use of Byzantium, and bore his name till repaired by Valens. Justinian took away part of the lead for other buildings; and, in the reign of Heraclius, it suffered still greater

greater injuries. Soliman the Magnificent rebuilt it almost entirely; and, since his time, it has not been neglected.

"The ancients, from their preference to aqueducts over pipes, are thought, by some, to have been ignorant that water rises as high as its source. But this is an opinion entertained without reflection: for, although they employed open aqueducts to convey water into their cities, yet, in the distribution, they, undoubtedly, made use of pipes. We are told, that the air, in the amphitheatre of Titus, was frequently refreshed by the playing of fountains; and that the baths of Nero were supplied by pipes of silver. It is ridiculous to imagine, that either pipes, or playing fountains, could have been in use, without the natural fact of the tendency of water being discovered and known. It was the difficulty of bringing an adequate supply, in any other way than by aqueducts, that gave rise to the practice of the ancients. What kind of pipe would serve to furnish Constantinople with water?

"The fortifications of Constantinople are in ruins. The walls may be described as ragged; for, in several places, towards the sea, large holes are worn or washed in them. The walls, against which the attack of Mahomet the Second was directed, still shew traces of Babylonish grandeur. They consist of a ditch, and three successive platforms. The inner wall is a lofty curtain, with tall towers at regular distances. In walking along the outside, when making the circuit of the city, its appearance suggested to me some idea of the wall of China, as it is described running over mountains and across valleys. As efforts of labour, or of skill, the works round Constantinople are but Lili-

putian undertakings compared to those of Malta; but, in point of picturesque effect, few will hesitate to prefer them. The fortifications of Constantinople, towards the land, may, without much stretch of fancy, be compared to an army of old giants drawn up in order of battle; terrible in their aspect, but inefficient and frail.

"I went to the gate of the castle of the seven towers; but, not having an order, could not obtain a permission to enter. This grim and tremendous prison presented a very harmless appearance. The portal was surrounded with a flock of impudent boys belonging to a school which is kept within the walls. Except when they find their tasks wearisome, no other captives at present languish there.

"*Arts and Manufactures.*—I have not been able to learn that the Turks have any arts or manufactures which may be considered as peculiarly their own; but, as every separate civilized community generally excel in the manipulation of some one particular thing at least, the Turks have, no doubt, also, their masterpiece. In the making of tobacco-pipes they certainly as much excel us, as they exceed us in the use of them; but this is an excellence rather granted than the result of superior skill. The boring of a straight stick never can be considered as a difficult process; far less as one that our mechanics would conceive it necessary to study. Many of their pipes are costly; and, as far as such simple instruments can be made elegant, are entitled to that epithet. The bowl, formed with much neatness; the mouth-piece, of amber, sometimes ornamented with jewels; and the shaft, varying from two to ten feet long, make up a utensil of some degree

of beauty, and of which a correct enough notion may be formed by this description.

"The finest bowls of the pipes are made of a natural kind of earth dug up near Konie, the ancient Iconium in Natolia. It is found in a fissure, six feet wide, and is of a grey calcareous appearance. Its sweat, if thrown into the fire; produces a foetid vapour; grows hard, and becomes perfectly white. The fresh earth dissolves in no acid. When burnt, it can be acted upon only by nitrous acid; but not until the solution has been continued a considerable time in heat, and then it loses nearly a third part of its weight. When water is poured on the pure solution, it becomes a little muddy; and, when it is suffered to evaporate entirely, a bitter salt, easy of solution, is obtained. The undissolved earth, fused in a strong fire, is converted into a brown slag. The fresh earth remains in water unchanged; and, when it has been mixed with it, by shaking and stirring, falls again to the bottom, loses its cohesion, and cannot be again used. The earth, after being burnt, imbibes a large quantity of water, throws out abundance of air bubbles, and becomes soft.

"The Turks perform their handicraft operations sitting. Their machinery is very rude; but they make up, in knack and dexterity, for the want of more ingenious aids. At their turning-lathes, they employ their toes to guide the chisel; and, in these pedipulations, shew to Europeans a diverting degree of address.

"The tints of the colours produced by the dyers of Constantinople, have long been justly admired, and never yet excelled, by ours. Whether this superiority arises from any secret in the preparation of the

colours, or only from possessing richer materials, I am not sufficiently instructed to determine. They have, however, one colour, which is not yet known, at least not made, by any of our dyers. It resembles, in brightness and beauty, the scarlet extracted from the cochineal. It differs from the well-known Turkey red, in having a tendency rather towards yellow than to crimson, and it is much more brilliant. In producing this dye, the juice of lemons and citrons is, in some way, employed, in order, I imagine, to lower the common tinge of the madder. In what stage of the process the vegetable acid is used, I did not learn; possibly, before mixing the blood with the root, the root may be steeped in it. To shew that, in producing the common Turkey red, no such ingredient is employed, I have given, in the Appendix, all the published information relative to that dye.

"The Turkish dyers extract a beautiful orange tincture from a root, resembling ginger in its appearance; the root, I believe, of the safflower. They obtain also a brown, from the wood of the walnut-tree, by a very simple process. The chips are steeped three days in water, which is then changed. The steeping is repeated three times; and the chips and third water are boiled with the silk or cotton. In proportion to the hue required, the boiling is shortened or prolonged. By a similar process, a golden yellow is extracted from the skin of the pomegranate; and the peel of the onion also furnishes a beautiful but deeper degree of the same colour.

"We may surpass the Armenian chintz-printers in the patterns, but they are fully our masters in other respects. There is a softness in the

effect of their blocks, and I think more likely to be admired in competition, than the clear and exact lines with which our designs are finished. They wash their printed calicoes in sea waters, in order to cleanse them from a gum which is used in the preparation of the colours, and which, they say, fresh water would not so effectually remove. They have a method of painting muslins, by tracing them with the pencil over drawings, which produces an effect greatly superior to that of printing. It is chiefly handkerchiefs that they ornament in this way; and they render them of great value. I have seen squares of muslin not worth ten shillings, raised in value, by the labour of the painters, to upwards of a hundred. I believe we do not practise this art. The Armenians obtain their best patterns and blocks from France, or from French artists.

"A manufactory of muslins has been established in Constantinople. The yarns, of late used, are chiefly, the British cotton yarns. There is nothing to admire in the productions; but the fact of the establishment is worth noticing. In their silk and cotton stuffs, striped and clouded, the Ottoman subjects, I think, shew a great deal of taste, and the excellence of their colours is seen in full effect.

"The looms of Scutari produce several very rich and elaborate kinds of velvet for sofas and furniture; but, both in this article, and in brocades, the Turks are, undoubtedly, inferior to the French and Italians; less, however, in the beauty of the workmanship, than in the variety and character of the patterns. Though the Turks have declined from their military consequence, their progress in the arts of civil life has continued.

Throughout the world, generally, the private condition of mankind has mended since the conquest of Constantinople. It is certain, that the different countries of Europe are becoming more and more independent of the manufactures and productions of one another.

"*Coffee-Houses.*—When Henry Blount, one of our earliest publishing travellers, visited Constantinople in the year 1634, the coffee-houses, he observes, abounded more than alehouses and inns in England. At that time coffee was unknown in the west of Europe. 'It is thought,' says he, 'to be the old black broth, used so much by the Lacedemonians, and dryeth ill humours in the stomacke, comforteth the brain, never causeth drunkenness, or any other surfeit, and is a harmless entertainment of good fellowship.' But, as a Scotchman, I am more inclined to believe that the Lacedemonian black broth was made of singed sheep-heads; because, even at this day, the Greeks are in the practice of singing their sheep-heads and feet; a custom which does equal credit to their taste and œconomy!

"The descriptions and estimates of the Turkish character by Blount appear to me correct and just. He mixed with the people, and acquired a familiar insight into their manners, which he has described with much felicitous brevity. Whatever he mentions as having observed himself, is still applicable to the nation. The coffee-houses have undergone little alteration since 1634; and his description of the way in which the Turks pass their time in them is still a faithful picture. 'There, upon scaffolds, half a yard high, and covered with mats, they sit cross-legged, many times two or three hundred together, talking, and likely

likely with some poore musicke passing up and down.'

"*Women.*—The state of the women in Turkey is one of the greatest curiosities which the empire affords. Accustomed to hear and to read of their secluded apartments, and the danger and difficulty of obtaining access to them, I was rather surprized to find, in fact, much less difference in their condition from that of our own females, than I thought reconcilable to the doctrines of Mahomet.

"It must always be held in mind, that the Turks are a singularly grave people; that they have no public amusements which the women frequent; and that even their meals are regarded, in some sort, with religious solemnity. This sedate decorum is not favourable to the liberty of the lighter sex; and the institutes of the religion, by prescribing limits to those with whom the women may unveil their faces, imposes a restraint apparently as strong as that which seems to be the result of the natural taciturnity of the men. Still, however, considering the state of society in the country, the women cannot be regarded as stinted in their freedom; and the uniformity with which they dress, when they go abroad, furnishes the licentious with abundant opportunities of indulgence. No restriction is laid on their intercourse with each other; and I question if Scandal be less eloquently worshipped in the barams of Constantinople, than in the boudoirs and drawing-rooms of Paris and London. The Turkish ladies freely frequent the shops, and chat with the mercers, undervaluing the gaudy commodities on which their hearts and eyes are set, with as many contemptuous tosses and accents as the best bargain-makers in Christendom.

"Nor are they without their due share of individual consequence and dignity, notwithstanding the polygamy which the husbands are allowed. The second person in the state, corresponding in rank to the Christian queens, is the Sultana mother. Her public officers are grantees of the first class; and her annual revenue is full eighty thousand pounds sterling. Next to her, in degree, are the sisters of the Sultan; deriving this eminence from the double consideration of being daughters and sisters of sovereigns. Next to them are the daughters of the Sultan, &c. The wives of the Grand Signor are not dignified with the title of Sultana; nor, whatever may be their personal influence, are they considered of the same political consequence, unless they happen to be immediately of the imperial blood. The etiquette of the seraglio furnishes the rule for estimating the condition of the sex among the Turks.

"Turks may marry the sisters of their wives, but not more than one at a time. Younger brothers may marry the widows of their elder, but the elder are not permitted to marry those of the younger. Elder brothers enjoy a superior rank, approximating to that of fathers. They are permitted to see the faces of the wives of the younger.

"Divorces in Turkey may take place, at any time, by mutual consent; but, whenever the husband repudiates the wife, he is obliged to bestow on her a provision proportioned to his circumstances. Divorces are recorded in the same Chancery in which marriages are registered. Adultery is a capital offence.

"The women are not permitted to frequent the public moschs. But there are priestesses, who go from house

house to house on the purposes of religion, and who serve, in all respects, the duties of male ecclesiastics: an arrangement more delicate than that of the Roman and Greek churches.

"The separation of the women from the men in the temples is an ancient Asiatic custom. Mahomet only exalted the principle into a religious obligation. The ordinance is founded on a correct apprehension of human nature. There can be no doubt that the decorum of Christian congregations would be improved if the sexes were separated in the churches.

"The custom of allotting to the women a separate part of the house, though now peculiar only to the professors of the principles of Mahomet, was general over all Europe, till the middle of the fifteenth century; and the ancient domestic arrangement of the Greeks differed in nothing from that of their present masters.

"*Police.*—One of the earliest observations that I was led to make on the state of Turkey induced me to think, that the great defect, in the Ottoman system of rule, arose from the excess of liberty which it allowed to individuals. Subsequent information and experience have convinced me of the correctness of this notion. The laws of the state admit of too free a delegation of the sovereign power; and the precepts of the religion of too great a scope to the passions and propensities of individuals. By the one, opportunities are afforded for tampering with the administration of public justice; and, by the other, crimes come to be regarded rather as the effects of in-born frailty than of moral reprobation. Hence there is both a laxity in the administration of public justice, and a disposition to extenuate offences. It might be said, that

the former was an effect of the latter, were the Mahomedan law not as express, with respect to crimes and punishments, as it is on the doctrine of predestination. The insufficient state of the police of Turkey I regard as the effect of the military nature of the institutions of the empire. These institutions are greatly fallen from their original vigour; and the police has, in the same degree, become impaired.

"As states improve in their domestic oeconomy, the generality of mankind are apt to imagine, from the number of criminals brought to punishment, that society grows worse. But the multitude of detected criminals is rather the proof of an improved police than of an increased moral depravity. In England we hear of more various descriptions of delinquents than in any other country; but what man, in his senses, will say, that crimes, in more barbarous communities, are less numerous? Are the offences of Constantinople less numerous than those of London, although fewer be heard of, and still fewer punished? The police of this metropolis may be described as formed rather for the purpose of restraining mobs, and quelling riots, than for bringing culprits to justice. It is a military police, calculated to restrain offences against the government rather than against the individual members of society.

"*Society.*—Of the general state of society, in so great a capital as Constantinople, it would be excessive presumption, in any traveller, from his own observations, to pretend to give an account; and a British traveller, less than any other, can feel himself justified, by what he derives from the knowledge of his countrymen settled here, to speak, with confidence, on the subject.

ject. It is matter of old and notorious fact, that the British, if they find companions of their own nation, will, in no country whatever, seek the society of the natives. The character of the present war has strengthened this peculiarity. The French, and the different subaltern subjects of their emperor, dare not, without incurring vexatious suspicions, mix with the British; and the British are little disposed to condescend to mix with them. The whole varieties of the Frank society, with the exception of the half a dozen gentlemen who compose our embassy and Levant factory, may be considered as under the sunb and controul of the French minister. The British traveller, therefore, with respect to the Franks, finds himself an excluded being.

"The habits and modes of the Turks are so much at variance with ours, that we visit them with the same kind of sentiments that we go to an exhibition. As for the Greeks, it is not possible for any man bred in Christendom, far less one bred in Britain, to endure long their interested obsequiousness, their invidious strictures on each other, and their still more intolerable assumption of superiority over all the rest of mankind, under the most flagrant ignorance and credulity.

"But, undoubtedly, the society of this metropolis is more vicious than that of any in Christendom. Before the conquest, the inhabitants of Constantinople consisted of the collected rubbish of a falling empire, destitute of public principle, and in the licentious practice of all the frauds and vices which disgrace capital cities. The political inferiority, to which they were reduced by their conquerors, was not calculated to purify their manners, but, on the contrary, to instigate them

to attain additional dexterity in their crimes. Among the descendants of the ancient inhabitants we may, therefore, expect to find an hereditary laxity of private morality, and public feeling in a state of reprobation. And that such is the fact, who, that has ever visited Constantinople, can deny? Foreigners, early settled in the country, cease to wonder at what is so common; but strangers are filled with amazement and disgust. There is not a Greek, not even one of those employed in the affairs of the state, that does not daily utter sentiments, which, even in England, where opinion is so freely tolerated, would be punished as the most dangerous sedition. Under a despotic government this appears almost incredible; but there is another fact still more extraordinary, and which I assert with the most perfect assurance. The great officers and confidential persons of the state are in the practice of communicating to merchants those secret movements of policy, which, when publicly divulged, affect the price of commodities, expressly in order to obtain a share in the profit of the speculations undertaken in consequence. All the promotions to public trusts, except those which originate immediately in the personal predilections of the sovereign, are obtained by the most corrupt means. So grossly and generally is this the case, that, perhaps, with the single exception of those provinces under the Albanian Ali Pashaw, there is no governorship in Turkey, of which the appointment may not be procured by money. The secret history of the Christian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, is a satire, from the publication of which human nature has been spared.

The Sultan.—Sultan Mahmoud is univer-

universally allowed to possess an inflexible mind; and, though only about thirty years of age, to display as much practical talent and knowledge of mankind as his counsellors. His complexion is pale, his eye thoughtful and penetrating, and his physiognomy indicates a reserved nature; but there is a melancholy cast, in the general expression of his countenance, that is interesting, and rather, I think, conciliating.

“ Since his accession, his attention has been directed to, as he conceives, the means of recovering the former authority and power of the Sultans. But the world is changed. Instead of seeking the restoration of that awful obedience, with which the firmans of his ancestors were executed like divine fiat, his efforts might be more fruitfully employed on some new plan of rule better adapted to the state of opinion among his subjects. To cure the corruptions of the government is impossible; and the last of the Ottomans, by his individual attempts, is, perhaps, only accelerating his own doom.

“ The original political system of the Turks was purely military. By the conquest of Constantinople, they were induced to accept into it some of the practices and rules of the rotten government which they had overthrown; and being not only heterogeneous, but radically pernicious, they have tended, more than the operation of time, to impair the simplicity and vigour of the Ottoman institutions. The Turks not only agreed to preserve and protect the Greek church, but endowed the patriarchs with a juridical authority, which they did not possess under the emperors. The Greek church, as it affects men in their business and bosoms, is a cancer in the con-

stitution of Turkey. The medium by which the government derives its knowledge of foreign politics, and of the disposition of seven eighths at least of its European subjects, is formed by members of that bigoted, superstitious, and fraudulent community.

“ The Turks can no longer be regarded as a military nation; nor, by the nature of things, can the spirit which animated their ancestors, be recalled. The system which the Sultan has adopted may be regarded not only as founded in an erroneous conception of the moral and political state of his own empire, but also of that of the world. To aim at the introduction of discipline among his troops cannot but be esteemed laudable; but, attempting to accomplish this by the espionage of familiars, and the rapid and mysterious execution of orders for exile or death, deserves another name.

“ Mahmoud is constitutionally religious. He is said to have an unsuspecting faith in the eternal and triumphant destiny which Mahomet promised to his successors. In the traditions and tales which he has heard, as the histories of his nation, it is not likely that he was informed, that his ancestors were neither descendants nor successors of the prophet; although this notion seems to have acquired unimpaired credit in the minds of the Turks.

“ About the end of the thirteenth century, Othman, a pastoral chieftain, with a camp of four hundred families, inhabited the banks of the Sangar, near Surgut. Situated so near the skirts of the Greek empire, then in helpless decrepitude, he saw her weakness, and his religion sanctified an attack. On the twenty-ninth of July, in the year twelve hundred

hundred and ninety-nine, he invaded the territory of Nicomedia. From that epoch may be dated the commencement of his reign, which lasted twenty-seven years. Every day added something to his fame or his power, and his career was closed with the conquest of Brusa, by his son Orchan.

"Orchan instituted the office of grand vizier, decorated Brusa with magnificent edifices, and formed a regular body of infantry. He conquered Nice, and the whole of the ancient kingdom of Bithynia, as far as the shores of the Hellespont. The emperor of Constantinople was induced to give him his daughter in marriage; but notwithstanding that Orchan engaged, in asking her for his harem, to fulfil the duties of a subject and a son, he shortly after passed the Hellespont, and took possession of the European fortresses.

"Amurah I. succeeded him; and subduing Thrace, made Adrianople his capital. In his time the famous corps of the janizaries was instituted. He was assassinated while walking over a field of battle, by a Slavonian soldier, who started up from among the wounded and the dead, and stabbed him in the belly.

"His son, the renowned Bajazet, surnamed, by the rapidity and terror of his career, the Thunderbolt, was the first of the Ottoman line, or the race of Othman, who received the title of sultan.

"It is needless to trace the genealogy further down. From him Mahmoud is descended. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the boundless polygamy allowed to the sultans, Mahmoud is the last of his family; and on the throne, at a time when the concurring opinion of the world is, that the Turks must speedily abandon their European empire.

"Among various anecdotes that I have heard of Mahmoud, the following, as tending to illustrate his character, and the condition of the state, are the most worthy of being repeated. When about to mount his horse, in order to be inaugurated, the chief of the janizaries, according to the duty of his office, advanced to hold the stirrup. 'Let it alone,' said the sultan, 'I ought rather to hold yours.'

"Hearing lately that there was a seditious murmuring among the janizaries, he went secretly at night to the quarters of the officers, and calling them before him, said, that he was informed of their mutinous spirit, and to take care that he heard no more of it. For the time this decisive conduct produced the desired effect.

"When the fleet returned last winter, from the Black Sea, it came in unexpectedly. The sultan, fearing that there had been a battle, went at midnight in his barge to satisfy himself.

"There is another anecdote told of him of a different complexion. An itinerant showman had a buffoon, whom he used to dress and exhibit to the Turks, as a speaking bear. The sultan, hearing of so supprising an animal, commanded it to be brought to the palace. He appeared highly amused, and requested the keeper to sell it: this, however, the keeper managed to refuse; his majesty then desired that it might be left for a day or two for his amusement, and he ordered it to be placed in a cage among his other wild beasts, where it was offered no food, but only raw heads and bloody bones, for three days, at the end of which the bear was dismissed.

"*Janizaries.*—From the time of Orchan, the Ottoman chiefs were persuaded that their military government

vernment required the support of a standing army; and that the recruits ought to be drawn from the hardy athletic inhabitants of Europe.

"As by the Mahomedan law, the sovereign is entitled to the fifth part of the spoil and captives, Amurath I. by the possession of the fortresses of the Hellespont, was enabled to carry the opinion of Orchan into successful effect. He stationed officers at Gallipoli, to intercept the Christian vessels, passing to and from Constantinople, in order to take from them the stoutest and handsomest youths.

"The captives were educated in the religion, and disciplined to the arms of the Turks. Those most conspicuous for talents or beauty were drafted for the service of the imperial palace. The alert were taught the arts of horsemanship and military tactics, while the studious were instructed in the precepts of the Koran, and in the Persian and Arabic languages. As they advanced in seniority and merit, they were appointed to civil, military, and even to ecclesiastical employments. At a mature period of experience and knowledge, they were admitted into the number of the forty Agas, that stand before the sultan; and many of them, by caprice or esteem, were promoted to the government of provinces, and the highest offices in the empire.

"For maintaining the number and spirit of this corps, the most extraordinary and detestable species of tyranny was invented. When the regal fifth of the prisoners was diminished, or inadequate to supply the requisite number, an inhuman conscription of every fifth child, or in every fifth year, was levied on the christian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen, the most robust

youths were impressed, considered as the slaves of the state, and disciplined for the public service.

"But, like every other part of the system and frame of the Turkish government, the constitution of the janizaries has become thoroughly and incurably corrupted. Instead of being considered as constituting a military corps, the janizaries ought now to be described, as an order of rank in the state, with high exclusive privileges; receiving pensions without rendering service, arrogating to themselves the power of dictating to the sovereign what measures of policy he ought to adopt, and of convincing him that he reigns but by their permission. It is only in the gradations of rank, and in the spirit of their incorporation, that they have any thing military about them. They practise no exercises; and by far the greater number are mere civil citizens; pursuing their crafts and professions as soberly as the livery of London. It is no longer necessary to have recourse to the ancient means of recruiting. Fathers, for the pay, are anxious to get their sons on the lists; and the dignity of a janizary threatens to become hereditary. I have seen them lining the streets during the processions of the sultan; a great proportion were boys, and many had the crooked spine, and squalid face of sedentary industry.

"*British Legation.*—Constantinople possesses one curiosity, interesting, above all others, to the British traveller; and that is, the British Legation. In venturing to state my opinion of an institution that has existed so long, and which has been subject to the scrutiny of men, deservedly esteemed for their talents and public spirit, it is necessary to mention, plainly, that I hate the interference of foreigners of all descriptions

scriptions and classes whatsoever, in any of those national affairs, which affect the national character. In matters of policy, connected with other states, it is necessary to consult the ministers of those states, but only to consult. To submit any part of the British means to their controul and guidance, without some reason, by which an important local advantage is gained, is an absurdity, so great, in my opinion, that I but feebly express my feeling, when I say that I view it with hatred.

"The British Legation at the Sublime Port consists of two departments, which may be called the Deliberative, and the Executive. The Deliberative is composed of the minister and the secretaries, who come from England; and the Executive is formed of the interpreters, who are natives of the country, and subjects of the sultan. The former consists of persons, almost, necessarily, ignorant of the usages of the Ottoman government; the latter, of persons both theoretically and practically ignorant of the British government; and, what is of more consequence, of the British spirit. There never was an interpreter employed by the British nation in Constantinople, that knew even what is meant by the term. From the time of the first mission, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, down to the period of the last appointment, possibly there may have been exceptions, in the qualifications of the ministers, to the full amount of what I have said about the Deliberative branch of the Legation. To this extent the statement may be qualified, but no further.

"With the ministers of the sultan, the British minister can hold no direct intercourse. He cannot utter one syllable of representation, nor write one word of remonstrance; and the interpreters, in fact, explain it as we will, are the representatives of the British nation in Constantinople. These interpreters belong to that inferior class of the Ottoman subjects who consider themselves as slaves. Their political condition is so vile, that we have not, in all the three kingdoms, any class of persons in the same degree of degradation. But names are nothing in business, and we should consider the matter practically.

"It is true, that neither the grand signor, nor the grand vizier, will probably ever be so unpolite as to strike off the head of our principal interpreter, for presenting to him the sense only of any remonstrance which our Deliberative may have occasion to make; and also, it is true, that a man so highly trusted as the head of our Executive in Constantinople, may be so well rewarded, that the insolence of property will overcome the pusillanimity of slavery; all this may be true, but what is the fact? The principal interpreter, that is, the operative representative of the king, had not, till lately, the income of the ambassador's valet. To Mr. Adair the interpreters owe the improvement of their circumstances; and a motive is now furnished, in the emoluments, to students of our own nation, to aspire to the situation, if they be not, at present, systematically excluded.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLAIN OF TROY

[FROM DR. CLARKE'S TRAVELS.]

WE crossed the Mender by a wooden bridge, immediately after leaving Koum-kalé; and ascertained its breadth, in that part, to equal one hundred and thirty yards. We then entered an immense plain, in which some Turks were engaged hunting wild-boars. Peasants were also employed in ploughing a deep and rich soil of vegetable earth. Proceeding towards the east, and round the bay distinctly pointed out by Strabo, as the harbour in which the Grecian fleet was stationed, we arrived at the Sepulchre of Ajax, upon the antient Rhætean Promontory. Concerning this tumulus there is every reason to believe our information correct. If we had only the text of Strabo for our guidance, there would be little ground for incredulity; and, by the evidence afforded in a view of the monument itself, we have the best comment upon his accuracy. It is one of the most interesting objects to which the attention of the literary traveller can possibly be directed. Instead of the simple Stélé, usually employed to decorate the summit of the most antient sepulchral mounds, all writers, who have mentioned the tomb of Ajax, relate, that it was surmounted by a shrine, in which a statue of the hero was preserved. Religious regard for this hallowed spot, continued through so many ages, that even to the time in which Christianity decreed the destruction of the Pagan idols, the sanctity of the Aïanteum was maintained and venerated. Such importance was annexed to the inviolability of the monument, that after Antony had carried into Egypt the consecrated image, it was again recovered by Augustus, and restored to its pristine shrine. These facts may possibly serve to account for the present appearance of the tomb, on whose summit that shrine itself, and a considerable portion of the superstructure, remain unto this hour. Pliny, moreover, mentions the situation of the tomb, as being in the very station of the Grecian fleet; and, by giving its exact distance from Sigæum, not only adds to our conviction of its identity, but marks at the same time, most decisively, the position of the Portus Achæorum. In all that remains of former ages, I knew of nothing likely to affect the mind by emotions of local enthusiasm more powerfully than this most interesting tomb. It is impossible to view its sublime and simple form, without calling to mind the veneration so long paid to it; without picturing to the imagination a successive series of mariners, of kings and heroes, who from the Hellespont, or by the shores of Troas and Chersonesus, or on the sepulchre itself, poured forth the tribute of their homage; and finally, without representing to the mind the feelings of a native, or of a traveller, in those times, who, after viewing the existing monument, and witnessing the instances of public and of private regard so constantly bestowed upon it, should have been told the age was to arrive when the existence of Troy, and of the mighty dead entombed upon its plain, would be considered as having no foundation in truth.

"The present appearance of the shrine, and of a small circular superstructure, do not seem to indicate higher antiquity than the age of the Romans. Some have believed, from the disclosure of the shrine, that the tomb itself was opened; mistaking it for a vault, although its situation near the summit might have controverted the opinion. This was perhaps constructed when Augustus restored the image Antony had taken from the Aiantium. A cement was certainly employed in the work; and the remains of it to this day offer an opportunity of confuting very prevailing error concerning the buildings of the ancients. The Greeks erected many of their most stupendous edifices without cementation; hence it has been supposed that the appearance of mortar in a building precludes its claim to antiquity. This notion is however set aside at once by reference to the pyramids of Egypt: in building these, mortar was undoubtedly used.

"The view here afforded of the Hellespont and the Plain of Troy is one of the finest the country affords. Several plants, during the season of our visit, were blooming upon the soil. Upon the tomb itself we noticed the silvery mezezon, the poppy, the beardless hypecoum, and the field star of Bethlehem.

"From the Aiantium we passed over a heathy country to Halil Elly, a village near the Thymbrius, in whose vicinity we had been instructed to seek the remains of a temple once sacred to the Thymbrean Apollo. The ruins we found were rather the remains of ten temples than of one. The earth to a very considerable extent was covered by subverted and broken columns of marble, granite, and of every order in architecture. Doric, Ionic, and

Corinthian capitals, lay dispersed in all directions, and some of these were of great beauty. We observed a bas-relief representing a person on horseback pursued by a winged figure; also a beautiful representation, sculptured after the same manner, of Ceres in her car drawn by two scaly serpents. Of three inscriptions which I copied among these ruins, the first was engraven upon the shaft of a marble pillar. This we removed, and brought to England. It is now in the vestibule of the public library at Cambridge; and commemorates the public services of a phrontistes of Drusus Cæsar. The names of persons belonging to the family of Germanicus occur frequently among inscriptions found in and near Troas. Drusus, the son of Germanicus, was himself appointed to a government in the district. The second inscription has been once before printed, but most erroneously; it may therefore be again presented to the public, in a more accurate form. Whatsoever tends in any degree to illustrate the origin of the ruins in which it was discovered, will be considered interesting; although, after all, we must remain in a state of the greatest uncertainty with regard to the city alluded to in either of these documents. Possibly it may have been Scamandria; but in the multitude of cities belonging to Troas, a mere conjecture, without any positive evidence, is less pardonable than silence. The inscription, offering our only remaining clue, sets forth, that the tribe Attalis commemorated Sextus Julius Festus, a magistrate of the city, and præfect of the Flavian cohort, who had been Gymnasiarch, and given magnificently and largely, to the senators and all citizens, oil and ointment for some public festival.

ΗΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ ΦΥΛΗ
 ΣΕΣΤΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΦ.
 ΤΟΝΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΗΣΠ
 ΟΛΕΩΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΣΠΕΙΡΗΣ
 ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΗΣΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡ
 ΧΗΣΑΝΤΑΛΜΠΡΩΣΚΑΙΦΙ
 ΛΟΤΕΙΜΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΟΝ
 ΤΩΝΑΠΑΙΩΝΟΣΚΑΙ
 ΜΕΧΡΙΝΥΝΜΟΝΟΝΕΛΑΙ
 ΟΜΕΤΡΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΣ
 ΤΕΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΑΣΚΑΙΠΘ
 ΛΕΙΤΑΣΠΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΛ
 ΣΙΨΑΝΤΑΕΚΛΟΥΤΗΡΩΝ
 ΔΗΜΕΙ

"The third inscription, and perhaps the most important, had these remarkable words:

ΟΙΛΙΕΙΣ
 ΤΟΝΠΑΤΡΙΟΝΘΕΟΝ
 ΑΙΝΕΙΑΝ

"THE ILIANS TO THEIR COUNTRY'S GOD AENEAS."

"If this had been found by a late respectable and learned author, it might have confirmed him in the notion that the Thymbrius was in fact the Simois as he believed; and perhaps have suggested, in the present name of the place, Halil Ili, (or, as I have written it, Halil Elly, to conform to the mode of pronunciation,) an etymology from ΙΑΛΙΟΝ."

"From the ruins at Halil Elly we proceeded through a delightful valley, full of vineyards, and almond-trees in full bloom, intending to pass the night at the village of Thymbreck. We found no antiquities, nor did we hear of any in the neighbourhood. The next day returning towards Halil Elly, we left it upon our right, and crossed the Thymbrius by a ford. In summer this river becomes almost dry; but during winter it often presents a

powerful torrent, carrying all before it. Not one of the maps, or of the works yet published upon Troas, has informed us of its termination: according to some, it empties itself into the Mender near its embouchure; others describe it as forming a junction near Tchiblack; a circumstance of considerable importance; for if this last position be true, the ruins at Tchiblack may be those of the Temple of the Thymbraean Apollo. Strabo expressly states the situation of the temple to be near the place where the Thymbrius discharges itself into the Scamander. After we had passed the ford, we ascended a ridge of hills, and found the remains of a very ancient paved way. We then came to the town or village of Tchiblack, where we noticed very considerable remains of ancient sculpture, but in such a state of disorder and ruin, that no precise

precise description of them can be given. The most remarkable are upon the top of a hill called Beyan Mezaley, near the town, in the midst of a beautiful grove of oak trees, towards the village of Callifat. Here the ruins of a Doric Temple of white marble lay heaped in the most striking manner, mixed with broken Stèles, Cippi, Sarcophagi, Cornices and Capitals of very enormous size, entablatures, and pillars. All of these have reference to some peculiar sanctity by which this hill was antiently characterized. It is of a conical form, and stands above the town of Tchiblack, appearing as large as the Castle Hill at Cambridge. The first inquiry that suggests itself, in a view of this extraordinary scene, naturally involves the original cause of the veneration in which the place was antiently held. Does it denote the site of Pagus Iliensium, whose inhabitants believed that their village stood on the site of Antient Troy? This

place was distant thirty stadia from the New Ilium of Strabo; and the distance corresponds with the relative situation of this Hill and Palaio-Callifat, or Old Callifat, where New Ilium stood; as will hereafter be proved. Or may it be considered the eminence described by Strabo as the beautiful Colone, five stadia in circumference, near which Simois flowed; and Tchiblack, the Pagus Iliensium? It was rather more than a mile distant from the Village of the Ilians, and stood above it; exactly as this hill is situated with regard to Tchiblack.

"It will now be curious to observe, whether an inscription we discovered here does not connect itself with these inquiries. It was found upon the fluted marble shaft of a Doric pillar two feet in diameter; so constructed, as to contain a Cippus, or inscribed slab, upon one side of it; presenting the following characters:

ΤΙΒΕΙΡΚΛΑΥΔΙΩΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩΙΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΣΕΒΑ
ΣΤΗΙΑΓΡΙΠΠΕΙΝΗΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤΕΚ
ΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΠΚΑΙΤΗΣΥΙ . .
ΚΑΙΤΗΙΑΘΗΝΑΤΗΙΛΙΑΔ
ΙΔΗΜΩ * ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣΚΑΙ .
ΦΑΝΟΥΣΥΙΟΣΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡΚΑ
ΙΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΛΑΥΔ . . .
ΙΝΟΣΘΥΓΑΤΗΡΠΑΡΜΕΝ
ΤΗΝΣΤΟΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΕΝΑΥΤΗΝΠΑ
ΝΤΑΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΕΣΕ
ΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

"The inscription records the consecration of a Stoa, and all things belonging to it, to Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus, the emperor, and to Julia Augusta Agrippina, his wife, and their children, and to Minerva of Ilium. The reason why

the Emperor Claudius and his children were honoured by the Ilienses, is given by Suetonius, and Tacitus. Eckhel mentions, I know not on what authority, a fane consecrated to the Ilican Minerva, as having existed in the Pagus Iliensium,

sium, which Alexander adorned after his victory at Granicus. Arrian states merely the offerings to Minerva of Ilium, making no mention of the fane; but Strabo, who expressly alludes to the temple, places it in the Iliensian city. But whence originated the sanctity of this remarkable spot, still shaded by a grove of venerable oaks, beneath whose branches a multitude of votive offerings yet entirely cover the summit of the hill? An inscription commemorating the pious tribute of a people in erecting a portico to the family of Claudius Cæsar and the Ilican Minerva, can only be referred to the inhabitants of that district of Troas who were styled Ilienses. It has been shewn that Claudius, after the example of Alexander, had perpetually exempted them from the payment of any tribute. In their district stood the Pagus Iliensium, with the (Callicolone) beautiful hill; and nearly thirty stadia farther towards the west, reversing the order of the

bearing given by Strabo, the Iliensium Civitas. If therefore this hill, so pre-eminently entitled to the appellation of Callicolone, from the regularity of its form, and the groves by which it seems for ages to have been adorned, be further considered, on account of its antiquities, an indication of the former vicinity of the Iliensian Village, it should follow, that observing a westward course, the distance of three miles and three quarters, or nearly so, would terminate in the site of the Iliensian City; and any discovery ascertaining either of these places would infallibly identify the position of the other. This line of direction we observed in our route, advancing by a cross road into the Plain.

"There were other Inscriptions, commemorating the good offices of Roman emperors; but these were so much mutilated, that no decisive information could be obtained from them. Upon one we read:

ΗΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΣΦΥΛΗ
ΣΕΞΤΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟ . . .
ΝΑΤΟΝΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΕΠΑΡΧΟΝΣΠΕΙ
ΡΗΣΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΗΣ

"THE ALEXANDRIAN TRIBE HONOUR SEXTUS JULIUS, THE MAGISTRATE OF THE CITY, PRÆFECT OF THE FLAVIAN COHORT," &c.

"Another, inscribed upon the cover of a large marble Sarcophagus, mentioned a portico, and the daughter of some person for whom both the ΣΤΟΑ and the ΣΟΡΟΣ had been constructed.

"As we journeyed from this place, we found, in a corn field below the

hill, a large block of inscribed marble; but owing to the manner in which the stone was concealed by the soil, as well as the illegibility of the inscription, we could only discern the following characters, in which the name of Julius again occurs:

ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ
ΑΡΧΟΝ
. ΚΟΣΜΟΝ

sustaining what was before advanced concerning the prevalence of names belonging to the family of Germanicus, or of persons who flourished about his time. Upon a medal of Claudius, described by Vaillant, belonging to Cotyæum; a city of Phrygia, bordering upon Troas, we read the words ΕΠΙ ΙΟΤΑΙΟΤ ΤΙΟΤ ΚΟΤΙΑΕΩΝ. We proceeded hence towards the Plain; and no sooner reached it, than a Tumulus of very remarkable size and situation drew our attention, for a short time, from the main object of our pursuit.

"This Tumulus, of a high conical form and very regular structure, stands altogether insulated. Of its great antiquity no doubt can be entertained by persons accustomed to view the everlasting sepulchres of the Antients. On the southern side of its base is a long natural mound of lime-stone: this, beginning to rise close to the artificial tumulus, extends towards the village of Callifat, in a direction nearly from north to south across the middle of the Plain. It is of such height, that an army, encamped on the eastern side of it, would be concealed from all observation of persons stationed upon the coast, by the mouth of the Mender. It reaches nearly to a small and almost stagnant river, hitherto unnoticed, called Callifat Osmack, or Callifat Water, taking its name from the village near which it falls into the Mender: our road to that place afterwards led us along the top of the mound. Here then both art and nature have combined to mark the Plain by circumstances of feature and association not likely to occur elsewhere; although such as any accurate description of the country might well be expected to include: and if the Poems of Homer, with reference to the Plain of Troy,

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have similarly associated an artificial tumulus and a natural mound, a conclusion seems warranted, that these are the objects to which he alludes. This appears to be the case in the account he has given of the Tomb of Ilus and the Mound of the Plain.

"Upon the surface of the Tomb itself, in several small channels caused by rain, we found fragments of the vases of Antient Greece. I know not any other cause to assign for their appearance, than the superstitious veneration paid to the tombs of Troas in all the ages of history, until the introduction of Christianity. Whether they be considered as the remains of offerings and libations made by Greeks or Romans, they are indisputably not of modern origin. The antiquity of earthen-ware, from the wheel of a Grecian potter, is as easily cognizable as any work left for modern observation; and, as a vestige of that people, denoting the site of their cities, towns, and public monuments, may be deemed perhaps equal in importance to medals and inscriptions.

From this tomb we rode along the top of the Mound of the Plain, in a south-western direction, towards Callifat. After we had proceeded about half its length, its inclination became southward. Having attained its extremity in that direction, we descended into the Plain, when our guides brought us to the western side of it, near its southern termination, to notice a tumulus, less considerable than the last described, about three hundred paces from the Mound, almost concealed from observation by being continually overflowed, upon whose top two small oak trees were then growing. This tumulus will not be easily discerned by future travellers, from the uniformity of its appearance at a distance with the rest of the

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the

the vast Plain in which it is situated, being either covered with corn, or furrowed by the plough. The view it commands of the coast, towards the mouth of the Mender, may possibly entitle it to their subsequent consideration, with reference to the sepulchre of Myrinna.

"We now proceeded to the Califat Osmak, or Califat water, a river that can scarce be said to flow towards the Mender; yet so deep, that we were conducted to a ford in order to pass. Hundreds of tortoises, alarmed at our approach, were falling from its banks into the water, as well as from the overhanging branches and thick underwood, among which these animals, of all others the least adapted to climb trees, had singularly obtained a footing. Wild-fowl also were in great abundance, and in the corn-land part-ridges were frequently observed. I have no hesitation in stating, that I conceive this river to be the Simoïs; nor would there perhaps remain a doubt upon the subject, if it were not for the prejudice excited in consequence of a marvellous error, which has prevailed throughout all the recent discussion concerning Troas, with regard to the sources of the Scamander. Pope seems first of all to have fallen into the notion of the double origin of that river: since his time, Wood, Chevalier, and their followers, have maintained that the Scamander had two sources, one of which was hot, and the other cold. The whole of this representation has been founded upon a misconstruction of the word ΠΗΓΑΙ. The Scamander has therefore been described as having its rise from two sources in the Plain, near the Scæan gate of the city; hence all the zeal which has been shewn in giving to the springs of Bonarbashy the name of those sources, although they are

many in number, and all of them warm springs, as will hereafter appear. Having once admitted this palpable delusion concerning the sources of the Scamander, notwithstanding the very judicious remonstrances of Mr. Bryant upon this part of the subject, and the obvious interpretation of the text of Homer, the wildest theories ensued. All attention to the Plain of Troas on the north-eastern side of the Mender was abandoned; nothing was talked of excepting Bonarbashy, and its warm fountains; and these being once considered as the sources of the Scamander, were further reconciled with Homer's description, by urging the absurdity of believing Achilles to have pursued Hector on the heights of Ida, when the chase is said to have happened near the walls of Troy. But the plain matter of fact is, that Homer, in no part of his poems, has stated either the temperature of the Scamander at its source, or its double origin. In no part of his poems is there any thing equivocal, or obscure, concerning the place whence that river issues, or the nature of its torrent. It is with him, 'Scamander, flowing from Idean Jove;' ΜΕΤΑΣ ΠΙΟΤΑΜΟΣ ΒΑΘΥΔΙΝΗΣ, 'the great vortiginous river;' bearing on his giddy tide, the body of Polydorus to the sea;' 'the angry Scamander.' The springs by which Achilles pursues Hector were two fountains, or rivelets, near the bed of the river, as expressly stated by the Poet; but they had no connection with the source of the Scamander, and therefore the rise of that river in Mount Ida causes no objection to Homer's narrative. The whole country abounds both with hot and with cold springs; so that, unauthorized by the Poet to ascend to the source of the Scamander

der in search of them, we may rest satisfied with their position elsewhere.

" Continuing along the southern side of Callifat Water, after having crossed the ford, we came to some ruins upon its banks, by which the ground was covered to a considerable extent. These consisted of the most beautiful Doric pillars, whose capitals and shafts, of the finest white marble, were lying in the utmost disorder. Among them we also noticed some entire shafts of granite. The temples of Jupiter being always of the Doric order, we might suppose these ruins to mark the site of a fane consecrated to Idean Jove; but Doric was evidently the prevailing order among the antient edifices of the Troas, as it is found every where in the district, and all the temples in that part of Phrygia could not have been consecrated to the same Deity. The ruins by the Callifat Water have not been hitherto remarked by any traveller; although Akerblad obtained, and published in a very inaccurate manner, an Inscription I also copied there. It is as old as the Archonship of Euclid. Having already twice before published it, both in the account of the Greek marbles preserved in the Vestibule of the Public Library at Cambridge, and also in the Appendix to the Dissertation on the Soros of

Alexander, the introduction of the original legend here would be deemed an unnecessary repetition. It was inscribed upon the lower part of a plain marble pillar: this we removed to the Dardanelles, and afterwards sent to England. The interpretation sets forth, that 'those partaking of the sacrifice, and of the games, and of the whole festival, honoured Pytha, daughter to Scamandrotimus, native of Ilium, who performed the office of Canephoros in an exemplary and distinguished manner, for her piety towards the goddess.' In the conjecture already offered, that the stream, on the banks of which those edifices were raised, and these vows offered, was the Simoïs of the antients, some regard was necessarily intended, both to the ruins here situated, and the inscription to which reference is now made. A certain degree of collateral, although no positive evidence, may possibly result from the bare mention of places and ceremonies, connected by their situation, and consecrated by their nature, to the history of the territory where Simoïs flowed.

" Near the same place, upon a block of Parian marble, I found another inscription, but not equally perfect. The following letters were all I could collect from the most careful examination of the stone:

ΑΣΤΩΘΥΓΙΣΙ
ΣΜΗΤΩΝΑΕΛΥΣΑΙ
ΠΑΤΗΡΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑ
ΘΗΚΗΝΕΣΕΠΙΚΡΙΜΤΟ
ΚΑΙΚΙΛΙΟΥΣΟΥΠΟ
ΤΑΜΙΟΥΚΑ
ΑΠΟΛΕ

" We afterwards proceeded to the Greek village of Callifat, situated near the spot where the Callifat

Osmack joins the Mender. In the streets and court yards of this place were lying several capitals of Corinthian

thian pillars; and upon a broken marble tablet, placed in a wall, I noticed

part of an inscription in metre; the rest of the characters having perished:

.. ΙΔΥΣΙΝΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝΙΚ
.. ΠΡΟΚΛΟΝΥΜΟ
.. ΡΟΣΤΟΣΟΥ

"While I was copying this, some peasants of the place came to me with Greek medals. They were all of copper, in high preservation, and all medals of Ilium, struck in the time of the Roman emperors. On one side was represented the figure of Hector combating, with his shield and spear, and the words ΕΚΤΩΡΙΑΙΕΩΝ; and upon the other, the head either of Antoninus, Faustina, Severus, or some later Roman emperor or empress. As there were so many of these Illican medals, I asked where they were found; and was answered, in modern Greek, at Palaio Callifat, Old Callifat, a short distance from the present village, in the plain towards the east. I begged to be conducted thither; and took one of the peasants with me, as a guide.

"We came to an elevated spot of ground, surrounded on all sides by a level plain, watered by the Callifat Osmack, and which there is every reason to believe the Simoï-sian. Here we found, not only the traces, but also the remains of an ancient citadel. Turks were then employed raising enormous blocks of marble, from foundations surrounding the place; possibly the identical works constructed by Lysimachus, who fenced New Ilium with a wall. The appearance of the structure exhibited that colossal and massive style of architecture which bespeaks the masonry of the early ages of Grecian history. All the territory within these foundations was covered by broken pottery whose fragments were parts of those ancient vases now held in

such high estimation. Here the peasants said they found the medals they had offered to us, and most frequently after heavy rains. Many had been discovered in consequence of the recent excavations made there of the Turks, who were removing the materials of the old foundations, for the purpose of constructing works at the Dardanelles. As these medals, bearing indisputable legends to designate the people by whom they were fabricated, have also, in the circumstances of their discovery, a peculiar connection with the ruins here, they may be considered as indicating, with tolerable certainty, the situation of the city to which they belonged. Had we observed, in our route from Tchiblack, precisely the line of direction mentioned by Strabo, and continued a due course from east to west, instead of turning towards the south in the Simoï-sian Plain to visit the village of Callifat, we should have terminated the distance he has mentioned, of thirty stadia, (as separating the city from the village of the Iliensians) by the discovery of these ruins. They may have been the same which Kauffer noticed in his map, by the title of Ville de Constantine; but evidently appear to be the remains of New Ilium; whether we regard the testimony afforded by their situation, as accordant with the text of Strabo; or the discovery there made of medals of the city. Once in possession of this important point, a light breaks in upon the dark labyrinth of Troas; we stand with Strabo upon the very spot whence he deduced his observations

concerning other objects in the district; looking down upon the Simoisian Plain, and viewing the junction of the two rivers ('one flowing towards Sigeum, and the other towards Rhæteum,' precisely as described by him) in front of the Iliensian city; being guided, at the same time, to Callicolone, the village of the Ilians, and the sepulchres of Æsyetes, Baticia, and Ilus, by the clue he has afforded. From the natural or artificial elevation of the territory on which the city stood, (an insulated object in the plain) we beheld almost every landmark to which that author has alluded. The splendid spectacle presented towards the west, by the snow-clad top of Samothrace, towering behind Imbrus, would baffle every attempt of delineation: it rose with indescribable *gandeur*, to a height beyond all I had seen for a

long time; and while its æthereal summit shone with inconceivable brightness in a sky without a cloud, seemed, notwithstanding its remote situation, as if its vastness would overwhelm all Troas, should an earthquake heave it from its base. Nearer to the eye appeared the mouth of the Hellespont, and Sigeum. On the south, the tomb of Æsyetes, by the road leading to Alexandria Troas; and less remote, the Scamander, receiving Simois, or Callifat water, at the boundary of the Simoisian Plain. Towards the east, the Throsmos, with the sepulchres of Baticia and Ilus: and far beyond, in the great chain of Ida, Gargarus opposed to Samothrace, dignified by equal if not superior altitude, and beaming the same degree of splendor from the snows by which it was invested.

JERUSALEM AND THE HOLY LAND.

[From the same.]

"WE left Napolose one hour after midnight, that we might reach Jerusalem early the same day. We were, however, much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen. The road was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones: yet the cultivation was every where marvellous: it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of Judæa

were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops, we noticed millet, cotton, linseed, and tobacco;

tobacco; and occasionally small fields of barley. A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the East, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly portrayed in every countenance: instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of Djezzar Pacha's desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and a beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed 'a field which the Lord hath blessed:' God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.'

"The first part of our journey led through the valley lying between the two mountains Ebal and Gerizim. We passed the sepulchre of Joseph, and the well of Jacob, where the valley of Sichein opens into a fruitful plain, watered by a stream which rises near the town. This is allowed, by all writers, to be the piece of land mentioned by St. John, which Jacob bought 'at the hand of the children of Emmor,' and where he erected his altar to 'the God of Israel.' Afterwards, as the day dawned, a cloudless sky foretold the excessive heat we should have to encounter in this day's journey; and before noon, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the most shaded situation we could find, stood at 102 degrees. Our umbrellas scarcely afforded protection, the

reflection from the ground being almost as insupportable as the sun's direct rays. We had, during the morning, a long and most tedious ride, without rest or refreshment; silently following our guides, along a narrow and stony track, over a mountainous country, and by the edge of precipices. We passed, without notice, a place called Leban by Maundrell, the Lebonah of scripture: also, about six hours distance from Napolose, in a narrow valley, between two high rocky hills, the ruins of a village, and of a monastery, situated where the Bethel of Jacob is supposed to have been. The nature of the soil is an existing comment upon the record of the stony territory, where 'he took of the stones of the place, and put them for his pillows.' At two o'clock P.M. we halted for a little repose, near a well, beneath the shade of a ruined building. This place was said to be three hours distance from Jerusalem. It is perhaps the same described by Maundrell, under the name of Beer; so called, says he, from its fountain of water, and supposed to be the Michmash of sacred scripture. It is described by him as distant three hours and twenty minutes from the Holy city. This name of our halting place is not found, however, in any of our journals. Here, upon some pieces of very mouldy biscuit, a few raw onions, (the only food we could find upon the spot,) and the water of the well, we all of us fed with the best possible appetite, and could we have procured a little salt, we should have deemed our fare delicious.

"At three P.M. we again mounted our horses, and proceeded on our route. No sensation of fatigue or heat could counterbalance the eagerness and zeal which animated all

all our party, in the approach to Jerusalem; every individual pressed forward, hoping first to announce the joyful intelligence of its appearance. We passed some insignificant ruins, either of ancient buildings or of modern villages; but had they been of more importance, they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind towards the main object of interest and curiosity. At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill towards the south—'Hagiopolis!' exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it! The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was en-

grossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills whereby it is surrounded give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses. About three quarters of an hour before we reached the walls, we passed a large ruin upon our right hand, close to the road. This, by the reticulated style of masonry upon its walls, as well as by the remains of its vaulted foundations of brickwork, evidently denoted a Roman building. We could not obtain any account of it; neither is it mentioned by the authors who have described the antiquities of the country.

"At this place, two Turkish officers, mounted on beautiful horses sumptuously caparisoned, came to inform us, that the governor, having intelligence of our approach, had sent them to escort us into the town. When they arrived, we were all assembled upon an eminence, admiring the splendid appearance of the city; and being impressed with other ideas than those of a vain ostentation, would gladly have declined the parade, together with the interruption caused by a public entry. This was, however, said to be unavoidable; it was described as a necessary mark of respect due to Gjezzar Pacha, under whose protection we travelled: as well as of consequence to our future safety. We therefore confined ourselves to all the etiquette of our Mahometan masters of ceremony, and were marshalled accordingly. Our attendants were ordered to fall back in the rear; and it was evident, by the manner of placing us, that we were expected to form a procession to the governor's house, and to appear as dependants, swelling the train of our Moslem conductors. Our British

fish tarts, not relishing this, would now and then prance towards the post of honour, and were with difficulty restrained from taking the lead. As we approached the city, the concourse of people became very great, the walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried out 'Bon' Inglesi! Viva l'Inghilterra!' others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally Christian dogs, and filthy infidels. We could never learn wherefore so much curiosity had been excited; unless it were, that of late, owing to the turbulent state of public affairs, the resort of strangers to Jerusalem had become more uncommon; or that they expected another visit from Sir Sidney Smith, who had marched into Jerusalem with colours flying and drums beating, at the head of a party of English sailors. He protected the Christian guardians of the Holy Sepulchre from the tyranny of their Turkish rulers, by hoisting the British standard upon the walls of their monastery. Novelty, at any period, produces considerable bustle at Jerusalem: the idleness of its inhabitants, and the uniform tenor of their lives, rendered more monotonous by the cessation of pilgrimage, naturally dispose them to run after a new sight, or to listen to new intelligence. The arrival of a Tartar courier from the yizier's army, or the coming of foreigners to the city, rouses Christians from their prayers, Jews from their traffic, and even Moslems from their tobacco or their opium, in search of something new.

"Thus attended, we reached the gate of Damascus about seven o'clock

in the evening. Châteaubriand calls this Bab-el-Hamond, or Bab-el-Cham, the Gate of the Column. 'When,' says he, 'Simon the Cyrenian met Christ, he was coming from the gate of Damascus;' thereby adopting a topography suited to the notions generally entertained of the relative situation of Mount Calvary and the Prætorium, with regard to this gate; Simon being described as 'coming out of the country,' and therefore, of course, entering by that gate of the city contiguous to 'the dolorous way.' It were, indeed, a rash undertaking to attempt any refutation of opinions so long entertained, concerning what are called 'the Holy Places' of this memorable city. 'Never,' says the author now cited, 'was subject less known to modern readers, and never was subject more completely exhausted. Men entitled to the highest consideration, under whose authority even reverence is due, have written for its illustration: and some of the ablest modern geographers, quitting more extensive investigations, have applied all their ingenuity, talents, and information, to the topography of Jerusalem. It would therefore seem like wanton temerity, to dispute the identity of places whose situation has been so ably discussed and so generally admitted, were there not this observation to urge, that the descriptions of Jerusalem since the Crusades have principally issued from men who had no ocular evidence concerning the places they describe. Like Thevenot, writing an account of scenes in Asia without ever having quitted Europe, they have proved the possibility of giving to a fiction an air of so much reality, that it has been cited, even by historians, as authority. If, as
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spectators upon the spot, we confessed ourselves dissatisfied with the supposed identity of certain points of observation in Jerusalem, it is because we refused to tradition alone, what appeared contradictory to the evidence of our senses. Of this it will be proper to expatiate more fully in the sequel. It is now only necessary to admonish the reader, that he will not find in these pages a renewal of the statements made by Sandys, and Maundrell, and Pococke, with a host of Greek and Latin pilgrims from the age of Phocas down to Breidenbach and Quaresmius. We should no more think of enumerating all the absurdities to which the Franciscan friars direct the attention of travellers, than of copying, like another Coticovic, the whole of the hymns sung by the pilgrims at every station. Possessing as much enthusiasm as might be necessary in travellers viewing this hallowed city, we still retained the power of our understandings sufficiently to admire the credulity for which no degree of preposterousness seemed too mighty; which converted even the parables of our Saviour into existing realities; exhibiting, as holy reliques, the house of Dives, and the dwelling-place of the good Samaritan. There is much to be seen at Jerusalem, independently of its monks and monasteries; much to repay pilgrims of a very different description from those who usually resort thither, for all the fatigue and danger they must encounter. At the same time, to men interested in tracing, within the walls, antiquities referred to by the documents of Sacred History, no spectacle can be more mortifying than the city in its present state. The mistaken piety of the early Christians, in

attempting to preserve, either confused or annihilated the memorials it endeavoured to perpetuate. On viewing the havoc they have made, it may now be regretted that the Holy Land was ever rescued from the dominion of Saracens, far less barbarous than their conquerors. The absurdity of hewing the rocks of Judæa, whether of Mount Calvary or any other mount, into gilded chapels, and of disguising the face of nature with painted domes and marble coverings, by way of commemorating the scenes of our Saviour's life and death, is so evident and so lamentable, that even Sandys, with all his credulity, could not avoid a happy application of the reproof directed by the Roman satirist against a similar violation of the Egerian Fountain.

" We were conducted to the house of the governor, who received us in very great state; offering his protection, and exhibiting the ordinary pomp of Turkish hospitality, in the number of slaves richly dressed, who brought fuming incense, coffee, conserved fruit, and pipes, to all the party, profusely sprinkling us, as usual, with rose and orange-flower water. Being then informed of all our projects, he ordered his interpreter to go with us to the Franciscan Convent of St. Salvador, a large building like a fortress, the gates of which were thrown open to receive our whole cavalcade. Here, when we were admitted into a court, with all our horses and camels, the vast portals were again closed, and a party of the most corpulent friars we had ever seen from the warmest cloisters of Spain and of Italy, waddled round us, and heartily welcomed our arrival.

" From the court of the Convent
we

we were next conducted, by a stone staircase, to the refectory, where the monks who had received us introduced us to the superior, not a witless corpulent than any of his companions. In all the convents I had ever visited (and these are not few in number) I had never beheld such friars as the Franciscans of St. Salvador. The figures sometimes brought upon the stage, to burlesque the monasterial character, may convey some notion of their appearance. The influence which a peculiar mode of life has upon the constitution, in this climate, might be rendered evident by contrasting one of these jolly fellows with the Propaganda Missionaries. The latter are as meagre and as pale, as the former are corpulent and ruddy. The life of the missionaries is necessarily a state of constant activity and of privation. The guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, or, according to the name they bear, the Terra-Santa friars, are confined to the walls of their comfortable convent, which, when compared with the usual accommodations of the Holy Land, is like a sumptuous and well-furnished hotel, open to all comers whom curiosity or devotion may bring to this mansion of rest and refreshment.

"After being regaled with coffee, and some delicious lemonade, we were shewn to our apartments, to repose ourselves until supper. The room allotted to our English party we found to be the same which many travellers have before described. It was clean and its walls were white-washed. The beds, also, had a cleanly appearance; although a few bugs warned us to spread our hammocks upon the floor, where we slept for once unmolested. Upon the substantial door of this chamber,

whose roof was of vaulted stone, the names of many English travellers had been carved. Among others, we had the satisfaction to notice that of Thomas Shaw, the most learned writer who has yet appeared in descriptions of the Levant. Dr. Shaw had slept in the same apartment seventy-nine years before our coming.

"A plentiful supper was served, in a large room called the Pilgrim's Chamber. Almost all the monks, together with their superior, were present. These men did not eat with us; having their meals private. After we had supped, and retired to the dormitory, one of the friars, an Italian, in the dress worn by the Franciscans, came into our apartment, and, giving us a wink, took some bottles of Noyau from his bosom, desiring us to taste it; he said that he could supply us with any quantity, or quality, of the best liqueurs, either for our consumption while we staid, or for our journey. We asked him whence it was obtained; and he informed us, that he had made it; explaining the nature of his situation in the monastery, by saying, that he was a confectioner; that the monks employed him in works of ornament suited to his profession; but that his principal employment was the manufacturing of liqueurs. A large part of this convent, surrounding an elevated open court or terrace, is appropriated to the reception of pilgrims; for whose maintenance the monks have considerable funds, the result of donations from Catholics of all ranks, but especially from Catholic princes. These contributions are sometimes made in cash, and often in effects, in merchandize, and stores for the convent. To mention, by way of example, one article,

ticle, equally rare and grateful to weary English travellers in the Levant; namely, tea. Of this they had an immense provision, and of the finest quality. Knowing, from long habit in waiting upon pilgrims, the taste of different nations, they most hospitably entertain their comers according to the notions they have thus acquired. If a table be provided for Englishmen or for Dutchmen, they supply it copiously with tea. This pleasing and refreshing beverage was served every morning and evening while we remained, in large bowls, and we drank it out of pewter porringers. For this salutary gift the monks positively refused to accept our offers of compensation, at a time when a few drachms of any kind of tea could with difficulty be procured from the English ships in the Mediterranean, at the most enormous prices. Persons who have not travelled in these latitudes will perhaps not readily conceive the importance of such an acquisition. The exhausted traveller, reduced by continual fever, and worn by incessant toil, without a hope of any comfortable repose, experiences in this infusion the most cooling and balsamic virtues: the heat of his blood abates; his spirits revive; his parched skin relaxes; his strength is renovated. As almost all the disorders of the country, and particularly those to which a traveller is most liable, originate in obstructed perspiration, the medicinal properties of tea in this country may perhaps explain the cause of its long celebrity in China. Jerusalem is in the same latitude with Nankin, and it is eight degrees further to the south than Pekin; the influence of climate and of medicine, in disorders of the body, may therefore, perhaps,

be similar. Certain it is, that travellers in China, so long ago as the ninth century, mention an infusion made from the leaves of a certain herb, named Sah, as a cure for all diseases; which is proved to be the same now called Tea by European nations.

“In the commotions and changes that have taken place in Jerusalem, the Convent of St. Salvador has been often plundered and stripped of its effects. Still, however, the riches of the treasury are said to be considerable; but the principal part of its wealth is very properly concealed from all chance of observation. At present, it has a small library, full of books of little value, the writings of polemical divines, and stale dissertations upon peculiar points of faith. We examined them carefully, but found nothing so much worth notice as the Oxford edition of Maundrell's Journey. This volume some traveller had left: the worthy monks were very proud of it, although unable to read a syllable it contained. In the church, as well as in the chambers of the monastery, we noticed several pictures; all of these were bad, although some of them appeared to have been copied from originals that possessed greater merit. In the Pilgrim's chamber, a printed advertisement, pasted upon a board, is suspended from the wall, giving notice, that ‘no pilgrim shall be allowed to remain in the Convent longer than one month:’ a sufficient time, certainly, for all purposes of devotion, rest, or curiosity. The Franciscans complain heavily of the exactions of the Turks, who make frequent and large demands upon them for money; but the fact of their being able to answer these demands, affords a proof of the wealth

wealth of the convent. Sir Sidney Smith, during his visit to Jerusalem, rendered them essential service, by remonstrating with the Turkish governor against one of these Avantias, as they are called, and finally compelling him to withdraw the charge. The monks assured us, that the English, although Protestants, are the best friends the Catholics have in Jerusalem, and the most effectual guardians of the Holy Sepulchre. This served, indeed, as a prelude to a request that we would also intercede for them with the governor, by representing to him, that any ill usage offered to Christians would be resented by the British nation. We rendered them all the service in our power, and they were very thankful.

“Friday, July 10.—This morning our room was filled with Armenians and Jews, bringing for sale the only produce of the Jerusalem manufactures; beads, crosses, shells, &c. The shells were of the kind we call mother-of-pearl, ingeniously, although coarsely, sculptured, and formed into various shapes. Those of the largest size, and the most perfect, are formed into clasps for the zones of the Greek women. Such clasps are worn by the ladies of Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and the islands of the Archipelago. All these, after being purchased, are taken to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where they receive a sort of benediction; exactly after the manner in which the beads and crosses, purchased at Loretto in Italy, are placed in a wooden bowl belonging to the house of the Virgin Mary. Afterwards, they are worn as reliques. The beads are manufactured, either from date stones, or from a very hard kind of wood,

whose natural history we could not learn. It was called, ‘Mecca fruit, and, when first wrought, appeared of the colour of box: it is then dyed, yellow, black, or red. The beads are of various sizes; and they are all strung as rosaries; the smaller being the most esteemed, on account of the greater number requisite to fill a string, and the greater labour necessarily required in making them. They sell at higher prices when they have been long worn, because they have then acquired, by friction, a higher polish. This sort of trumpery is ridiculed by all travellers, but we cannot say it is scouted by any of them; for there has not been one who did not encourage the Jerusalem manufactories by the purchases he made. It offers an easy method of obtaining a large quantity of acceptable presents, which occupy little space, for the inhabitants of Greek and Catholic countries, as well as for Turks and Arabs. We provided ourselves with a considerable cargo, and found them useful in our subsequent journey. The custom of carrying such strings of beads was in use long before the Christian æra; and the practice of bearing them in the hand prevails, among men of rank, all over the east. This subject the author has already introduced into a former publication; therefore its repetition here is unnecessary. It is not so easy to account for the origin of the shell, as a badge worn by pilgrims: but it decidedly refers to much earlier Oriental customs than the journeys of Christians to the Holy Land, and its history will probably be found in the mythology of Eastern nations. Among the substances which they had wrought in the manufacture of rosaries, and for amulets, we were glad to notice the

the black fetid limestone of the Lake Asphaltites; because it enabled us to procure very large specimens of that mineral, in its natural state. It is worn in the East as a charm against the plague; and that a similar superstition attached to this stone in very early ages, is evident from the circumstance of our having afterwards found amulets of the same substance in the subterranean chambers below the Pyramids of Saquâra, in Upper Egypt. The cause of the fetid effluvia emitted from this stone, when partially decomposed by means of friction, is now known to be owing to the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen. All bituminous limestone does not possess this property. It is very common in the sort of limestone called black marble in England, though not always its characteristic. The workmen employed by stone-masons often complain of the unpleasant smell which escapes from it during their labours. The antient Gothic monuments in France frequently consisted of fetid limestone. The fragments which we obtained from the Dead Sea had this property in a very remarkable degree; and it may generally be observed, that the Oriental specimens are more strongly impregnated with hydro-sulphuret than any which are found in Europe. The water of the Dead Sea has a similar odour. The monks of St. Salvador, kept it in jars, together with the bitumen of the same lake, among the articles of their pharmacy; both the one and the other being also esteemed on account of their medical virtues.

“ We set out to visit what are called ‘the Holy Places.’ These are all amply described by at least an hundred authors. From the monastery we descended to the church of the holy sepulchre; attended by

several pilgrims, bearing with them rosaries and crucifixes for consecration in the tomb of Jesus Christ. Concerning the identity of this most memorable relique, there is every evidence but that which should result from a view of the sepulchre itself. After an attentive perusal of all that may be adduced, and all that has been urged, in support of it, from Eusebius, Lactantius, Sozomen, Jerom, Severus, and Nicephorus, it may be supposed that the question is for ever decided. If these testimonies be insufficient, ‘we might,’ says Châteaubriand, ‘adduce those of Cyril, of Theodoret, and even of the itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem,’ in the middle of the fourth century. From the time of the Emperor Adrian, when the crucifixion and burial of our Saviour was almost in the memory of man, unto the age of Constantine, an image of Jupiter marked the site of the holy sepulchre, and Mount Calvary continued to be profaned by a statue of Venus. This powerful record of the means used by the pagans to obliterate the rites of christianity, seems to afford decisive evidence concerning the locality of the tomb, and to place its situation beyond the reach of doubt. Theodoret affirms, that Helena, upon her arrival, found the fane of Venus, and ordered it to be thrown down. To what then can be attributed the want of every document within the building now called the church of the holy sepulchre, which might denote the site of such a monument? The sepulchres of the Jews, as has been already maintained, were, in the age of the crucifixion, of a nature to withstand every attack of time: they were excavations made in the heart of solid rocks, which even earthquakes would scarcely remove or alter, Indeed,

Indeed, we have evidence from the gospel itself, that earthquakes, in certain instances, had no power over them; for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, made before the earthquake which accompanied the crucifixion, is described, after that event had taken place, as 'his own new tomb, which he had hewn out of the rock.' Even the grooving for the stone at the door was unchanged and entire, for 'he rolled the great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed;' and it was afterwards 'sealed, and made sure.' Quaresmius, by an engraving for the illustration of the mode of burial then practised, has shewn, according to a model familiar to the learned monk, from his residence in the Holy Land where such sepulchres now exist, the sort of tomb described by the Evangelists. But there is nothing of this kind in the church of the holy sepulchre; nothing that can be reconciled with the history of our Saviour's burial. In order to do away this glaring inconsistency, it is affirmed that Mount Calvary was levelled for the foundations of the church; that the word *ὄρος, mons*, does not necessarily signify a mountain, but sometimes a small hill; that the sepulchre of Christ alone remained after this levelling had taken place, in the centre of the area; and that this was encased with marble!—not a syllable of which is supported by any existing evidence offered in the contemplation of what is now called the Tomb. Let us therefore proceed to describe what really remains.

"We came to a goodly structure, whose external appearance resembled that of any ordinary Roman catholic church. Over the door we observed a bas-relief, executed in a style of sculpture meriting more

attention than it has hitherto received. At first sight, it seemed of higher antiquity than the existence of any place of christian worship; but, upon a nearer view, we recognised the history of the Messiah's entry into Jerusalem—the multitude strewing palm branches before him. The figures were very numerous. Perhaps it may be considered as offering an example of the first work in which pagan sculptors represented a christian theme. Entering the church, the first thing they shewed to us was a slab of white marble in the pavement, surrounded by a rail. It seemed like one of the grave-stones in the floor of our English churches. This, they told us, was the spot where our Saviour's body was anointed by Joseph of Arimathea. We next advanced towards a dusty fabric, standing, like a huge pepper-box, in the midst of the principal aisle, and beneath the main dome. This rested upon a building, partly circular, and partly oblong, as upon a pedestal. The interior of this strange fabric is divided into two parts. Having entered the first part, which is a kind of antechapel, they shew you, before the mouth of what is called the sepulchre, the stone whereon the angel sat: this is a block of white marble, neither corresponding with the mouth of the sepulchre, nor with the substance from which it must have been hewn; for the rocks of Jerusalem are all of common compact limestone. Shaw, speaking of the holy sepulchre, says, that all the surrounding rocks were cut away, to form the level of the church; so that now it is 'a grotto above ground:' but even this is not true: there are no remains whatsoever of any ancient known sepulchre, that, with the most attentive and scrupulous ex-
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amination, we could possibly discover. The sides consist of thick slabs of that beautiful breccia, vulgarly called verd-antique marble; and over the entrance, which is rugged and broken, owing to the pieces carried off as reliques, the substance is of the same nature. All that can therefore now be affirmed with any shadow of reason, is this; that, if Helena had reason to believe she could identify the spot where the sepulchre was, she took especial care to remove every existing trace of it, in order to introduce the fanciful and modern work which now remains. The place may be the same pointed out to her; but not a remnant of the original sepulchre can now be ascertained. Yet, with all our sceptical feelings thus awakened, it may prove how powerful the effect of sympathy is, if we confess that, when we entered into the sanctum sanctorum, and beheld, by the light of lamps, there continually burning, the venerable figure of an aged monk, with streaming eyes, and a long white beard, pointing to the place 'where the body of our Lord was,' and calling upon us 'to kneel and experience pardon for our sins'—we knelt, and participated in the feelings of more credulous pilgrims. Captain Culverhouse, in whose mind the ideas of religion and of patriotism were inseparable, with firmer emotion, drew from its scabbard the sword he had so often wielded in the defence of his country, and placed it upon the tomb. Humbler comers heaped the memorials of an accomplished pilgrimage; and while their sighs alone interrupted the silence of the sanctuary, a solemn service was begun. Thus ended our visit to the sepulchre.

"If the reader has caught a single spark of this enthusiasm, it were perhaps sacrilegious to dissipate the illusion. But much remains untold. Every thing beneath this building seems discordant, not only with history, but with common sense. It is altogether such a work as might naturally be conjectured to arise from the infatuated superstition of such an old woman as was Helena, subsequently enlarged by ignorant priests. Forty spaces from the sepulchre, beneath the roof of the same church, and upon the same level, are shewn two rooms, one above the other. Close by the entrance to the lower chamber, or chapel, are the tombs of Godfrey of Bonlogne, and of Baldwin, kings of Jerusalem, with inscriptions in Latin, in the old Gothic character. These have been copied into almost every book of travels, from the time of Sandys to the present day. At the extremity of this chapel they exhibit a fissure or cleft in the natural rock; and this, they say, happened at the crucifixion. Who shall presume to contradict the tale? But, to complete the *naïveté* of the tradition, it is also added, that the head of Adam was found within the fissure. Then, if the traveller has not already heard and seen enough to make him regret his wasted time, he may ascend by a few steps into a room above. There they will shew him the same crack again; and immediately in front of it, a modern altar. This they venerate as Mount Calvary, the place of crucifixion; exhibiting upon this contracted piece of masonry the marks, or holes, of the three crosses, without the smallest regard to the space necessary for their erection. After this he may be conducted through such a farrago of absurdities, that

that it is wonderful the learned men, who have described Jerusalem, should have filled their pages with any serious detail of them. Nothing, however, can surpass the fidelity with which Sandys has particularized every circumstance of all this trumpery; and his rude cuts are characterized by equal exactness. Among others, should be mentioned the place where the cross was found; because the identity of the timber, which has since supplied all christendom with its reliques, was confirmed by a miracle,—proof equally infallible with that afforded by the eagle at the tomb of Theseus, in the isle of Scyra, when Cimon the Athenian sought the bones of the son of Ægeus.

“It is time to quit these degrading fallacies: let us break from our monkish instructors; and, instead of viewing Jerusalem as pilgrims, examine it by the light of history, with the Bible in our hands. We shall thus find many interesting objects of contemplation. If Mount Calvary has sunk beneath the overwhelming influence of superstition, studiously endeavouring to modify and to disfigure it, through so many ages; if the situation of Mount Sion yet remains to be ascertained; the Mount of Olives, undisguised by fanatical labours, exhibits the appearance it presented in all the periods of its history. From its elevated summit almost all the principal features of the city may be discerned, and the changes that eighteen centuries have wrought in its topography may perhaps be ascertained. The features of nature continue the same, though works of art have been done away: the beautiful gate of the temple is no more; but Siloa's fountain haply flows, and Kedron sometimes murmurs in the valley of Jehosaphat.

“It was this resolve, and the determination of using our own eyes, instead of peering through the spectacles of priests, that led to the discovery of antiquities undescribed by any author: and marvellous it is, considering their magnitude, and the scrutinizing inquiry which has been so often directed to every object of the place, that these antiquities have hitherto escaped notice. It is possible that their position, and the tenor of their inscriptions, may serve to throw new light upon the situation of Sion, and the topography of the ancient city. This, however, will be a subject for the investigation of future travellers. We must content ourselves with barely mentioning their situation, and the circumstances of their discovery. We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of Sion: it is situated upon the south side of Jerusalem, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the mount. If this be indeed Mount Sion, the prophecy concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the latter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the Turks have a mosque over what they call the tomb of David. No christian can gain admittance; and as we did not choose to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the mount, having quitted the city by what is called ‘Sion Gate,’ we descended into a single or trench, called Tophet, or Gehinnon, by Sandys. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping towards the valley of Jehosaphat, we observed, upon the sides of the opposite mountain, which appears to be the same called by Sandys the ‘hill of offence,’ facing Mount Sion,
a number

a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those already described among the ruins of Telmessus, in the gulph of Glaucus; and answering to the account published by Shaw of the Cryptæ of Laodicea, Jebilee, and Tortosa. We rode towards them; their situation being very little elevated above the bottom of the dingle, upon its southern side. When we arrived, we instantly recognised the sort of sepulchres which had so much interested us in Asia Minor, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workmanship, exhibiting a series of subterranean chambers, hewn with marvellous art, each containing one, or many, repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. The doors were so low, that, to look into any one of them, it was necessary to stoop, and, in some instances, to creep upon our hands and knees: these doors were also grooved, for the reception of immense stones, once squared and fitted to the grooves, by way of closing the entrances. Of such a nature were, indisputably, the tombs of the sons of Heth, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ. This has been also proved by Shaw; but the subject has been more satisfactorily elucidated by the learned Quaresmius, in his dissertation concerning ancient sepulchres. The cemeteries of the ancients were universally excluded from the precincts of their cities. In order, therefore, to account for the seeming contradiction implied by the situation of the place now shewn as the tomb of the Messiah, it is pretended that it was originally on the outside of the walls of Jerusalem; although a

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doubt must necessarily arise as to the want of sufficient space for the population of the city, between a boundary so situated, and the hill which is now called Mount Sion. The sepulchres we are describing carry, in their very nature, satisfactory evidence of their being situated out of the ancient city, as they are now out of the modern. They are not to be confounded with those tombs, commonly called 'the sepulchres of the kings,' to the north of Jerusalem, believed to be the burial-place of Helena, queen of Adiabéné. What therefore are they? Some of them, from their magnificence, and the immense labour necessary to form the numerous repositories they contain, might lay claim to regal honours; and there is one which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of inhuming a single individual. The Karæan Jews, of all other the most tenacious in adhering to the customs of their ancestors, have, from time immemorial, been in the practice of bringing their dead to this place for interment; although this fact was not wanted to prove it an ancient Jewish cemetery, as will be seen in the sequel. The sepulchres themselves, according to the ancient practice, are stationed in the midst of gardens. From all these circumstances, are we not authorized to seek here for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, who, as a pious Jew, necessarily had his burying-place in the cemetery of his countrymen, among the graves of his forefathers? The Jews were remarkable for their rigid adherence to this custom: they adorned their burial-places with trees and gardens: and the tomb of this Jew is accordingly described as being in a garden; and it was in the place

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where

where our Saviour was crucified.' Of what nature was that place of crucifixion? It is very worthy of observation, that every one of the Evangelists, (and among these, 'he that saw it, and bare record,') affirm, that it was 'the place of a scull;' that is to say, a public cemetery, 'called in the Hebrew, Golgotha;' without the city, and very near to one of its gates. St. Luke calls it Calvary, which has the same signification. The church, supposed to mark the site of the holy sepulchre, exhibits no where the slightest evidence which might entitle it to either of these appellations. Can there be therefore aught of impiety or of temerity in venturing to surmise, that upon the opposite summit, now called Mount Sion, without the walls, the crucifixion of the Messiah was actually accomplished? Perhaps the evidence afforded by existing documents may further il-

lustrate this most interesting subject.—These will now be enumerated.

"Upon all the sepulchres at the base of this mount, which, 'as the place of a scull,' we have the authority of the gospel for calling either Calvary or Golgotha, whether the place of crucifixion or not, there are inscriptions, in Hebrew and in Greek. The Hebrew inscriptions are the most effaced: of these it is difficult to make any tolerable copy. Besides the injuries they have sustained by time, they have been covered by some carbonaceous substance, either bituminous or fœtid, which rendered the task of transcribing them yet more arduous. The Greek inscriptions are brief and legible, consisting of immense letters deeply carved in the face of the rock, either over the door, or by the side, of the sepulchra. Upon the first we observed these characters:

+ THCAFIAC
CIWN

OF . THE . HOLY
SION

Having entered by the door of this sepulchre, we found a spacious chamber cut in the rock, connected with a series of other subterranean apartments, one leading into another, and containing an extensive range of receptacles for the dead, as in those excavations before alluded to, (but which appear of more recent date,) lying to the north of Jerusalem, at a more considerable di-

stance from the city; and also as in the Cryptæ of the Necropolis near Alexandria in Egypt. Opposite to the entrance, but lower down in the rock, a second, and a similar aperture, led to another chamber beyond the first. Over the entrance to this, also, we observed an inscription, nearly obliterated, but differing from the first, by the addition of two letters:

+ HN THC
AFIACCIWN

Having reached the extremity of this second chamber, we could pro-

ceed no further, owing to the rubbish which obstructed our passage. Perhaps

haps the removal of this may, at some future period, lead to other discoveries. It was evident that we had not attained the remotest part of these caverns. There were others with similar Greek inscriptions, and one which particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. The large stone that once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed, within, a fair sepulchre, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to that which is now called Mount Zion. As we viewed this sepulchre, and read upon the spot the description

given of Mary Magdalene and the disciples coming in the morning, it was impossible to divest our minds of the probability that here might have been the identical tomb of Jesus Christ; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the disciples strove together, when 'John did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.' They are individually described as stooping down to look into it; they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing so huge a stone, that when once fixed and sealed, it might have baffled every human effort. But upon this, as upon the others already mentioned, instead of a Hebrew or a Phœnician inscription, there were the same Greek characters, destitute only of the Greek cross prefixed in the former instances. The inscription stood thus,

THCAFIAC CIWN

the letters being very large, and deeply carved in the rugged surface of the rock.

"The Hebrew inscriptions, instead of being over the entrances, were by the side of the doors. Having but little knowledge of the characters with which they were written, all that could be attempted was, to make as faithful a representation as possible of every incision upon the stone, without attempting to supply any thing by conjecture; and even admitting, in certain instances, doubtful traces, which were perhaps casualties caused by injuries the stone had sustained, having no reference to the legend.

"The words of the inscription are supposed to be Arabic, expressed in Hebrew and Phœnician charac-

ters. The arrow-headed character occurs here, as in the inscriptions at Telmessus.

"All the face of this mountain, along the dingle supposed to be the Vale of Gehinnon by Sandys, is marked by similar excavations. Some of these, as may be seen by reference to a former note, did not escape his searching eye; although he neglected to observe their inscriptions, probably from keeping the beaten track of pilgrims going from Mount Zion to the Mount of Olives, and neglecting to cross the valley in order to examine them more nearly. The top of the mountain is covered by ruined walls and the remains of sumptuous edifices: these he also noticed; but he does not even hint at their origin. Here again

again we are at a loss for intelligence; and future travellers will be aware of the immense field of inquiry which so many undescribed remains belonging to Jerusalem offer to their observation. If the foundations and ruins as of a citadel may be traced all over this eminence, the probability is, that this was the real Mount Sion; that the Gehinnon of Sandys, and of many other writers, was in fact the Valley of Millo, called Tyropeon by Josephus, which separated Sion from Mount Moriah, and extended as far as the Fountain Siloa, where it joined the Valley of Jehosaphat. The sepulchres will then appear to have been situated beneath the walls of the citadel, as was the case in many antient cities. Such was the situation of the Grecian sepulchres in the Crimea, belonging to the ancient city of Chersonesus, in the Minor Peninsula of the Heracleotæ. The inscriptions already noticed seem to favour this position; and if hereafter it should ever be confirmed, 'the remarkable things belonging to Mount Sion,' of which

Pococke says there are no remains in the hill now bearing that appellation, will in fact be found here. 'The Garden of the Kings, near the Pool of Siloam, where Manasseh and Amon, kings of Judah, were buried;' the cemetery of the kings of Judah; the traces and remains of Herod's palaces, called after the names of Cæsar and Agrippa; 'together with the other places mentioned by Nehemiah.' All along the side of this mountain, and in the rocks above the Valley of Jehosaphat, upon the eastern side of Jerusalem, as far as the sepulchres of Zechariah and Absalom, and above these, almost to the top of the Mount of Olives, the Jews resident in the city bury their dead, adhering still to the cemetery of their ancestors: but having long lost the art of constructing the immense sepulchres now described, they content themselves in placing Hebrew inscriptions upon small upright slabs of marble, or of common limestone, raised after the manner at present generally in use throughout the East."

ON FUNERAL ORATIONS.

[FROM MR. BUTLER'S LIFE AND WRITINGS OF BOSSUET.]

"FUNERAL orations, of the description of those of which we are now speaking, are little known in England, and are not, perhaps, a branch of oratory, the want of which we should greatly lament. It is evident that nothing should be heard from the pulpit, but the language of the gospel; and nothing praised or blamed from it by any other standard.

"But, when the orator has to pronounce the eulogy of a person, distinguished only by worldly greatness, it must be difficult for him to avoid speaking the language of the world. 'If,' says Massillon, in his celebrated address to Lewis the fourteenth, in the exordium of his sermon on the feast of All-Saints—'if the world addressed your Majesty from this place, the world would
not

not say, Blessed are they who mourn. The world would say, Blessed is the prince who has never fought, but to conquer; who has filled the universe with his name; who, through the whole course of a long and flourishing reign, enjoys in splendor all that men admire;— extent of conquest, the esteem of his enemies, the love of his people, the wisdom of his laws. But, Sir, the language of the gospel is not the language of the world.' Here Massillon contrasts the two languages: which of them is the general language of funeral oration? Does it not almost always sound like that, which Massillon puts in the mouth of the world?

"But this is not the only objection to Funeral Orations. The life of him, who is to be celebrated, though his achievements raise him to the height of human glory, is often wholly sterile of those actions which the counsels, or even the precepts of the gospel inspire. Perhaps even, his general remissness in religious duty is known to his hearers. On such a life, what is to be said by him, who should only speak the language of the gospel? Yet, when once funeral orations become frequent, lives, such as these, will regularly claim and receive the usual tribute of funeral eulogy.

"In another view, the frequency of funeral orations must be mischievous. It is obvious, that they are a tribute of distinction, which should be paid to none, but the most exalted characters. Exalted rank will soon be thought a title to them: and the claim will descend. Even extraordinary wealth will sometimes put in and be allowed its claim.—Thus praise will become too general to confer honour; and one of the strongest incitements to virtue will be lost. Even on elo-

quence itself the effect of this promiscuous praise will be baneful. When the demand for it becomes frequent, the necessity of inventing a subject of praise, when it is wholly wanting, and of amplifying it, where it is merely of ordinary size, must frequently occur. The consequence will be, that the natural and easy will often be excluded from such compositions, and they will be filled with that inflation of sentiment and expression, which a continued state of forced exertion makes unavoidable. That this is not exaggeration, is evident from the general style of funeral orations:—it may be truly said, that, with some brilliant exceptions, they are the least pleasing compositions to be found in French literature.

"Among these exceptions, the funeral orations of Bossuet hold confessedly the first rank. The general style of them is worthy of him: they abound with beautiful, affecting, and sublime passages; with short, but interesting narratives and descriptions; and with characters, sketched by a master's hand.

"One of the finest of them, is the funeral oration on the death of Henrietta-Ann, the daughter of our Charles the First, and wife of the Duke of Orleans. On the 29th of June, 1670, after drinking a glass of cold water, in her apartment of St. Cloud, she was seized with a shivering, succeeded by a burning heat, which threw her into the most excruciating torments. She cried out that she was poisoned: the physicians were sent for; when they saw her, they were struck with horror at her livid appearance, pronounced her beyond medical aid, and advised her to receive, without delay, the last sacraments of the church. The princess heard them pronounce

pronounce her fate with firmness : and recollecting, the manner, in which Bossuet had attended her mother, the Queen Dowager of England, she desired that not an instant should be lost in sending for him. —Three couriers were successively dispatched to him ; and he arrived between eleven and twelve at night, at St. Cloud.

“ In the interval, she suffered the most dreadful pains, and, her immediate dissolution being apprehended, she made a general confession of her sins to the Abbé Feuillet, a person generally esteemed, but of a harsh character. When her confession was finished, her attendants were called in : the whole scene was afflicting and horrible.

“ The account which her confessor gives of his own conduct, makes us, perhaps unreasonably, blame his merciless austerity. Her lamentable shrieks he treated as acts of rebellion against the divine will, and told her, that her sins were not punished as they deserved. In the midst of her convulsions, she received his reproofs with mildness, but often inquired of Madame de la Fayette, who was at her bedside, if Bossuet were not yet come. Before he came, she received extreme unction from the Abbé Feuillet. —Having exclaimed in an agony of pain, ‘ Will these torments never end ! ’ — ‘ Don’t forget yourself in this manner,’ said the merciless Abbé, ‘ you ought to be better disposed for suffering ; but I must tell you, that your torments will soon end.’

“ At length, Bossuet arrived : — As soon as the princess saw him, she made him promise not to quit her, before she breathed her last. —He knelt down, dissolved in tears, leaning on her bed, and holding a crucifix in his hand. With a trem-

ulous voice, often interrupted by his own feelings, he invited her to join him, as far as her sufferings allowed, in the reflections, prayers, and acts of contrition, faith, hope, and charity, which he should address to God for her, and in her name. He was exceedingly moved, and every person present sympathized in the scene. Nothing could exceed the tender and affecting sentiments of devotion and piety which Bossuet suggested to her ; he finally subdued by them, in a great measure, her sense of the cruel sufferings which she endured. The princess heard him with mild and composed constancy ; if he stopt for a moment, she gently entreated him to continue, assuring him, that his words were of inestimable value to her. He then read over to her the recommendation of the soul in the liturgy ; explained it to her ; made her gently repeat with him its soothing prayers ; softly instilled into her the sentiments which they are intended to convey ; filled her soul with faith, with compunction, with calm, with resignation, and above all, with divine love for him into whose hands she was so soon to yield her soul. —She herself, at last, felt a consciousness of her serene triumph over pain, — ‘ O my God ! ’ she exclaimed, ‘ why did I not always adhere to thee ! ’ — She recollected that the crucifix, which Bossuet had in his hands, was the same which he had given to her mother, the queen dowager of England, to hold in her agony. She took it from him, and kept it in her hands till she breathed her last.

“ An hour before she died, she turned to Madame de la Fayette, and, in the English language, which Bossuet did not understand, desired her to observe, that, ‘ full of gratitude for the spiritual assistance, which

which she had received from Bossuet, she requested that, after her decease, a particular emerald ring, set in diamonds of great price, might be presented to him.—Her torments continued to the last, but her patience remained; she persisted to listen to the exhortations, to repeat the prayers, and make the humble and fervent offering of herself to the divine will, which Bossuet suggested to her. Those who heard them never forgot them;—the Abbé Feuillet declared he never heard any thing so completely fine.

“ At three, in the morning, the princess died. The particulars of her death were immediately related by Madame de la Fayette, to Lewis the Fourteenth. He sent for Bossuet, heard them again from him, and then, with his own hand, put the emerald ring, mentioned by the princess, on the prelate’s finger, and desired him to wear it for the rest of his life, in remembrance of her.—He added, that he himself could not better show his regard for the memory of his sister-in-law, than by desiring Bossuet to pronounce her funeral oration.

“ Every thing we know of Bossuet, leads us to think that he had a very feeling heart; it certainly is discernible in every line of his funeral oration on the princess. He chose for his text the verse of Ecclesiastes (i. 2.) so suitable to the occasion, ‘Vanity of vanities! All is vanity!’—Having pronounced these words, he remained for some time in silence, evidently overpowered by his feeling. ‘It was to be my lot,’ he then exclaimed, ‘to perform this melancholy duty to the memory of this illustrious princess! she, whom I had observed so attentive while I performed the same duty to her royal mother, was herself so soon to become the theme of a similar dis-

course!—And my voice was so soon to be exerted in discharging the like melancholy duty to her. O vanity! O nothing! O mortals! ever ignorant of what awaits you!—But a month ago, would she have thought it! You, who then beheld her drowned in tears for her mother’s loss, would you have thought it! would you have thought that you were so soon to meet again to bewail her own fate! Oh! vanity of vanities! all is vanity! These are the only words! the only reflection which, in such an event, my sorrow leaves me!’

“ After this eloquent exordium, Bossuet pursues his dismal theme. He describes, in strains, always eloquent, but always mournful, the short, but brilliant career of the princess;—so highly placed, so greatly gifted, so widely admired, and so generally loved! The idol of the world! The pride of her august family! The delight of all who approached her!—‘Yet, what,’ he exclaimed, ‘is all this, which we, so much below it, so greatly admire! While we tremble in the view of the great, God smites them, that they may serve as warnings to us. Yes! so little does he consider these great ones, that he makes them often serve as mere materials for our instruction!—We have always sufficient reason to be convinced of our nothingness; but if, to win our hearts from the fascination of the world, the wonderful and astonishing is necessary, what we now behold is sufficiently terrible.—O night of woe! O night of horror! When, like a peal of thunder, the dreadful cry bursts on us, on all sides;—The Princess is dying!—The Princess is dead! Nothing could be heard but cries, nothing was discernible but grief, despair, and the image of death!’—The writers of the time mention, that,

that, when Bossuet pronounced these words, the whole audience arose from their seats; that terror was visible in every countenance, and that, for some moments, Bossuet himself was unable to proceed.

"Some of the other funeral orations of Bossuet contain passages equally fine. What an English reader will principally admire in them, are the portraits which they contain of several distinguished personages of that time. In his funeral oration on Henrietta-Maria, the widow of our Charles the First, and the mother of the princess, who was the subject of the discourse which we have just mentioned, Bossuet gives the following description of Cromwell: 'In those days, a man arose of unfathomable depth of thought; as subtle a hypocrite, as he was a consummate politician. In peace and war, equally enterprising and impenetrable, he left nothing to Fortune, which he could keep from her power, by wisdom and foresight; at the same time that he was so well prepared as never to let slip any opportunity, of which he could avail himself to his advantage. In a word,—one of those active and audacious spirits, who seem born for the disturbance of the world. What do not such men achieve, when it pleases the Almighty to make them the instruments of his wrath.'

"In his funeral oration on the chancellor Le Tellier, Bossuet gives the following admirable portrait of the celebrated Cardinal de Retz:—'A man so faithful to individuals, so terrible to the state: of so lofty a character, that it was impossible to esteem, to fear, to love, or to hate him, in moderation. Firm in himself, he shook the universe, and obtained a dignity, which he afterwards wished to resign, as unworthy

of what it had cost him; as an object beneath his mighty mind. In the end, he was sensible of his errors, and of the vanity of human greatness. But, while he was in search for what he was thus afterwards to despise, he shook every thing by his secret and powerful means:—even in the universal overthrow of all around him, he still seemed to suffice for his own support; and his disappointed and intrepid aspect still breathed defiance on his successful adversary."

"In this funeral oration on the prince of Condé, Bossuet thus contrasts the prince and the Marechal de Turenne: "It was a sublime spectacle to behold, at the same time, and, on the same fields of war, two men, whom the universal voice of Europe equalled to the greatest generals of past ages, sometimes united, sometimes commanding different bodies, and, sometimes opposed to each other; possessed of virtues, at once so equal, and of so different a character. One seemed to act from deep reflection, the other from a sudden illumination of mind; the latter was most fiery, but had nothing of rashness; the former seemed cold, but was never slow; and, while he appeared at a loss, was quietly determined on the boldest and most successful enterprises. As soon as he began to act, something extraordinary was expected from him, and he advanced, in a kind of regular succession, from prodigy to prodigy, till the very hour which terminated his conquests and his life. The first battle of the other placed him on a level with the greatest generals. One, by vigorous and incessant efforts, fixed the admiration of the world, and silenced envy; the other, on his first appearance, threw out a lustre which filled the universe with his ascending

ascending glory, and envy dared not attack him. In fine,—one, by the depth of his genius and the infinite resources of his mighty energies, was raised above danger, and even turned to his advantage the fickleness of fortune; the other, by his illustrious birth, the lofty conceptions of his mind, and a kind of divine instinct, the secret of which was kept from man, seemed born to bend fortune to his will, and enchain the fates."

"The whole discourse abounds with the sublime, the beautiful, and the pathetic: it is generally considered to be the master-piece of Bossuet, in this branch of eloquence: but, by his own ingenuous confession, it was surpassed by the discourse which Bourdaloue pronounced on the same occasion.

"Through life, the prince of Condé showed great external reverence for religion; but his youth was dissolute; during many years he was untrue to his king and country, and, for some time, commanded against them the armies of Spain, whom France then considered her natural and inveterate enemy. But the twenty last years of his life were religious and exemplary, and his death was edifying. On the criminal part of his life, Bossuet employed only three lines, Bourdaloue nobly plunged into it. The prince's long profligacy, his neglect of religion, and his rebellion against his king, Bourdaloue held up to his audience, in their true colours, and dilated on them, through all the second part of his discourse. At the same time he showed, that in the midst of his errors and his crimes, the prince preserved much of what was really great and good: and thus, while he descanted, in the very strongest

terms, on the follies, the vanities, and the crimes of his hero, he made the audience lose sight of them, in the blaze of glory, with which, in the midst of all his crimination of the prince, he took care to radiate him. When, after he had amply descanted on this part of the subject, Bourdaloue described the prince, on the approach of age, sitting down to the study of religion, making his peace with his God and his king, and atoning by the retirement and regularity of the twenty last years of his life, for the errors and wanderings of his youth, and showed how honourable it was to the prince to be so converted to religious duty, and how honourable it was to religion, to have such a convert, he filled the audience with veneration for the illustrious subject of his discourse, and impressed on them the most salutary truths. Bossuet was so struck with the noble candour and simplicity with which Bourdaloue opened this part of his discourse, that he turned to the prelates near him, and cried out loudly enough to be generally heard, 'Voilà, notre maître a tous'—"Behold the master of us all!"

"Yet, it may be questioned, whether this celebrated oration of Bourdaloue contains quite so fine a passage as that with which Bossuet concludes the oration pronounced by him on the same occasion. A few minutes before the Prince of Condé expired, his confessor exhorted him to repeat with him the prayer of David, 'O God! create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within my bowels.'—The prince seemed lost in thought; his whole attention appeared to be fixed by some great object. Then, raising himself on his bed, and turning to the persons present, he said,

said, 'I never doubted of the mysteries of religion,—whatever may have been asserted to the contrary.—Now I doubt of them less than ever.—How these truths now display themselves! How they now unfold themselves to me!' Then, lifting his eyes to heaven, he repeated, in Latin, several times, the words of the apostle, (1 Cor. xiii. 12), "Facie ad faciem,—Face to face;" and with those words on his lips, expired.

"Beautifully alluding to this interesting scene, Bossuet thus concludes his funeral oration on the prince: 'For me, O Prince! O worthy theme of our praise and regrets! In my memory, your image will ever live! Not however with that air of heroic ardour, which presaged your victories!—I desire to behold, about you, nothing which death effaces. In your image, as I wish to behold it, I shall see that which is immortal. I shall behold you, as you were seen in your last moments, when, full of faith and hope, you were under the powerful hand of God; and his glory seemed

to open on you. There I shall behold you infinitely more triumphant than you were at Friedberg or Rocroy!—Transported with the view, I shall pronounce the beautiful words of the apostle, (1 John. v. 4) —'The victory which conquers this world, is our faith.' May this be your victory! May you enjoy it eternally! May the eternal sacrifice which is now offered for you, give you the immediate enjoyment of it!—Accept, O Prince! the last effort of a voice which was known to you.—Yes, you shall close these discourses. Instead of bewailing the deaths of others, I shall henceforth endeavour, in imitation of your example, to sanctify my own end. Happy! if taking warning from these gray hairs, of the account, which I must soon render to God, I shall dedicate to the flock, which he has committed to my charge, the remains of a voice, which begins to fail me, of a flame, that must soon expire!'—This is the true sublime; the sublime of taste, and, what crowns it all, the sublime of religion.

ON THE CHARACTER OF FRENCH SERMONS.

[From the same.]

THE sermons of Bossuet place him, incontestibly, in the first line of preachers; and even leave it open to argument, whether he is not the first in that line. Bourdaloue and Massillon alone can dispute his pre-eminence. Nothing in the sermons of either equals, in splendor or sublimity, a multitude of passages which may be produced from the sermons of Bossuet; and he has little of Massillon's too fre-

quent monotony, or of the cold dialectic, which occasionally retards the beautiful march of Bourdaloue. On the other hand, Bossuet has not the continued elegance and grace of Massillon; and an advocate of Bourdaloue might contend, that if Bourdaloue appears to yield to Bossuet in sublimity, it is only because the sublimity of Bourdaloue is more familiar, and therefore less imposing.

"It

"It seems to me admitted, that the sermons of Massillon, the tragedies of Euripides and Racine, and the Georgics of Virgil, are the most perfect of human compositions. Those, therefore, who read sermons, merely for their literary merit, will generally prefer the sermons of Massillon to those of Bourdaloue and Bossuet. On the other hand, the profound theology of the sermons of Bossuet, and the countless passages in them of true sublimity, and exquisite pathos, will lead many to give him a decided preference over both his rivals. But those who read sermons for instruction, and whose chief object, in the perusal of them, is to be excited to virtue, or confirmed in her paths, will generally consider Bourdaloue as the first of preachers, and every time they peruse him, it will be with new delight. No sermons possess, in so great a degree, the indescribable charm of simplicity; and no composition, sacred or profane, contains any thing, which, in grace or effect, exceeds that insensible rise from mere instruction into eloquence, of which Bourdaloue scarcely has a sermon that does not furnish more than one example.—To these must be added, his inestimable talent of conversing with his hearers.—'Was Magdalen,' he says in his panegyric of her, 'better acquainted with Jesus Christ, than we are? On the contrary, the mysteries and doctrines of Christianity, in which we have been instructed, have discovered to us wonders that were hidden from her eyes. Why, therefore, should we make a longer delay? Without going further, why, before we quit this church, before we stir from this very altar, where Jesus Christ himself is present,—(not indeed as a guest, which he was at the house of the Pharisees,

but, as our food and nourishment, as a victim immolated for us, as our priest, as our pastor,)—why should we not now give ourselves up to him?—Let us, for once, completely do what we have, so often, proposed to do;—Let us say to him, No! O Lord! It shall not be in a year's time; at the end of a month; it shall be to-day. It is wrong for me to temporize with thee.—It shall not be, when I have finished this or that business; for it is unjust that the concerns of the world should make me postpone the concerns of God to them: It shall not be, when age comes upon me, for thine, O God! is every age: and it would be a sensible insult to thee that I should reserve for thee the last years, the refuse of my life.—It is now, O God!—I am thine; and I will be always thine. Receive the protestation I make to thee, and strengthen the resolution which I form in thy sight.' Can simplicity, can instruction, can eloquence go beyond this passage?

"To Bourdaloue, other merits must be added, particularly the perfection of his style. Always plain, always unambitious, he appears to strike, by what he says, and not by the manner of his saying it. Upon the whole, the public opinion, that, after reading Bourdaloue, we shall not think Bossuet the first preacher of the French nation, seems to be founded.

"Few sermons of Bossuet were published before the Benedictine edition of his works made its appearance. They fill three volumes of that edition; but many sketches and extracts of sermons are inserted in them, which, in that form, at least, should not have been presented to the public.

"The following passage is both beautiful and sublime: Human life resembles

resembles a road, which ends in a frightful precipice. We are told of this, at the first step we take: but our destiny is fixed; we must proceed. Advance! Advance! An invincible power, an irresistible force impels us forward; and we must continually advance to the precipice. A thousand crosses, a thousand pains, fatigues and disturbances, vex us on the road.—If we could but avoid the terrible precipice! No! Advance! You must run on; such is the rapid flight of years. Still, on the way, we occasionally meet with some objects that divert us; a flowing stream, a passing flower: we are amused by them, and we wish to stop. Advance! Advance! We see that every thing around us tumbles down, a frightful crash! an inevitable ruin! Still, here and there, we pluck some flowers, which fade in our hands; some fruits, which vanish, while we taste them, which, however, comfort us for the moment. But, all is enchantment and illusion: we are still hurried on to the frightful gulph. By degrees, every thing begins to fade; the gardens seem less fair, the flowers less lively; the colours less fresh; the meadows less gay; the waters less bright; every thing decays, every thing falls away.—At length the spectre of death rises upon us! —We begin to be sensible of our near approach to the fatal gulph! —We touch its brink:—One step more!—and!—Horror now seizes our senses: the head turns, the eyes wander! We must advance!!! Oh that we might return! But there are no means of returning; all is fallen! All is vanished and gone!"

"It is impossible to deny the force or beauty of this passage: the following, perhaps, is in a finer manner: 'The discourses of St. Paul,' says Bossuet, 'far from flow-

ing with the agreeable softness, and tempered equality, which we admire in the orators of Greece and Rome, appear unequal, and without connection, to those, who have not sufficiently penetrated into them. The polished taste and delicate ear of the people of the world, are offended with the hardness of his irregular style. But, my brethren! don't let us be ashamed of St. Paul! the language of the apostle is simple, but all his thoughts are divine. If he be ignorant of rhetoric, and despise philosophy, Jesus Christ stands to him, in the stead of all. The name of Christ, which he has always in his mouth, the mysteries of the gospel, which he so divinely announces, make him omnipotent in his simplicity. Yes, he—this man, so ignorant of the art of fine speaking, will go with his homely language, and his foreign phrase, into Greece, the mother of philosophers and orators; and, in spite of the whole world's resistance, will establish in her more churches, than Plato, with all his divine eloquence, had scholars.—He will preach Christ, in Athens, and the most learned of the senators will pass over from the Areopagus to the school of this barbarian. He will pursue his triumph, and, in the very presence of her proconsul, will lay the fasces of Rome prostrate at the feet of Christ; and every judge before whose tribunal he is cited, will tremble. Rome herself shall hear his voice, and the day will come, when this city, this mistress of the world, will esteem herself more honoured by a letter, addressed by him to her citizens, than by all the harangues which she heard from her Cicero.—A power, more, than natural, is mixed in the divine simplicity of his words, and gives them a force which does not, perhaps, flatter the taste,

taste, but goes directly to the heart. Like a great river, which preserves in the plains, through which it flows, the impetuous force, which it received in the mountains, whence it derived its source, the virtue, which St. Paul's Epistles contain, preserves, even in the simplicity of his style, all the vigour which it brought from heaven, its divine original.'

"The following is a more exact specimen of Bossuet's general manner:

" 'I can scarcely listen to the idle objections, which worldly wisdom makes to us, on the false supposition, that God ought to have manifested himself to the world with a splendour and a train that should be thought worthy of his majesty. Miserably does opinion deceive us, if we think that the splendour of this world contains any thing worthy of God, who himself possesses sovereign greatness. Shall I mention what strikes me, in the babe of Bethlehem, as great and admirable, and truly worthy of a God, descending from heaven, and conversing with man. From on high, he saw that man was touched by nothing, but sensual pleasure and external pomp. In his wisdom, he remembered, that he had created man for much more solid happiness; and, being resolved to show, as much by his own example as his precepts, the folly of these notions, and his contempt of what this world admires, he chose for his lot what the world most despises. He was pleased therefore to be born in a wretched stable: but that stable becomes, as it were, a triumphal car, after which he drags the vanquished world. There, all that the world has of ignominy, is conquered; all its terrors are treated with contempt, all its pleasures are spurned, all its

torments are braved, the triumph of Christ over them is complete; nothing is left undone, nothing left unfinished: and it appears to me that, in the midst of this glorious triumph, he turns to us his animating countenance, and loudly exclaims to us, 'Take courage! I have vanquished the world!' By the lowliness of my birth, by the obscurity of my life, by the cruelty and ignominy of my death, I have triumphed over all that men admire, all they esteem, all they fear. This is the sign, by which you should know me!'—Yes, O my God! by this sign I do know thee! Thou art my Saviour and my God!"

"With passages of beauty equal to any transcribed in these pages, the sermons of Bossuet abound.

"Their general merit is a subject of a particular dissertation of the Cardinal Maury; and fills many a page of his *Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire*. The first edition of that work was published, above thirty years ago, without the author's permission. The last edition of it is of the year 1810, and is entitled '*Essai sur l'Eloquence de la Chaire; Panegyriques, Eloges, et Discours, par son Eminence Monseigneur le Cardinal Maury, Archeveque de Montefiascone et de Corneto, Membre de l'Institut Imperial, &c.*' It abounds with curious and useful information and judicious criticism. But an Englishman, (however he may endure what his eminence says of the superiority of the French over the English in pulpit eloquence), must smile at the following exclamation, which the cardinal archbishop addresses to the English nation, on the general merits of their oratory. 'Illustrious insularies! I try to discover an orator, a real orator, among your sacred ministers, your

your writers, your members of parliament of the highest celebrity: be it said, without offence to your glory, I find no one, among you, worthy of that name.' The intrepidity of this address, is the more striking, as, by the cardinal archbishop's own confession, he is wholly ignorant of the English language.—It remains to give some account of Bossuet's method of preparing his sermons. All his funeral orations, and some of his sermons, were composed by him with extreme care; yet in those, he trusted something to the feelings of the moment: and, so great was his opinion of the necessity of attending to them, that, even in the sermons, which he prepared with most precision, he inserted many duplicates of sentences, of phrases, and of words, leaving the choice of them to his actual feelings at the instant

of delivery. Of his other sermons, he sometimes composed only the skeleton. Sometimes he only committed to paper particular sentences of them; and sometimes he committed nothing of them to paper: but, unless there was an absolute necessity, he never preached without much serious preparation, and without arranging, with a great degree of minuteness, the general disposition of his discourse, in respect both to its principal and its subordinate parts. A considerable number of his sermons have been preserved; but many are lost; and among those, his panegyrics of St. Augustine and St. Ignatius are particularly regretted. His appearance in the pulpit was imposing, but graceful; his voice was loud and clear, but too shrill; his action was both vehement and dignified; his memory never failed him.

ON THE TALES AND FICTIONS OF THE EAST.

[FROM MR. WEBER'S ROMANCES OF ORIENTAL ORIGIN.]

“AS conveying in general a true and striking picture of the manners and customs prevalent amongst some of the most interesting nations of the earth, the value of these tales has been less disputed, particularly since the authenticity and vraisemblance of the portraits they convey has been established by the authority of some of the most faithful and best informed travellers in the east. By the perusal of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, and of other collections of a similar nature, we obtain, in a manner the most impressive on the memory, and the most pleasing to the mind, a perfect insight into the private

habits, the domestic comforts and deprivations of the orientals; we are led to participate in their favourite amusements, and acquire a knowledge of their religious sentiments and superstitions: and it thus happens that a boy, who has been indulged in the perusal of these ingenious fictions, is made as well acquainted with the peculiarities of oriental manners, and of the tenets of the Mahomedan faith, during the time of relaxation, as he is, during his school hours, with the customs and mythology of the Greeks and Romans.

“A striking instance of the truth of these observations occurs in Mr. Dalloway's

way's Description of Constantinople, where that intelligent traveller informs us, that 'much of the romantic air which pervades the domestic habits of the persons described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, particularly in inferior life, will be observed in passing through the streets of this city; and we receive with additional pleasure a remembrance of the delight with which we at first perused them, in finding them authentic portraits of oriental nations.'

"Several travellers have borne testimony to the great popularity of this and similar collections of tales in the east, where they form one of the chief amusements of the people. They are recited in the public coffee-houses of the cities, among the secluded inhabitants of the haram, in camps and caravans, and, in short, wherever an aggregate number of auditors are collected, by professional story-tellers. The account of these recitations, given by Dr. Russel, an author of unimpeached veracity, in his History of Aleppo, has been frequently quoted; but it gives so curious a picture of the subject, and forms so apt an introduction to the perusal of these tales by Europeans, that its omission in this place would be unpardonable. — 'The recitation of eastern fables and tales,' he observes, 'partakes somewhat of a dramatic performance; it is not merely a simple narrative; the story is animated by the manner and action of the speaker. A variety of other story-books, besides the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, (which, under that title, are little known at Aleppo,) furnish materials for the story-teller, who, by combining the incidents of the different tales, and varying the catastrophe of such as he has related before, gives them an air of novelty

even to persons who at first imagine they are listening to tales with which they are acquainted. He recites walking to and fro in the middle of the coffee-room, stopping only now and then, when the expression requires some emphatical attitude. He is commonly heard with great attention; and not unfrequently, in the midst of some interesting adventure, when the expectation of his audience is raised to the highest pitch, he breaks off abruptly, and makes his escape from the room, leaving both his hero, or heroine, and his audience in the utmost embarrassment. Those who happen to be near the door, endeavour to detain him, insisting on the story being finished before he departs; but he always makes his retreat good; and the auditors, suspending their curiosity, are induced to return at the same hour next day to hear the sequel. He no sooner has made his exit, than the company, in separate parties, fall a disputing about the characters of the drama, or the event of the unfinished adventure. The controversy by degrees becomes serious, and opposite opinions are maintained with no less warmth than if the fate of the city depended on the decision.'

"Among the Arabs these stories are as popular as with the Turks. On this subject the observations of Volney and Colonel Capper afford sufficient testimony. The former observes, — 'All their literature consists in reciting tales and histories in the manner of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. They have a peculiar passion for such stories, and employ in them almost all their leisure, of which they have a great deal. In the evening they seat themselves on the ground, at the door of their tents, or under cover,

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if it be cold, and there, ranged in a circle round a little fire of dung, their pipes in their mouths and their legs crossed, they sit a while in silent meditation, till on a sudden one of them breaks forth with, 'Once upon a time,' and continues to recite the adventures of some young Shaik and female Bedouin: he relates in what manner the youth first got a secret glimpse of his mistress, and how he became desperately enamoured of her; he minutely describes the lovely fair; extols her black eyes, as large and soft as those of the gazelle; her languid and impassioned looks; her arched eye-brows, resembling two bows of ebony; her waist straight and supple as a lance: he forgets not her steps, light as those of the young filly; nor her eye-lashes, blackened with kohl; nor her lips, painted blue; nor her nails, tinged with the golden-coloured henna; nor her breasts, resembling two pomegranates; nor her words, sweet as honey. Herecounts the sufferings of the young lover, so wasted with desire that his body no longer yields any shadow. At length, after detailing his various attempts to see his mistress, the obstacles on the part of the parents, the invasions of the enemy, the captivity of the two lovers, &c., he terminates to the satisfaction of the audience, by restoring them, united and happy, to the paternal tent, and by receiving the tribute paid to his eloquence in the *ma sha alla* (admirably well) he has merited.'

"Colonel Capper, in his *Observations on the Passage to India*, through Egypt and across the Great Desert, makes the following observations on the same subject, at the same time paying his tribute of admiration to the tales, and offering his testimony to the fidelity of the

delineations of oriental customs which they exhibit.—'The Arabian Nights,' he observes, 'are by many people supposed to be a spurious production, and are therefore slighted in a manner they do not deserve. They are written by an Arabian, and are universally read and admired throughout Asia by persons of all ranks, both old and young. Considered, therefore, as an original work, descriptive, as they are, of the manners and customs of the east in general, and also of the genius and character of the Arabians in particular, they surely must be thought to merit the attention of the curious. Nor are they, in my opinion, entirely destitute of merit in other respects; for although the extravagance of some of the stories is carried too far, yet, on the whole, one cannot help admiring the fancy and invention of the author, in striking out such a variety of pleasing incidents: pleasing, I call them, because they have frequently afforded me much amusement: nor do I envy any man his feelings who is above being pleased with them; but before any person decides on the merit of these books, he should be eye-witness of the effects they produce on those who best understand them. I have more than once seen the Arabians on the desert sitting round a fire, listening to these stories with such attention and pleasure as totally to forget the fatigue and hardship with which an instant before they were totally overcome. In short, they are held in the same estimation, all over Asia, as the adventures of Don Quixote are in Spain.'

"The tales seem to be known in all those parts of the east where the faith of Mahomet prevails; and those who are acquainted with the singular extension of many fabulous narrations

narrations and real histories, corrupted by fictitious and marvellous adventures, will not be surprised at the circumstance. Some striking instances of this nature, with an attempt to throw some light upon this very curious subject, will be found in the sequel of this memoir. Among those nations where the Mahomedan religion has not been successful, the same stories, with the same circumstances and embellishments, cannot of course be supposed to exist; but even there very striking resemblances occur, and some of the tales of the Hindoos which have been translated of late years, have brought to our recollection others not only among the Arabian novels, but even among those which had been well known to be French *trouveurs* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to Boccaccio and some of the subsequent Italian novelists.

“ The favourable reception of ingenious fables and romantic tales among all nations, and particularly among those whose degree of civilization is limited, might naturally lead us to suppose that the idolatrous nations of the east possessed a stock of them not inferior to that of the Mahomedans. Accordingly we find that the Chinese are well furnished in this respect. The Calmuck Tartars have a similar fund of amusement to resort to; and the learned Pallas has translated several of their traditionary romances. Of the prevalence of similar stories in Hindostan we have many undoubted proofs. Among these the testimony of Dr. Jonathan Scott, who has turned his attention particularly to this pleasing branch of oriental literature, may be selected. — ‘ In the East Indies,’ he informs us, ‘ the bhaut, or family bard, is employed to recite the legendary
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tales of religion, or the exploits of himself and his ancestors, by the Hindoo rajah and the man of family; and the story teller diverts alike the idolater, the follower of Mahummud, and the curious christian. The editor entertained for some time in Bengal one of the latter character in his service; and found his narratives not only amusing, but conducive to the acquirement of some knowledge of the Hindoostanee tongue, the history, customs, and manners of the country. His recitations were often delivered in the manner described by Dr. Russel, and sometimes sitting; but, being a domestic servant, he never left off unless desired, or until he had concluded his tale. The heroes of his stories were chiefly rajahs, sultans, and other persons of Hindoostan; nor do I recollect that he ever delivered a tale as from the Arabian Nights, though the incidents of some bore a similarity; but it is very probable that the 1001 nights were known to the *nukkauls*, or story tellers of Dhely, and the provincial capitals, during the prosperity of the Mogul empire, as fragments of them have been procured at Moorshudabad, the metropolis of Bengal.’—Finally, Dr. Leyden has enumerated many romances and legendary tales, which are popular among the inhabitants of the peninsula east of the Ganges; and there is no doubt that similar fictions, of greater or less antiquity, are to be found among every nation of the globe.

“ With regard to the age of these productions of oriental fancy, nothing decisive can be offered. It is, however, not to be supposed, that all those which are included in any one collection were invented at one and the same time. The Arabian Nights, for instance, is prob-
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bably a tissue of tales invented at different times, some of them entirely fictitious, others founded on anecdotes of real history, upon which marvellous additions have been engrafted, and which have been altered and varied by different reciters in the manner which Dr. Russel has pointed out. Hence the similarity which many of them bear to each other, and the frequent recurrence to the same means of producing the catastrophe. One and the same author, for instance, would not have written such a multitude of novels commencing with the earnest desire of a sovereign to obtain an heir, proceeding with a relation of the troubles and distresses consequent to the obtaining his desire, and concluding with the happy consummation of every wish, and the convenient demise or abdication of the aged monarch in favour of the heir. Again, the dissimilarity of the nature of the tales; some of them invented with the most happy ingenuity, others verging to the extreme of silliness and insipidity; some perfectly serious, replete with the pathetic lamentations of lovers, and the distressing crosses of fortune, others full of ludicrous adventures and sprightly humour,—seems to preclude the supposition that they were the work of a single author. But the variations in the different manuscripts of the *Thousand and One Nights* put the matter beyond all doubt. The arrangement and number of the stories vary in them all; and the authenticity of any one of them cannot be disputed by its not being found in any given manuscript collection.

“Indeed nothing could be more ingenious than the invention by which any number of fables and tales, dispersed over the country, and produced in different ages, and

by different authors, might be collected into a work which might extend to any given length, and thus preserve many tales from the danger of perishing, which might so easily happen while they were isolated and unconnected. Those whose profession it was to amuse the public with reciting stories, were thus at once furnished with a large assortment, from which they could select or produce new novels, by varying the incidents, and mingling the adventures of different tales, so as to produce novelty. This dramatic form of narrating tales has been practised by several oriental nations, and has been adopted among the European nations by Boccaccio, Chaucer, and the later Italian and French novelists, probably from some of those translations from the eastern languages which were made in the middle ages.

“The most ancient collection of this kind in existence is probably that generally known under the title of *The Fables of Bidpai*, or *Pilpay*. The Indian original of this is the *Hitoopades* of Vishnoosarma, translated by Wilkins, respecting which Sir William Jones, in his third anniversary discourse before the Asiatic society, makes the following observations:—“We are told by the Grecian writers, that the Indians were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom they were certainly eminent: their *Niti Sastra*, or *System of Ethics*, is yet preserved; and the *Fables of Vishnuserman*, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were translated from the Sanscrit, in the sixth century, by the order of Buzrhumihir, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief physician, and afterwards

wards vezir of the great Anushirevan, and are extant, under various names, in more than twenty languages, but their original title is *Hitopadesa*, or *Amicable Instruction*; and, as the very existence of Esop, whom the Arabs believe to have been an Abyssinian, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose that the first moral fables which appeared in Europe were of Indian or Ethiopian origin.—Respecting the names of *Pilpay* and *Bidpai*, Sir William Jones informs us, that the former is an accidental mistake of a copist; and that, according to Cashafi, the latter in Sanscrit 'signifies, beloved or favourite physician; and that is certainly the meaning of *baidyapriy*, from which *bidpai* is formed, the author having been, it is supposed, of the *baidya*, or medical tribe, and a favourite of his *raja*.' The Persian translation of *Buzrchumih*, or *Buzrvieh*, as he is called by Herbelot, bore the title of *Humaïou Nameh*, or the *Imperial Book*, and it was also called *Giavidan Khird*, or the *Wisdom of all Ages*. It was translated into Arabic by *Abdallah-ben-Mocannah*, under the title of *Calilah u Damnah*, at the command of *Abou-Hiafer-Almansor*, second caliph of the race of the *Abbasides*, who died in the year 775. *Mocannah's* work is preserved in the imperial library at Paris. A new version was undertaken by *Sahal-ben-Haroun*, by the order of the Caliph *Mamoun*, who died in 833. Some time afterwards, *Sultan Hasser-ben-Ahmed*, of the race of the *Samanides*, who died about 936, caused a translation to be made into more modern Persian, which was subsequently versified by the poet *Roudeki*. *Baharam Schah*, thirteenth monarch of the race of the *Gaznevîdes*, who died in 1152, ordered the Arabian text

of *Mocannah* to be again translated into Persian by *Nasrallah*, son of *Abdelhamid*; and this is the version now extant under the name of *Calilah u Damnah*. Towards the end of the ninth century of the *Hegira*, (circa A. D. 1500,) the *Mollah Hussain Vaez* undertook a new version at the command of the *Emir Sohaili*, general in chief of the armies of *Hussain Ben Mansur*, sultan of *Khorassan*, and a descendant of *Tamerlane*, which was called *Anvar Sohaili*, the *Light of Sohaili*, or the star called *Canopus*, in honour of the *Emir*. This was translated by the *Mollah Ali-Tchelebi-ben-Saleh* into Turkish, about 1540, who dedicated it to *Soliman II.*, and turned into verse by the poet *Gemali*. Dr. *Leyden* mentions a Malay copy of the work, entitled *Hikkaïat Kalil o Damna*; and no doubt versions exist in many other Asiatic languages. From a Hebrew copy it was translated into Latin by *John of Capua*, who flourished about 1260; and his work was printed towards the close of the fifteenth century, under the title of *Directorium Humanæ Vitæ*; alias *Parabole Antiquorum Sapientum*. Mr. *Douce*, who has pointed out this very curious work, observes that the Indian sage is erroneously named *Sandabar*, the translator having confounded the work with another, which is the ground-work of our *Seven Wise Masters*, and which will be noticed immediately. An Italian imitation of the *Directorium*, ascribed to *Doni*, was translated into English, and printed in 1570. A Greek version, from the Arabic, was edited in 1697, with a Latin interpretation by *Starkius*. In French a part of the fables appeared in 1644, under the title of *Livre des Lumières, ou la conduite des Roys*. The translator is

named David Said d'Ispahan. The work was however little known in Europe, except to the learned, till Galland, the translator of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, undertook a version of the four first chapters from the Turkish of Ali-Tchelebi. The remaining ten chapters were afterwards supplied by Cardonne, professor of the Persian languages at the Royal College at Paris. An English translation of the latter portion is still a desideratum in our literature. The ancient sage Lokman, who has been supposed to be the same as Esop, and who is mentioned in the above extract from Sir William Jones, is referred to in the Fables of Bidpai, and by the Arabs he is asserted to have been the original author of the whole of the apologues. He was in such high repute among them, that he is mentioned in the Koran as having obtained wisdom from God.

"The learned Sale has given the following account of this antient fabulist:—'The Arab writers say that Lokman was the son of Baura, who was the son, or grandson, of a sister or aunt of Job, and that he lived several centuries, and to the time of David, with whom he was conversant in Palestine. According to the description they give of his person, he must have been deformed enough; for they say he was of a black complexion, (whence some call him an Ethiopian,) with thick lips and splay feet: but in return he received from God wisdom and eloquence in a great degree, which some pretend were given him in a vision, on his making choice of wisdom preferably to the gift of prophecy, either of which were offered him. The generality of the Mahomedans therefore hold him to have been no prophet, but only a wise man. As to his condition,

they say he was a slave, but obtained his liberty on the following occasion:—His master having one day given him a bitter melon to eat, he paid him such exact obedience as to eat it all, at which his master being surprised, asked him how he could eat so nauseous a fruit? To which he replied, it was no wonder that he should for once accept a bitter fruit from the same hand from which he had received so many favours. The commentators mention several quick repartees of Lokman, which, together with the circumstances abovementioned, agree so well with what Maximus Planudes has written of Esop, that from thence and from the fable attributed to Lokman by the orientals, the latter has been generally thought to be no other than the Esop of the Greeks. However that be, (for I think the matter will bear a dispute,) I am of opinion that Planudes borrowed great part of his Life of Esop from the traditions he met with in the east concerning Lokman, concluding them to have been the same person, because they were both slaves, and supposed to be the writers of those fables which go under their respective names, and bear a great resemblance to one another; for it has long since been observed by learned men, that the greater part of that monk's performance is an absurd romance, and supported by no evidence of the ancient writers."—From all this the extreme estimation in which the fables of Pilpay are held by the oriental nations may be conceived. The limits prescribed by the publishers have prevented their insertion in the present collection; and indeed the greater portion of it, consisting of fables and apologues, does not come within the range of the proposed plan.

“One of the oriental tissues of tales, which was transferred into the European languages at the earliest period, is the collection commonly known under the title of the *Seven Wise Masters*; and there are few works in the wide range of literature which can boast of so extensive and long-continued a popularity. It is still the delight of the common people, and of the nursery, in most countries of Europe, and even the refinement of modern ages has not been able to banish it altogether from the collections of the curious. The history of the work has been traced with great precision by Mr. Douce, and the following short account is almost entirely extracted from his dissertation, in order to show how eager European story-tellers were to profit by the fictions of eastern imagination whenever they could obtain access to them. The original is supposed, for good and solid reasons, to be ‘*The Book of the Seven Counsellors, or Parables of Sendebâr, or Sandabar*,’ an Indian philosopher, sometimes called chief of the sages of India, who is said, on the authority of Sciahihinsciâh, an Arabian historian, whose chronicle extends to the year 1004, to have lived about 100 years before the Christian era. The original has not been brought to light; but a Hebrew version, from the Persian or Arabic by the Rabbi Joel, was printed in 1517, at Constantinople, and again at Venice in 1544 and 1608. Several Latin and Greek versions occur in different libraries, the latter under the name of *Syntipas*, and in them the king, who ordered his son for execution, is Cyrus. From a Latin version it was translated into French, under the title of *Dolospatos*, by one Hebers, or Herbers, an ecclesiastic, whom Fauchet, on good authority, supposes to have flourished in the reign of Louis VIII. who died in 1226. In this translation, which exists in the French Imperial Library in MS. Cyrus is metamorphosed into *Dolospatos*, King of Sicily, during the reign of Augustus Cæsar, having Virgil for his tutor. From another French work on the same subject, the English metrical romance, which has been lately printed entire, was formed; and from the Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum*, first printed in 1490, prose translations appeared in German, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Italian, French, Spanish, and English, and probably in most of the other European languages. Several other works on the same foundation appeared; for instance, a German metrical translation in the fourteenth century, and an Italian romance, entitled *Erasto*, which was also translated into French and English. In the latter, by Kirkman, which first appeared in 1674, we are informed that the work was in such estimation in Ireland, that it was always put into the hands of young children immediately after the horn-book. Indeed, in an Erse poem called the *Festival of O’Rourke*, which has been paraphrased by Swift, the *Seven Wise Masters* is mentioned in a manner which strongly supports the testimony of Kirkman. In short, the popularity of this originally oriental composition extended in a most astonishing degree, both as to place and time, throughout Europe. Mr. Douce has observed the entire dissimilarity of these several works in respect to the number and nature of the stories; but this might have arisen from the use of different oriental works on the same foundation. The *Turkish Tales*, translated by Petit de St. Croix, and the story of the king, his son, concubine, and
seven

seven viziers, engrafted upon the Arabian Nights in one MS., and a translation of which has been published by Dr. Scott, have the same ground-work; and the story of Bohezad and his ten viziers, in the continuation of the Arabian Nights, is evidently an imitation of the former. Several of the tales in the *Seven Wise Masters* are to be traced in other oriental collections; and others have been liberally made use of by the French *trouveurs* and the Italian novelists. The tale of the Knight and the Greyhound is essentially the same as the Brahmen and the Ichneumon in the *Heetopades of Veeshnoosarma*, and as the *Santon* and the *Broken Pitcher* in *Pilpay's Fables*; it also occurs in *Sansovino*, and in other collections of novels. The *Husband Shut Out* occurs in the work of *Alphonsus*, (which will be noticed immediately,) in *Boccaccio's Decameron*, and in numerous other collections of novels; and a comedy of *Moliere's* is founded on the same tale. The *King and the Steward* is to be found in *Gower's Confessio Amantis* and *Masuccio's Novellino*. The *Old Wise Man and his Wife* was soon paraphrased in one of the French *fabliaux*; and other imitations are to be found in more modern French works. The *Magpie* is the same story as the *Husband and Parrot* in the Arabian Nights, and is also told in the collection translated by Dr. Scott, noticed above. The *Sheriff's Widow* and the *Knight*, is the far-famed story of the *Matron of Ephesus*, which first occurs in *Petronius Arbiter*, and the imitations of which are innumerable. The *Old Knight, his Wife, and her Three Lovers*, obtained universal applause; and the various imitations are too many to be here enumerated. The original is probably, as Mr. Douce observes, the *Lit-*

le Hunch-backed Tailor of the Arabian Nights. A very similar story is also recited in the *Bahar Danush*. There are no less than five imitations among the *fabliaux* of the French; in English several stories on the same foundation occur; and the Italian and Spanish novelists have made liberal use of the tale. Finally, the tale of the *Two Dreams* was transplanted into the *Novellino* of *Masuccio*. Some idea may be formed, from this enumeration, how much the European novelists are indebted to those of the east.

"But the *Fables of Pilpay*, and the *Seven Wise Masters*, are not the only oriental works of the kind which were transplanted into this quarter of the globe in the middle ages. A work very popular was the Latin compilation, entitled *Alphonsus de Clericali Disciplina*, an abstract of which has been lately made by Mr. Douce. *Petrus Alphonsus* was a converted Jew, who was born in 1062, and professedly borrowed his tales from the Arabian fabulists. A French translation of the twelfth or thirteenth century has been published, abridged by *Barbazan*, and in 1808 entire by *M. Méon*, under the title of *Castolement d'un Pere à son Fils*. An inspection of Mr. Douce's abstract will enable the reader to observe that the European collectors of stories have borrowed as liberally from this work as from the *Seven Wise Masters*. Several of them occur in the French *fabliaux*, which have been abridged or published, as well as in *Boccaccio*; and one of them, the tenth novel of the eighth day of the last-mentioned author, is also to be found in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.

"Several of the romances of the middle ages also bear intrinsic marks of having either derived some of their most striking incidents from the

the east, or of being substantially versions from oriental authors, adapted to the manners and customs of Europe. Sidrac, though rather a philosophical discourse than a romance, is probably of this description. But one of the most singular fabulous tales of this kind is the story of Solomon and Marcolphus, which obtained great popularity in the dark ages, and which, from the many fictitious traditions current in the east respecting King Solomon, and even authenticated among the Mussulmen by the authority of the Koran, may be fairly attributed to one of their authors. In Latin it was printed first in the year 1489. A French metrical copy exists in the Imperial Library in the MS. N° 7218; and another copy among the MSS. fons de l'Eglise de Paris. In Germany the story has been in high repute, and has appeared in various forms from the thirteenth century, when a metrical romance on the subject was composed, till the present day, when it circulates among the common people in the form of a chap-book sold at fairs, which is also in high repute in Denmark. In English a translation was printed by Pinson, under the title of 'The Sayings, or Proverbs, of King Solomon, with the Answers of Marcolphus.' The story was also very popular in Italy, where, instead of Solomon and Marcolph, Albovine, King of Lombardy, and Bertoldo, with his wife Marcolpha, were substituted, and the story continued to their son Bertoldino, by Giulio Cesare Croce della Lira, in the sixteenth century. The success of these two parts induced Camillo Scalligieri dalla Fratta to continue the work by a relation of the pranks played by Cacasenno, the son of Bertoldino; and the whole work was turned into a mock-epic

in the commencement of the 18th century, by three and twenty academicians of Bologna, which became so popular that it was translated into the Bolognese and Venetian dialects. The composition may be traced to a much earlier age, if we suppose that the work entitled 'Contradictio Salomonis,' (a title very similar to that of some German copies of Solomon and Marcolphus,) which was condemned by Pope Gelasius in the year 494, was on the same subject. William, Archbishop of Tyre, in the twelfth century, in his *Historia rer. in partib. transmarin. gest.* quotes from Josephus a relation how Solomon propounded some enigmatical questions to Hiram, King of Tyre, which none but Abdimus, son of the captive Abdæmon, could answer. It is very probable that these were the originals from which the popular story has been corrupted; but the nature of the romance evidently points to an oriental origin.

"Besides the amusement for which our ancestors were indebted to the productions of oriental fancy in these larger works, a great number of single stories, some of which are still current in Europe, may be traced to the same source. Several of these will be noticed when we come to give some account of the respective works included in this collection; but many instances may be brought forward from the works of the French *trouveurs*, and the Italian, Spanish, and French novelists; and a more minute investigation than our present knowledge of oriental literature enables us to institute, will perhaps afford proofs that at least half of the stories and anecdotes which have appeared in Europe before and since the time of Boccaccio, may be traced to eastern fictions and histories. Even our im-

mortal

mortal Shakspeare was unwittingly indebted for some of his plots to them; the story of Shylock, in the Merchant of Venice, and the Induction to the Taming of the Shrew, are known to be of oriental origin.

"The question, in what manner the Europeans of the middle ages obtained access to these treasures of oriental literature, is a very curious one, and conclusive evidence on the point cannot be given in this place; the subject requiring a more full and accurate investigation than the state of that portion of literary history affords. It may, however, be observed, that nothing can be more fallacious than any attempt to trace the importation of these traditions, tales, and apologues to a single channel. Some of the most ancient, particularly the curious coincidence of many of the mythological traditions of the Gothic nations with those of the oriental idolatrous nations, were no doubt brought into Europe when those tribes emigrated from Asia. To the same source several of the most ancient superstitions, which, in many respects, bear a strong resemblance to those of the east, may be traced. During the period when Spain was under the dominion of the Moors, when they had established schools for the mathematical and the occult sciences, many of the scientific works of the Arabians, and, no doubt, many of their works of amusement, were communicated to the Christians. The historian of English poetry was certainly rather too much a champion of the exclusive right which the Arabians may claim to the romantic fictions of Europe; but when he is supported by authentic evidence, his observations may be safely referred to. He observes, that 'a manuscript [quoted by Du Cange, acquaints us that the Spaniards, soon

soon after the irruption of the Saracens, entirely neglected the study of the Latin language, and, captivated with the novelty of the oriental books imported by these strangers, suddenly adopted an unusual pomp of style, and an affected elevation of diction. The ideal tales of these eastern invaders, recommended by a brilliancy of description, a variety of imagery, and an exuberance of invention hitherto unknown and unfamiliar to the cold and barren conceptions of a western climate, were eagerly caught up, and universally diffused from Spain, by the communications of a constant commercial intercourse through the ports of Toulon and Marseilles, they soon passed into France and Italy.' With respect to the last part of these remarks it may be observed, that the Italians most probably derived those of their novels, which have an oriental origin, not immediately from the Saracens, but through the medium of the French fabliaux, as the general cast of their narrations, both as to incident and style, is evidently derived from the lively and ingenious compositions of the *trouveurs*. The latter, as may be easily conceived from their national character, generally preferred the Arabian tales of a comic cast; and they certainly added to the humour as well as to the licentiousness of their prototypes. We must not pass over another channel by which the productions of oriental science and imagination were transfused throughout Europe. The Jewish practitioners of physic, who possessed the confidence of Christian patients in an eminent degree, and who at one time seem to have engrossed almost all the practice of their profession, were naturally led to communicate works in the Arabian language, in which they were well skilled, to the Europeans.

Europeans. Many of their Hebrew versions were retranslated into Latin, then the chief vehicle of information; and to this source the French composers of *fabliaux* and *lays* would naturally recur. The early travellers into the east, such as Marco Polo and Mandeville, might also turn the attention of the curious, and of those who lived by the amusement of others, to the plentiful supply of information and entertainment to be derived from the east.

"One of the most obvious channels of communication was certainly offered by the crusades; and accordingly superficial reasoners have contented themselves with attributing the transfusion of oriental literature into Europe to this source exclusively. No doubt several valuable works found their way into our quarter of the globe through this channel; but when the general ignorance of the knights who took the cross, and their hatred to every thing connected with the infidels, whom they had bound themselves to eradicate, is taken into consideration, we shall not be inclined to attribute to the crusaders much merit, as having enriched literature by the treasures of the east. Besides, many of these fictions and narratives indubitably were prevalent in Europe long before the commencement of these holy wars.

"This slight sketch of the causes which led to the introduction of eastern romance into Europe, may not unaptly be concluded by the following paragraph of Warton, still making allowance for the attachment he had formed to his own hypothesis, which, however, with some exceptions, is certainly just:—'Amid the gloom of superstition, in an age of the grossest ignorance and credulity, a taste for the wonders of oriental

fiction was introduced by the Arabians into Europe, many countries of which were already seasoned to a reception of its extravagancies, by means of the poetry of the Gothic scalds, who perhaps originally derived their ideas from the same fruitful region of invention. These fictions, coinciding with the reigning manners, and perpetually kept up and improved in the tales of troubadours [rather *troveurs*] and minstrels, seem to have centered, about the eleventh century, in the ideal histories of Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, which record the supposititious achievements of Charlemagne and King Arthur, where they formed the groundwork of that species of fabulous narrative called romance. And from these beginnings or causes, afterwards enlarged and enriched by kindred fancies fetched from the crusades, that singular and capricious mode of imagination arose which at length composed the marvellous machineries of the more sublime Italian poets, and of their disciple Spenser.'

"The more extensive popularity of the oriental collections of stories in modern times is to be attributed to the first appearance of fairy tales in France, or rather to their revival, as many of the ancient romances, such as *Lancelot du Lac*, the *St. Graal*, *Partenopex* and *Meliure*, *Melusina*, &c. and several of the lays, particularly those of *Marie de France*, may be considered as fairy tales; but those numberless compositions replete with marvellous events, and generally confined to a limited length, which were produced during the first half of the eighteenth century, chiefly in France, are supposed to have originated in the tales of Charles Perrault, whose poem of *Louis le Grand* subjected him to the
satire

satire of Boileau and Racine. Amongst his narratives we find many which are still the delight of the nurseries of Europe; such as *Blue Beard*, *Red Ridinghood*, *Puss in Boots*, and *Cinderella*. But his tale of *Finette*, or the *Adroit Princess*, is said to have led particularly to that species of fictitious narrative which was immediately cultivated by a prodigious number of authors; and the works of this kind by the *Countesses of Murat*, *d'Aulnoy*, and *d'Auneuil*, *Mademoiselle Laforce*, &c. bestowed a vast popularity upon such works, and engaged some of the most ingenious writers in France to try their talents in the same species of composition. The celebrated author of *Telemachus* condescended to write fairy tales for the education of the Duke of Burgundy. They were made the vehicle of public and private abuse, and of philosophical and physical instruction. By *Le Sage* and others they were adapted to the stage with great success; and most of the little pieces collected in the *Théâtre de la Foire* are founded on the fairy and oriental tales then at the height of public favour. The example of the French writers was soon followed by other nations, and by none more successfully than the English.

"The success of these tales, and particularly the insipidity and ridiculous extravagance of some, naturally offered an occasion for burlesques. The tales of the celebrated Count Anthony Hamilton, author of the lively *Memoirs of Grammont*, seem to have been written partly

with this design, although the ridicule is also directed against the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. The Abbé de Villiers had little success in satirizing these popular productions; and when Wieland, the celebrated German poet, undertook to banish them by the same means which Cervantes had so successfully employed against the ponderous romances of chivalry, his great inferiority to his illustrious predecessor became but too apparent. The adventures of *Don Silvio de Rosalba* are written with considerable animation, but with a ridiculous flippancy and affectation of style: the hero is the *Don Quixote* of fairy literature; but, like the other descendants of the Knight of the Woeful Countenance, he is but a feeble shadow of his prototype.

"To the popularity of the fairy tales we are chiefly indebted for the translations of the oriental works collected in these volumes. The *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, as translated by Galland, met with a most favourable reception, and were soon followed by the *Turkish and Persian Tales*, which Petis de la Croix communicated to his countrymen, and by numerous imitations, some of the most successful of which will be found in these volumes. The superiority of these eastern compositions over most of the European productions of the kind, was very generally acknowledged; and their popularity has continued undiminished ever since their first appearance.

ON THE CREED, DOCTRINES, AND RITUAL OF THE BOOK OF JOB.

[From Mr. Good's Translation of this Poem.]

THIS inquiry will be found of no small moment or importance. For if it have succeeded in fixing the date of the book of Job at a period antecedent to the Egyptian exodus, and of course to the Mosaic institution, and in bringing home the composition to Moses himself—then does this book immediately become a depository of patriarchal religion, the best and fullest depository in the world, and drawn up by that very pen which was most competent to do justice to it. Then also do we obtain a clear and decisive answer to the question which has so often been proposed,—What is the ultimate intention of the book of Job? and for what purpose is it introduced into the Hebrew and Christian canons? It will then appear, that it is for the purpose of making those canons complete, by uniting, as full an account as is necessary of the dispensation of the patriarchs, with the two dispensations by which it was progressively succeeded. It will then appear, that the chief doctrines of the patriarchal religion, as collected from different parts of the poem, were as follow :

“ 1. The creation of the world by one supreme and eternal Intelligence.

II. Its regulation, by his perpetual and superintending providence.

III. The intentions of his providence carried into effect by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy.

IV. The heavenly hierarchy, composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities, and offices.*

V. An apostacy, or defection, in some rank or order of these powers : of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief.

VI. The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator, and hence equally denominated ‘ Sons of God ;’ both of them employed by him, in the administration of his providence ; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions.

VII. A day of future resurrection, judgment, and retribution, to all mankind.

VIII. The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices, and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person.

“ Several of these doctrines are more clearly developed than others ; yet I think there are sufficient grounds for deducing the whole of them. Some critics may perhaps conceive, that the different names by which the heavenly host are characterized, may be mere synonyms, and not designed to import any variety of rank or order. Yet the names themselves, in most instances, imply distinctions, though we are not informed of their nature. מְמִיטִים (Memitim) Destinies, or Destroyers, Ministers of Death, cannot possibly apply to all of them, and appear to be nearly synonymous with the Μόραι, Αἰσῆαι, or Παρcae, of the Greek and Roman writers. The term itself, indeed, is obviously used in a limited and appropriate sense in chap. xxxiii. 23,

* As obedim, servants ; malarim, angels ; melazim, intercessors ; memitim, destinies, or destroyers ; alep, the chylid or thousand ; kedosim, sancti, the heavenly saints, or hosts generally.

and is distinctly opposed to מלאכים (malacim) angels; מליצים (melizim) intercessors; and אל (alep) chiliad or thousand:

As his soul draweth near to the grave,
And his life to the destinies,
Surely will there be over him an angel,
An intercessor,—one of the thousand.

“ Our established lection, for destinies, gives destroyers, which is a good word, but less appropriate. In 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 17, the ministering spirit employed is exhibited under the character of the destroying angel, and in 1 Cor. x. 10. is ὁ ὀλοφρευτής; which, in our common version, is still rendered THE DESTROYER: though the verb destroy, which immediately precedes it, is ἀπωλοῦτο; ‘ Neither murmured, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the Destroyer.’

“ The general term for the whole of these different ranks appears to be קדושים (kedosim), ‘ sancti, or holy ones.’ עבדים (obedim) ‘ ministers or servants,’ seems to convey, in every instance in which it occurs, a subordinate idea, in office as well as in name, to מלאכים (malacim) ‘ angels, thrones, or principdoms.’ אל (alep) ‘ the chiliad or thousand’ distinctly imports a particular corps or class; and is probably denominated, by a rule common to most countries and languages, from the number of which it consisted,—as militia, centurion, decemvir, heptarch, tithingman.

“ The same general belief has descended, in Arabia, to the present day; and forms a distinct and prominent doctrine of the Alcoran. The Memit, ‘ Destroying Angel or Destiny,’ of the poem before us, is there denominated Azrael; as the ‘ Angel of Resurrection,’ or he who is to sound the trumpet at that solemn period, is called Israfil. Both

these are supposed to belong to the most dignified order of the heavenly hierarchy, which is named Azazel, and of which Gatriel and Michael are also members. Satan (who is still thus denominated, as he is also Eblis or Perdition, from his present hopeless state) is conceived to have been of the same order, before his defection. In a subordinate order, we meet with two angels of considerable celebrity in the Mahomedan mythology, who are entitled Examiners, and whose names are Monkir and Nakir: the title of Examiners being given to them from their office of examining the dead, immediately on their decease, preparatory to their happiness or misery. The doom of Satan, and of those who fell with him, will not take place till that of mankind, at the general resurrection; till when, agreeably to the doctrine of the book of Job, they are permitted, under the superintendence of the Almighty, to roam about the world, and prove mankind by temptations and afflictions; two guardian angels, however, being in the mean time assigned to every man for his protection, who impartially notice and write down his actions; and these angels are supposed to be relieved daily.

“ In addition to this regular hierarchy, the modern Arabians, and indeed the Mahomedans in general, believe in the existence of a still lower race of beings, filling up the intermediate space between men and angels, whom they denominate Jin, or Genii (جني), formed, like the angels, of fire, but of a grosser fabric, who eat and drink, propagate their kind, are both good and bad, are subject to death, and will, like mankind, be rewarded or punished at the resurrection: the whole of which is a pal-

a palpable appendage to the original tenets of Arabia, and of the patriarchs in general, as communicated in the poem before us; and was probably borrowed from the Persians.

"The general doctrine, indeed, and under the form here supposed, of a series of ascending orders, has been common to almost all ages, countries, and religions, and was in all probability derived, in every instance, from patriarchal tradition. 'The ancient Persians,' observes Mr. Sale, 'firmly believe the ministry of angels, and their superintendence over the affairs of this world (as the Magians still do), and therefore assign them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months, and the days of their months.' Mr. Sale, however, appears to be in an error, in supposing that the Arabians derived this general doctrine from the Persian sages; since it is obvious, from the present poem, that it existed in Arabia before the earliest date that can be attributed to either of the Zoroasters, from whom the Persians derived their religion.

"From the east the same system flowed successively into Greece and Rome, and is thus distinctly appealed to by Hesiod, who calculates the whole number of heavenly guards, or deputies, appointed to watch over the earth, at thirty thousand; *Op. et Dies*, l. 246.

—'Ἐγγύς γὰρ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰόντες
Ἀθάνατοι λύσσευσιν, θεοὶ σκολιῇσι δίνουσι.
Ἀλλήλους τριβέουσιν, θεῶν δ' οὐκ ἀβρόντες.
Τρεῖς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πευλυβοτείῃ
Ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς, Φύλακος, Θηταῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Οἳ ῥα φυλάσσωσιν τὴν δίκην καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
'Ἠέρα ἱσάμενοι, πάντα φοιτῶντας ἐν αἶαν.

For, watchful, station'd near mankind, the
gods
Behold their mutual contests, the foul
wrongs
Of they commit, regardless of their ire.

Thrice-told ten thousand blest immortals
walk,
Guardians of man, around this goodly earth,
And mark his virtues, his transgressions
mark;
Etherial-veil'd, and wand'ring at their will.

Whence Milton, in exquisite poetry,
vying with Hesiod, but derived from
a superior source; *Rar. Lost*, IV.
677.

"Millions of spiritual creatures walk the
earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when
we sleep.
All these, with ceaseless praise, his works
behold,
Both day and night. How often, from
the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket, have we heard
Celestial voices, through the midnight
air,
Sole or responsive to each other's note,
Singing their great Creator! Oft, in bands,
While they keep watch; or, nightly
walking round,
With heavenly touch of instrumental
sounds,
In full harmonic number join'd; their
songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts
to heaven."

"The source from which these lines are derived, is the Bible; and it is of far more consequence to us that the doctrine they develop pervades the Bible, than that it pervades any other work; and especially that it runs through the whole of the scriptures, both Jewish and Christian, from Genesis to the Revelations—there being scarcely a book which has not a reference to it,—and without a single caution or hint that the language employed is merely figurative, or designed to convey any other than the obvious and popular idea which must necessarily have been attached to it by those to whom it was delivered. Thus especially *Coloss. i. 16*. in which we have, in few words, a description of invisible as well as visible

visible beings inhabiting the earth, and the different orders of which the hierarchy consists: 'For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether THRONES, or DOMINIONS, or PRINCIPALITIES, or POWERS.' Whence Milton again, *Par. Lost*, V. 600.

'Hear all ye angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms,
Virtues, Powers!'

"Milton has understood this passage of St. Paul in the sense in which Mr. Locke laments that all the different passages of the scriptures have not been uniformly understood. 'What you say,' observes he, to his friend Mr. Bold, 'about critics and critical interpretations, particularly of the scriptures, is not only, in my opinion, true, but of great use to be observed in reading learned commentators, who, not seldom, make it their business to show in what sense a word has been used by other authors: whereas the proper business of a commentator is to show in what sense it was used by the author himself in that place; which, in the scripture, we have reason to conclude, was most commonly in the ordinary vulgar sense of the word or phrase known at that time, because the books were written and adapted to the people.'

"Bishop Horsley, in the last sermon he ever composed, and which is full of that boldness of thought, and manliness of style, so peculiarly characteristic of his writings, (the text, *Dan. iv. 17*) seems, in various parts of it, open to Mr. Locke's animadversion; and especially, in contending that the term 'Michael,' or 'Michael the archangel,' wherever it occurs, is nothing

more than a name for our Saviour; and that the WATCHERS and HOLY ONES of his text import no other than the different persons of the Trinity. He warmly inveighs against the doctrine that 'God's government of this lower world is carried on by the administration of the holy angels (and those, continues he, who broached this doctrine could tell us exactly how many orders there are, and how many angels in each order)—that the different orders have their different departments in government assigned to them; some, constantly attending in the presence of God, form his cabinet council; others are his provincial governors; every kingdom in the world having its appointed guardian angel, to whose management it is intrusted: others again are supposed to have the charge and custody of individuals. This system is in truth nothing better than pagan polytheism, somewhat disguised and qualified; for, in the pagan system, every nation had its tutelary deity, all subordinate to Jupiter, the sire of gods and men. Some of these prodigies of ignorance and folly, the rabbins of the Jews, who lived since the dispersion of the nation, thought all would be well, if, for tutelary deities, they substituted tutelary angels. From this substitution the system which I have described arose; and from the Jews, the christians, with other fooleries, adopted it.'

"The order of transmission is here strangely confused: for, instead of christian dotards having obtained this doctrine from rabbinical dotards, and these again from pagan dotards, the plain and common sense of the terms referred to in the very ancient poem before us—those of a synonymous kind employed in other books

books of the Old and New Testaments—the unequivocal tradition concurrent in all the highest ages of all the most ancient nations in every part of the world—seem to establish, as clearly as any thing of the kind can be established, that such a doctrine was of patriarchal belief,—that it existed among mankind almost, or perhaps altogether, from their first creation,—and that it has descended with them, in every ramification and direction.

“The whole that can be objected upon the subject is, that it has been, at various times and in various modes, abused; and this, in truth, after all his apparent opposition, is the whole that appears intended by Dr. Horsley; since, immediately afterwards, he asserts as follows: ‘That the holy angels are often employed by God in his government of this sublunary world, is indeed clearly to be proved by holy writ: that they have powers over the matter of the universe analogous to the powers over it which men possess, greater in extent, but still limited, is a thing which might reasonably be supposed, if it were not declared: but it seems to be confirmed by many passages of holy writ, from which it seems also evident that they are occasionally, for certain specific purposes, commissioned to exercise those powers to a prescribed extent. That the evil angels possessed, before the fall, the like powers, which they are still occasionally permitted to exercise for the punishment of wicked nations, seems also evident. That they have a power over the human sensory (which is part of the material universe), which they are occasionally permitted to exercise, by means of which they may inflict diseases, suggest evil thoughts, and

be the instruments of temptations, must also be admitted.’

“And, all this being admitted, there seems no great difficulty in conceiving that a God of order would arrange the hosts of the invisible as he has those of the visible world, into gradations of various kinds, endowed with various powers;—that ‘one of these morning-stars may differ, at present, from another star in glory,’ as we are told the beatified spirits of mankind will differ, hereafter: and with this admission there does not appear to be any necessity for wandering, as Dr. Horsley (and before him Mr. Parkhurst) has done, from the common and obvious sense of his text, into a recondite and hypothetical explanation.

“One of the chief arguments urged by the learned prelate, in support of his interpretation, that the terms ‘watchers’ and ‘holy ones’ import the Three Persons in the Godhead, is, that his text affirms that ‘this matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand of the word of the holy ones;’ indicating an authority which none but the Godhead could possess, since no other being, however exalted, can *decree*, although he may *execute*. This, however, is to give the text a Hebrew rather than a Chaldaic bearing, in which last language the English reader should be informed that it is written. More strictly rendered, and in the direct order of the words, it is as follows: ‘To the division of the Ourin (ourin watchers, or those that keep watch) is the decree; and to the charge of the Kedoshin (kedoshin heavenly host) the introspection;’ i. e. ‘looking into it,’ to see that the decree is carried into effect. It is, in truth, the common clause with which the imperial

imperial decrees of the east close, even in the present day; and which gives authority to the ministers appointed to execute them, and to those appointed to see that they are executed: and is hence powerfully in favour of an ascending scale of angels, instead of being adverse to it. The term *קור* or *קורין* (Our or Ourin, watcher or watchers) is by no means common; but, in every instance I am acquainted with, it imports subordinate watching, or 'keeping watch,' as on a military station, and not supreme intendment, or over-ruling providence. The same term occurs in the Syriac, and is uniformly employed in the same sense, *ܩܘܪܐ* and *ܩܘܪܐܝܢܐ*; which are the terms actually made use of in the Syriac version of the New Testament, 1 Tim. iii. 2. 'a bishop must be—vigilant' (*ܩܘܪܐܝܢܐ*); and Luke xii. 37. 'Blessed are those whom our Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching' (*ܩܘܪܐܝܢܐ*). The term *קדושין* (*Kedoshin*, heavenly hosts) is still less applicable to the Godhead; for in Job xv. 15. it imports defective angels, or, as rendered in our common version, 'saints in whom the Godhead putteth no trust:' and in Job v. 1 it imports the heavenly hosts generally.

"The doctrine of an apostasy among the celestial orders, which I have ventured to ascribe to the patriarchal religion from the poem before us, is derived from two or three passages that may perhaps admit of a different explanation,—but of no other explanation, as it appears to me, that can afford an obvious sense. In ch. i. and ii. Satan is abruptly, and without ceremony, introduced as an evil spirit, as though the writer of the poem felt it unnecessary to offer a syllable upon the subject, from the general

notoriety of the fact. In ch. iv. 18. the passage runs as follows:

Behold! he cannot confide in his servants,
And chargeth his angels with default.
What, then, are the dwellers in houses of
clay?—&c.

which, in St. Jerom, is rendered, 'Ecce! qui serviunt ei. non sunt stabiles; et in angelis suis reperit pravitatem;' 'Behold, those who serve him, are not stable, and in his angels he findeth pravity or defection;'—evidently alluding to those, in the language of St. Jude, *τοὺς μὴ τηροῦσάντας τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀρχῆς*, 'Who kept not their first estate;' and not, even indirectly, applicable to those who had been tried and found faithful, though it has been thus explained occasionally. The Hebrew *חלה* is by no means sufficiently expressed by folly, as in our established version. Its radical meaning is 'want of continuity,' *לִטְרוּת*, as in the interstices of a garment that may be seen through, *בסעם תעלה*—I should in the text now offered have preferred *defection* to *default*, as being equally the radical sense of the term; but was afraid of being accused of systematizing.

"In chap. xv. 15. the same fact is again alluded to, and in terms equally strong, and equally general, as though of universal publicity:

Behold! he cannot confide in his ministers.
And the heavens are not clean in his sight.
How much less, then, abominable and
corrupt man!—&c.

Where, observes Gyndal, 'under the name of the heavens understandeth he the angels;' on which account the Alexandrine version gives *ΑΣΤΡΑ δὲ οὐκ ἀσέμνα*, 'the stars are not clean'—i.e. the morning stars. It is, in truth, under this precise

precise image that the same fact is a third time referred to in the speech of Bildad, chap. xxv. 5; though, for want of due attention, it has seldom been understood to have this reference:

Behold! even the moon—and it abideth
not,
And the stars are not pure in his sight:
How much less man, a worm!—&c.

The common close, or burden, drawn from the greater impurity of man, shows obviously that this is the sense in which it ought to be understood. And the different passages, taken collectively, lead, if I mistake not, to a clear proof that the defection among the heavenly hosts was generally known at the time the poem was composed, and is, in all of them, generally referred to.

“Concerning the doctrine of an universal resurrection and retribution, the poem, upon a cursory view, may in many places appear to be at variance with itself; for there are several passages which at first sight seem to point to an opposite conclusion: and hence a cloud of learned and excellent men in all ages, from St. Chrysostom and St. Ambrose among the fathers, to Le Clerc, Reiske, Vogel, Michaelis, Warburton, Geddes, and Stock, among modern commentators, have denied that any such doctrine is fairly to be collected from the poem as a whole. The question is therefore entitled to be examined with minute attention.

“It must be admitted, that the only person, amidst all the interlocutors, who distinctly alludes to the subject, either on the one side or the other, is Job himself: and it certainly appears not a little extraordinary, that none of his companions, when reminding him in

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succession, of the advantages of real contrition, and a restoration to the favour of the Almighty, should, even in the remotest manner, direct his attention to a future as well as to a present reward: and it is hence, perhaps, but fair to conceive, that the doctrine of an after state was no more in universal reception in the last of what may be denominated the patriarchal ages, than it was among the Jews, at the advent of our Saviour; and that the friends of Job did not themselves accede to it. Yet, in opposition to such a conclusion, there are two or three passages in the different speeches of Job which distinctly refer to it, as a doctrine in general acceptance, and admitted by his companions themselves. But let us trace the principal passages which have any relation to the subject, in the succession in which they occur: and, in order to our reconciling the wide difference they exhibit, it should be constantly borne in mind, that they are only brought forward by a man who, in the midst of extreme bodily pain, and the most complicated mental affliction that ever fell to the lot of any one, is perpetually agitated by every change of contending passions—hope, fear, confidence, despondency, indignation, tenderness, submission, and triumph; each abruptly breaking upon the other, and frequently hurrying him away from his habitual principles to an utterance of transitory thoughts, urged by transitory feelings.

“The following are the chief passages against the existence of a future life:

CHAP. XIV. 18—22.

And, for ever, as the crumbling mountain
dissolveth,
And the rock mouldereth away from his
place,
As the waters wear to pieces the stones,

As their overflowings sweep the soil from
the land, —
So consumest thou the hope of man ;
Thou harasses him continually till he
perish ;
Thou weariest out his frame, and dis-
patchest him.
His sons may come to honour, but he shall
know it not ;
Or they may be impoverished, but he shall
perceive nothing of them :
For his flesh shall drop away from him ;
And his soul shall become a waste from
him.

CHAP. XVI. 22. CH. XVII. 1.

But the years numbered to me are come,
And I must go the way whence I shall not
return :
My spirit is seized hold of ; my days are
extinct ;
Mine are the sepulchres.

CHAP. XVII. 11.

My days, my projects, are all over :
The resolves of my heart are rent asunder.
Night is assigned me for day,
A light bordering on the regions of dark-
ness.
While I tarry, the grave is my home ;
I am making my bed in the darkness.
I exclaim to corruption, 'Thou art my
father !'
To the worm, 'My mother ! and my
sister !'
And where, in such a state, are my hopes ?
Yea, my hopes !—who shall point them
out ?
To the grasp of the grave must they fall a
prey,
Altogether are they below in the dust.

CHAP. XXX. 24, 25.

But not into the sepulchre will he thrust
his hand ;
Surely there, in its ruin, is freedom.
Should I not then weep for the ruthless
day ?
My soul lament for the rock ?

"Upon all these passages it may
be observed, that they rather refer
to an insensibility or dissipation of
the soul upon death, than to the
question of a re-existence or resur-
rection at some future period : and
hence they cannot strictly be said
to annihilate this latter doctrine.
In the midst of his deepest de-

spondency, as expressed in these
extracts, the speaker still alludes to
his hopes, though to hopes which,
at the immediate moment, he felt
incapable of cherishing ; still proving,
however, that even on such occa-
sions the doctrine itself was known
to him, and existed before him, and
had been agitated by him, although
his fears or his sufferings impelled
him at the time to relinquish it.
It should also be observed, that,
except the last of these passages,
they are all uttered in the earlier
part of his affliction, when the dis-
ease itself appears to have raged
most violently, and the reproaches
of his companions to have been
most bitter. From chap. xix. he
seems in a considerable degree to
have recovered possession of him-
self : he is conscious of his su-
periority over the speeches urged
against him ; and for the most part
exchanges his exclamations and
complaints for sound logical reason-
ing. And, from this period, the
only relapse into a state of despon-
dency and disbelief, in any way
discoverable, is contained in the
last quotation.

"The following are the chief
passages in favour of a future ex-
istence :

CHAP. XIV. 10—15.

But man dieth, and mouldereth :—
But the mortal expieth—and where is he ?
As the billows pass away with the tides,
And the floods are exhausted and dried up,
So man lieth down, and riseth not :
Till the heavens be dissolved, they will not
awake ;
No—they will not rouse up from their
sleep.—
O ! that thou wouldst hide me in the
grave,
Wouldst conceal me—till thy wrath be
past ;
That thou wouldst appoint me a fixed time,
and remember me !
But if a man die—shall he, indeed, live
again ?—

All the days of my appointment will I wait—
Till my renovation come.—
Thou shalt call, and I will answer thee;
Thou shalt yearn towards the work of thy hands.

"This is a very important passage, in relation to the general question; and is, at the same time, full of poetic beauty of every kind. It proves the tumult of the speaker's mind, and the abruptness and transition of his feelings. It is demonstrative of the existence of the doctrine of a future state, because it is here fully brought forward, and reasoned upon: but it shows, also, that though the doctrine was at that era in existence, it admitted of debate; and that the speaker himself, under the immediate pressure of suffering, at one moment doubted, and at another was thoroughly convinced.

CHAP. XIX. 23—29.

O! that my words were even now written down;
O! that they were engraven on a table;
With a pen of iron, upon lead!
That they were sculptured in a rock for ever!
For 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,
'And will ascend at last upon the earth:
'And, after the disease hath destroyed my skin,
'That, in my flesh, I shall see God:
'Whom I shall see for myself,
'And my own eyes shall behold, and not another's,
'Though my reins be consumed within me.'
Then shall ye say 'How did we persecute him!'
When the root of the matter is disclosed in me.
Tremble for your yourselves before the sword;
For fierce is the vengeance of the sword:
Therefore beware of its judgment.

"For the different senses which have been given to this sublime passage, I must refer the reader to the note upon it in the regular or-

der of the poem. Taken in connection with the preceding, and succeeding passages, it appears decisive, not only as to the existence of the doctrine at the era in which the work was composed, but as to the speaker's complete and triumphant persuasion of it at the moment of its being uttered. The word 'stand upon the earth,' as given in our common version, is a very feeble and inadequate rendering: the Hebrew *qûm*, signifies, indeed, 'to stand,' but more correctly 'to stand up,'—'mount,' 'rise up,' 'ascend.' It is here, and in various other places, a forensic term, and in such instances should always be rendered 'ascend,' i. e. to the judgment-seat. It is used in the very same sense in ch. xxxi. 14. where our common lection, instead of stand, translates it rise up; 'when God riseth up;' which is a better signification than the former, but still remote and inadequate. The bold and severe apostrophe of the speaker to his companions, in the passage that immediately follows, proves obviously that the whole refers to the solemn judgment of the Almighty.

CHAP. xxi. 28, 30.

For, 'Where, say ye, is the house of this mighty one?
'Yea—where, the fixt mansion of the wicked?—
'Lo! against the day of destruction are the wicked reserved;
In the day of vengeance shall they be brought forth.'

CHAP. xxxi. 13, 14.

If I have slighted the cause of my manservant, or my maid-servant,
In their controversies with me,
What then shall I do, when God ascendeth;
And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?

"In the last passage, *qûm*, as I have already observed, is double—

used forensically, ascendeth, i. e. 'to the tribunal or judgment-seat;' and not 'riseth up,' as in our established lection. The speaker is immediately adverting to the manner in which he had conducted himself as emir or chief magistrate of Uz, and the strict justice he had uniformly endeavoured to administer at the tribunal of the gate. The passage cannot be misunderstood, and seems decisive, not only of the existence of the doctrine of a future judgment at the era before us, but of the speaker's habitual belief of it, considering that he was now debating coolly and argumentatively, and free from the influence of passion.

"The quotation immediately preceding it, may, perhaps, admit of a different interpretation, if considered by itself; yet, as it ought to be considered by itself, but in conjunction with collateral passages, the proper and intended sense is fixt at once. This quotation is of consequence, not only as leading to a proof of the existence of the doctrine, and the speaker's assent to it, when dispassionately arguing upon the subject, but as ascribing the same assent, as a known and admitted fact, to his companions; for he puts the words into their mouths in their own presence.

"Upon the whole, it seems clear then, I think, that the doctrine of a future existence, and state of retribution, was fully known at the age in which the book of Job was composed; and that it was fully acceded to by Job himself, when free from the influence of desponding passions; but it does not seem perfectly clear that it was equally acceded to by his companions. I seems evident, also, that the whole expectation of a future state was

grounded upon a resurrection of the body: and that the doctrine of a separate existence of the soul—which, in conjunction with that of a corporeal resurrection, runs, in my judgment, so plainly through the entire texture of the Christian scriptures—is no where supported by the speakers; and, from various passages, appears rather to have been disbelieved.

"It is curious, therefore, to remark the different ground of argument assumed in favour of a future state, in the present poem,—and hence, perhaps, by the patriarchal times generally,—and that assumed by the philosophers of Greece and Rome, who assented to the same doctrine; the former appealing alone to a resurrection of the body, and appearing to have no idea of a distinct immortality of the soul; and the latter appealing alone to a distinct immortality of the soul, and appearing to have no idea of a resurrection of the body. It remained for that dispensation which has 'brought life and immortality to light,'—the resurrection of the body, and the real nature of the soul,—to reconcile the discrepancy, and give to each ground of argument its proper force.

"The only existing heresy that occurs to us in the course of the poem, is that of magic or incantation; and the only idolatry that of Sabeism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies. The first is glanced at in chap. iii. 8, and the second in chap. xxxi. 26; and both, were additional proofs wanting, would concur in corroborating its high antiquity; for they are among the oldest subjects to be met with in history or tradition;—the first being known to have been professed and practised by collegiate bodies as

Egypt before the Mosaic era; and the second being commonly referred, for its origin, to a date antecedent to that of Abraham, and by Maimonides to a period nearly as early as that of Seth—his son Sabius, according to the Sabeans themselves, having invented and propagated it. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that it is of much earlier birth than either image-worship or the deification of heroes, and have usually, and perhaps correctly, been regarded as its abominable progeny. The duration of Sabeism is also as remarkable as its antiquity; for, in the territory of Bassora, it is still to be found in a sect who denominate themselves, but for what reason is uncertain, the Christians of St. John.

“The form of the present poem, contemplated as a depository of patriarchal faith, is also entitled to attention, and is almost as much in favour of a very early origin as any circumstance that has yet been noticed. All the religious institutes of the highest antiquity, of which we have any account, were delivered in poetry, and under the shape of history, real or fictitious. Such is probably the Zend-Avesta (though its actual rhythm, like that of Hebrew poetry, seems no longer to be known), if we may judge from the Sadder, a book used by the Magi, containing an account of the laws and precepts of the Parsees, avowedly drawn up from the Zend-Avesta, and written in Persian verse. Such unquestionably are the Vedas, being composed in *ashloka*, or rather *stocas*, or stanzas of four lines each; the two first books of which affect an antiquity superior to that of the Mosaic era. Such, also, is the *Shu-King*, compiled by Confucius, and perhaps the three other *Kings*, constituting col-

lectively the theology of the Chinese; and such are the Orphic fragments of Greece, and the Edda of Iceland. It is, however, peculiarly worthy of remark, that Arabia has more pretensions, and especially more pretensions of very high antiquity, to such a mode of communication, than any other country whatever. Its customs and manners, the agreeableness of its climate, the beauty and variety of its prospects, and, above all, the force and richness and elegance of its language, concurred, at a very early period, to render poetry an object of universal attraction; so that the rise of a poet in an Arabian tribe was one of the principal sources of public rejoicing: and hence, as far as almost any nation can look back through the medium of profane history, we find a sort of poetical academy instituted in this country, which, with a view of maintaining a due spirit of emulation, used annually to assemble at *Ocadh*, where every poet produced his best composition; and where the different tribes, to which the poets belonged, waited for the award of the judges, who were appointed to decide on their respective merits, with as much anxiety as the writers of the poems themselves. This assembly was suppressed by Mahommed, partly as interfering with his very opposite views of warfare, but chiefly because many of the poems recited on such occasions were filled with severe and appropriate sarcasms upon himself: among the principal of which were those recited by *Caab Ben Zohair*, whose destruction was consequently panted for by Mahommed with long and unmitigated eagerness.

“The subjects made choice of on these occasions were religious, moral; or pastoral: in their arrangement

ment they were often argumentative; and in their form, either soliloquies, dialogues, or narratives. It is to this assembly we are indebted for the *Moallakas*, or seven pre-eminent *casseides* or *eclogues*, which were transcribed in characters of gold upon Egyptian paper, and suspended on the walls of the *Caaba*, or principal temple at *Mecca*. Of these, the sixth and seventh should be united; for they constitute two antagonist declamations or arguments, advanced by *Amru* and *Hareth*, whose names they respectively bear, in favour of the superior merits of their respective tribes, and were delivered before *Amru*, son of *Hinda*, king of *Hira* in *Mesopotamia*, who undertook the office of umpire. And in this view of the subject, they have, so far as relates to external form, a very near resemblance to the adverse orations or arguments of which the great body of the ensuing poem consists; and, like it, are founded on real history.

"From the violence, however, with which *Mahommed* attacked what may be called the poetical academy of *Ocadh*, almost all the most ancient pieces of Arabian poetry were destroyed or lost; and we have hence far nearer approaches towards the general nature of the poem of *Job* in *Persia* and *India*, (which successively derived a poetic taste, and cultivated a poetic genius, from *Arabia*,) than we have in *Arabia* itself; and where also we meet with institutions similar to that held at *Ocadh*, for rival recitations,—at which the ancient *Rajahs* commonly resided, and at one of which was first rehearsed the *Sacotala*, or *Fatal Ring*, of *Calidas*. These poems were collected, and made public, in miscellanies denominated, in *Sanscrit*, *Natac*.

"In both these countries, therefore, we meet with an abundance of instances of a very early appropriation of poetry to the purpose of communicating both moral sentiments and religious tenets; and, as in the poem before us, through the medium of a slight string of narrative or biography. Such is the *Hitopadesa* of *Vishnu-Sarma*, which has been elegantly translated into English by Sir *William Jones*. As such, also, we may regard the *Bostan*, and *Gulistan*, of the sentimental *Sadi*; and as such, more especially, the *Gitagovinda* of *Jayadéva*, and the "Loves of *Laili* and *Majnun*;" which last subject has given rise to not less than ten or twelve rival attempts among the bards of *Persia*, the best and most exquisite of which appear to be those of *Nizami*, and *Hatafi* his scholar. These attempts are altogether founded upon an *Arabian* basis; for the real name of *Majnun*, or *The Distracted*, was *Kais*, an accomplished and amiable youth, the only son of an *Arabian* chieftain who flourished in the first age of the *Mahomedan* empire; while *Laili* or *Laila* (as the *Arabians* write it) was the daughter of a neighbouring chieftain, and seems to have been equally accomplished. *Laili*, in these poems, is, indeed, mystically interpreted, by the general consent of the ancient *Hushangis* and modern *Sufis*, as uniformly typifying the omnipresent spirit of *God*; and Sir *W. Jones* conceives the term to be actually used in the sense in the *Masnavi*, as well as in several of the esoteric odes of *Hafiz*. The subject of the *Gitagovinda*, which constitutes a part of the tenth book of the *Bhagavat*, is founded on 'the Loves of *Crishna* and *Radha*,' or the mystical union of the Creator, in a state of incarnation, with the human

human soul; for such, according to the Vedantis, is intended by the word *Radha*; the original meaning of which, however, is 'atonement; pacification, or satisfaction.' And under this narrative, as under the preceding of *Laili* and *Majoun*, a variety of what are conceived in the

East to be the most important doctrines of religion, are purposely, but irregularly, scattered, in the same manner as the most important doctrines of the patriarchal religion appear to be scattered through the book of *Job*."

ON THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

[FROM MR. DEWAR'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER, &c.
OF THE IRISH.]

"THE Irish language is a dialect of what has been generally called the Celtic: and some antiquarians of note have maintained that it is the root of that ancient and venerable tongue. It is certain, that there is very little difference between it and the Gaelic; and that a Highlander can converse easily with an Irishman. This remark holds true in some parts of Ireland more than in others. It becomes not a mountaineer of Scotland to say which is the more polished and copious: but if I may be permitted to give my opinion, I must maintain, that while the Irish seems to be more cultivated than the Gaelic, it retains less of its original simplicity. I refer particularly to the conjugation of the verb. In the dark ages, the monks seem to have laboured to make the flexion of the verb in their own tongue, similar to that of the Latin. This alteration, for I cannot call it an improvement, which is adhered to by all the grammarians, does not seem natural, nor at all suited to the genius of a language that is otherwise beautifully simple.

"It has been already remarked, that it is altogether idiomatic in its

construction, or, to speak more correctly, its idioms are different from those of all the languages of Europe. It is extremely copious, especially on any subject connected with the passions; though it can scarcely be considered a good vehicle for philosophy. No tongue can better suit the purpose of the orator, whose object is to make an impression on a popular assembly, and who, regardless of precision, seeks only to accomplish his end. Hence also, it is admirably adapted to poetry.

"Every one has remarked the readiness with which an Irishman applies the language of endearment to all his associates: and though I had never heard him speak, I should conclude this to be the case from an investigation of his dialect. It abounds with terms, which, if literally translated, would appear to a native of either part of this island, excessively extravagant. This fact seems to confirm the idea which I formerly advanced respecting the tender and mild enthusiasm of the Irish.

"The number of people who speak this language is much greater than is generally supposed. It is spoken throughout the province of Connaught

Connaught by all the lower orders, a great part of whom scarcely understand any English; and some of those who do, understand it only so as to conduct business: they are incapable of receiving moral or religious instruction through its medium. The Irish is spoken very generally through the other three provinces, except among the descendants of the Scotch in the north. It cannot be supposed that calculations on this subject should be perfectly accurate; but it has been concluded on good grounds that there are about two millions of people in Ireland who are incapable of understanding a continued discourse in English. The grounds on which such calculations are made cannot be deemed very accurate. Dr. Stokes, who has written a pamphlet on the necessity of publishing the scriptures in the Irish language, merely mentions the counties in which it is the prevailing speech. He states, indeed, that about two thousand Irish catechisms are sold annually; and concludes from this circumstance, that there must be about twenty thousand persons in Ireland who have made some attempt at reading their native language. But supposing this calculation to be overrated by half a million; there remains a million and half, a number that is five times greater than all the inhabitants of the Highlands.

“How comes it to pass that the Hibernian language, in spite of every exertion to complete its extinction, has survived so long, and continues to be spoken by such a vast multitude of people? In answer to this question, I remark,

“First, that every people situated as the Irish, and the Welch, and the Highlanders are, and have been, must be fond of their own language

even to enthusiasm. The less intercourse a nation has with foreigners, and the more ignorant it is of their institutions, manners, and language, the more perfect it will consider its own: consequently it will feel the utmost reluctance to give up either. And who in any circumstances can easily relinquish the tongue, which first conveyed to his infant mind the tender and endearing accents of maternal affection, which in riper years he has associated with all his joys and sorrows, with all his pleasing and painful emotions; which is rendered sacred by being the medium of communication with that great and holy Being, whom he adores; and without the aid of which, perhaps, he cannot form an accurate conception on any subject? The complete extinction of the language of a people, time and favourable circumstances alone must effect; unless recourse should be had to the more cruel, but certainly more expeditious method, of destroying the people at once. How fully is this remark verified in the repeated attempts of William the Norman to introduce the dialect of France among the people which his arms had conquered!

“Secondly, the attachment of the human mind to any object is increased in proportion to the reproach and persecution which is suffered for its sake. - At this advanced period of the world this obvious truth requires no illustration; or, if any be necessary, the history of Ireland will furnish it. The exertions which have been made to suppress the language of that country, have greatly strengthened the prepossessions of the natives in its favour; and they now, in some degree, consider their honour pledged for its preservation.

“There is a species of barbarity which

which though not so revolting to the feelings of humanity as that of the conqueror, who spares neither age nor sex amongst the vanquished, is, perhaps, in itself not less shocking and criminal. To perceive this, however, it is necessary not only to have some warmth of social affection, some regard to the general interests of man, but also to possess a thorough conviction of his responsibility,—not merely to have the doubtful goodness which allows him existence, but the less ambiguous benevolence which aims at his happiness and welfare. Now, to proscribe the language of a whole people because it does not happen to be the same with the speech of the conqueror and the court, to leave those who speak it in ignorance in order to accelerate its extinction, and even actively to discourage every attempt to instruct and enlighten unless it be in the protected tongue, are maxims which appear to me not only barbarous, but absolutely inefficient as to the end in view. The serious nature of these charges, and the general importance of the subject, may justify more extended details respecting the history of the Celtic dialects as existing in the British isles.

“The Welch, it must be allowed, have in general been more fortunate than their brethren. They, no doubt, were at one period very cruelly used; their bards were inhumanly massacred, and their independence is alienated for ever. But since that period they have been treated with liberality; neither themselves nor their language have been proscribed. Books have been published in it, and schoolmasters and teachers of religion for ages have instructed them through its medium. The happy result is, that

in no country is there more public and private virtue, more domestic happiness, more ardent and scriptural piety, or greater loyalty and subordination. They have been permitted and even encouraged to cultivate their own tongue, to improve their minds by the tracts that are printed in it; and these are the fruits which this wise measure has produced. It ought to be remarked, however, that Wales has been much indebted to her near vicinity to England. Her inhabitants, indeed, inform us that they owe most of their advantages to their own powerful genius, to their ancient literature, and to the taste for knowledge which, they say, has always been preserved amongst them. Without entering into any inquiry as to the truth of this, it may safely be affirmed, that they are under many obligations to benevolent Englishmen who have visited their country, and who have done more for the education of its poor inhabitants, than sixty years ago was done for their own. Perhaps it was impossible to be in perfect contact with the land of freedom, of knowledge, and of science, without partaking in some of its blessings. At this moment there are in circulation nearly a hundred thousand copies of the Welch Bible.

“The Highlands of Scotland, from particular circumstances in its history, enjoyed all the advantages of the reformation. The clergy were required to preach in the Gaelic language: schoolmasters were appointed in every parish, who, in general, could teach the children to read in that tongue. But unfortunately the rebellion of 1715, and of 1745, excited prejudices against both the Highlanders and their language: their very garb, martial as it is, was proscribed; and

no measure was thought too severe, which had for its object the suppression of any thing allied to the insurgent mountaineers. It was even deemed improper to publish books in the Gaelic, lest it should tend to the preservation of the language: so powerful was this prejudice, that it was, after a long struggle, and against incessant opposition, that the society for propagating christian knowledge undertook at a recent period the translation of the Bible. When the British and foreign Bible Society published an edition of the same translation, it encountered a considerable share of this opposition. It was said in both cases, that though the Highlanders were ignorant of the scriptures, it is improper to supply them in their own tongue; that this plan tends to preserve a language which ought to be abolished; that there were only a few thousands in the Highlands who could not understand English, and that these would soon be removed; and that since few of these could read the Gaelic, the translation of the sacred writings could be of no use to them. This was maintained after it was known that there are three hundred thousand people in the Highlands who do not understand a continued discourse in the English language.

"In conformity to these absurd reasonings and prejudices, schoolmasters of every description have been accustomed hitherto to teach the children, who do not understand one word of English, in that language only, till few of them have time left to learn to read tolerably in the language which they understand, and through which they can possibly obtain information.

"It is far from my intention to insinuate, that the honourable the society in Scotland for propagating

christian knowledge in the Highlands and isles, does not explicitly command their schoolmasters to teach the Gaelic language, where that language chiefly prevails. No one can look at their regulations without being perfectly satisfied on this head; nor is it possible to advert to the good which this institution has produced, without admitting its undeniable claim to the everlasting gratitude of mankind. If the Gaelic language is not taught in the most efficient manner, the fault is not to be attributed to the honourable society, but to the erroneous sentiments which have prevailed on the subject.

"Happily the Highland ministers universally preached in the Gaelic language before the year 1715, and 1745; otherwise it would certainly have been deemed highly expedient to preach only in the more modern tongue. Some in their simplicity will say, this is impossible. How could three hundred thousand people be left without intelligible instruction of any kind? The history of Ireland will inform us that such a case is not impossible.

"The reformation, it is well known, has made very little progress in that country: the mass of the people remain in connection with the church of Rome. Of these, as has been already observed, there are a million and a half, who understood no tongue but the Irish. Now, the established church has made no provision whatever for this population; there is not one of its ministers that preaches in this language. In a parish containing twelve hundred inhabitants, in some instances not above one hundred, in others not above fifty persons, can derive any advantage from a sermon, or any other continued discourse in English,

English, and yet, the clergyman who is intrusted with the care of their souls understands no other. It is true, most of these people are Roman catholics. Are they not forced, however, to remain in the bosom of the Roman church? Their priests give them that instruction in the venerable tongue of their fathers, which the protestant teachers have always denied them. And, yet, these teachers complain of the increase of papists, and of the gross ignorance of the people. How inconsistent is man!

“Let it be observed that this shameful neglect of the Irish population does not proceed from mere accident; most of the Anglo-Hibernians attempt to justify it. This many of them do by arguments which are too absurd to be mentioned. The principal are these two: that the number of people who understand Irish only, is not so great as I have stated; and that though it were, the instruction of the people in this language can answer no good end. In answer to the first of these arguments, I shall only say, that though I cannot pretend to accuracy in my calculations on this subject, I have always found, that in places where gentlemen hostile to this tongue assured me there was not a word of it spoken, in these very districts, I heard very little English. The truth is, a great part of Ireland is not much explored by such gentlemen; and when they do travel, it is not through the vallies and recesses of the mountains, but along the road, where they must, at the inns, see those whose interest it is to speak the language of strangers. What would be thought of an Englishman, who should travel

from Edinburgh to Fort William, and thence to Inverness, and there declare that the English tongue was spoken through all that country; that it was therefore unnecessary to teach the people in any other? As to the second objection, though obviously absurd, I shall only say, that it appears to me to be a dictate of reason, and of common sense, that if ever a people be informed and enlightened, it must be by means of the language, which they understand. Will it not answer a good end to enlighten, and inform, and improve the native Irish? Will it not answer the most noble and beneficent purposes to inculcate those principles which will make them good men, and good subjects? But this measure will perpetuate the Irish tongue. What then? its existence surely can do no harm; whereas ignorance, and vice, and superstition, will always produce evil.

“The truth is, however, that the cultivation of either the Irish or the Gaelic is the most effectual, as well as the most expeditious plan that can be adopted for their extinction. Make any people intelligent and rational, and they will gradually lose their prejudices; many of them will acquire a taste for general knowledge, and they will seek for it in the general tongue of the empire. Besides, all their interest must incline them to this measure: if they wish to improve their condition, or to have their sons advanced in the service of their country, they will find it necessary to have some English book-learning themselves, and to be at some pains to impart it to their children.

ARTS; SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

EXTRAORDINARY TALENT FOR ARITHMETIC IN A BOY OF LESS THAN EIGHT YEARS OLD.

[FROM TILLOCH'S PHILOSOPHICAL MAGAZINE.]

“THE attention of the philosophical world has been lately attracted by the most singular phenomenon in the history of the human mind that perhaps ever existed. It is the case of a child, under eight years of age, who, without any previous knowledge of the common rules of arithmetic, or even of the use and power of the Arabic numerals, and without having given any particular attention to the subject, possesses (as if by intuition) the singular faculty of solving a great variety of arithmetical questions by the mere operation of the mind, and without the usual assistance of any visible symbol or contrivance.

“The name of this child is Zerah Colburn, who was born at Cabot (a town lying at the head of Onion river, in Vermont, in the United States of America,) on the 1st of September 1804. About two years ago (August 1810) although at that time not six years of age, he first began to show those wonderful powers of calculation which have since so much attracted the attention and excited the astonishment of every person who has witnessed his extraordinary abilities.

The discovery was made by accident. His father, who had not given him any other instruction than such as was to be obtained at a small school established in that unfrequented and remote part of the country, (and which did not include either writing or cyphering,) was much surprised one day to hear him repeating the products of several numbers. Struck with amazement at the circumstance, he proposed a variety of arithmetical questions to him, all of which the child solved with remarkable facility and correctness. The news of this infant prodigy soon circulated through the neighbourhood; and many persons came from distant parts to witness so singular a circumstance. The father, encouraged by the unanimous opinion of all who came to see him, was induced to undertake, with this child, the tour of the United States. They were every where received with the most flattering expressions; and in the several towns which they visited, various plans were suggested to educate and bring up the child, free from all expense to his family. Yielding, however, to the pressing solicitations of his friends, and urged by

by the most respectable and powerful recommendations, as well as by a view to his son's more complete education, the father has brought the child to this country, where they arrived on the 12th of May last: and the inhabitants of this metropolis have for these last three months had an opportunity of seeing and examining this wonderful phenomenon; and of verifying the reports that have been circulated respecting him.

"Many persons of the first eminence for their knowledge in mathematics, and well known for their philosophical inquiries, have made a point of seeing and conversing with him; and they have all been struck with astonishment at his extraordinary powers. It is correctly true, as stated of him, that—'He will not only determine, with the greatest facility and dispatch, the exact number of minutes or seconds in any given period of time; but will also solve any other question of a similar kind. He will tell the exact product arising from the multiplication of any number, consisting of two, three, or four figures, by any other number consisting of the like number of figures. Or, any number, consisting of six or seven places of figures, being proposed, he will determine, with equal expedition and ease, all the factors of which it is composed. This singular faculty consequently extends not only to the raising of powers, but also to the extraction of the square and cube roots of the number proposed; and likewise to the means of determining whether it be a prime number (or a number incapable of division by any other number); for which case there does not exist, at present, any general rule amongst mathematicians.' All these; and a

variety of other questions connected therewith, are answered by this child with such promptness and accuracy (and in the midst of his juvenile pursuits) as to astonish every person who has visited him.

"At a meeting of his friends which was held for the purpose of concerting the best method of promoting the views of the father, this child undertook, and completely succeeded in, raising the number 8 progressively up to the sixteenth power!!! and in naming the last result, viz. 281,474,976,710,656 he was right in every figure. He was then tried as to other numbers, consisting of one figure; all of which he raised (by actual multiplication and not by memory) as high as the tenth power, with so much facility and dispatch that the person appointed to take down the results, was obliged to enjoin him not to be so rapid! With respect to numbers consisting of two figures, he would raise some of them to the sixth, seventh, and eighth power; but not always with equal facility: for the larger the products became, the more difficult he found it to proceed. He was asked the square-root of 106929, and before the number could be written down, he immediately answered 327. He was then required to name the cube root of 268,336,125, and with equal facility and promptness he replied 645. Various other questions of a similar nature, respecting the roots and powers of very high numbers, were proposed by several of the gentlemen present, to all of which he answered in a similar manner. One of the party requested him to name the factors which produced the number 247483, which he immediately did by mentioning the two numbers 941 and 263; which indeed are the only two numbers that

that will produce it. Another of them proposed 171395, and he named the following factors as the only ones that would produce it; viz. 5×34279 , 7×24485 , 59×2905 , 83×2065 , 35×4897 , 295×581 , and 413×415 . He was then asked to give the factors of 36083; but he immediately replied that it had none; which in fact was the case, as 36083 is a prime number. Other numbers were indiscriminately proposed to him, and he always succeeded in giving the correct factors, except in the case of prime numbers, which he discovered almost as soon as proposed. One of the gentlemen asked him how many minutes there were in forty-eight years; and before the question could be written down he replied 25,228,800; and instantly added, that the number of seconds in the same period was 1,513,728,000. Various questions of the like kind were put to him; and to all of them he answered with nearly equal facility and promptitude; so as to astonish every one present, and to excite a desire that so extraordinary a faculty should (if possible) be rendered more extensive and useful.

"It was the wish of the gentlemen present to obtain a knowledge of the method by which the child was enabled to answer, with so much facility and correctness, the questions thus put to him: but to all their inquiries upon this subject (and he was closely examined upon this point) he was unable to give them any information. He positively declared (and every observation that was made seemed to justify the assertion) that he did not know how the answers came into his mind. In the act of multiplying two numbers together, and in the raising of powers, it was evident

(not only from the motion of his lips, but also from some singular facts which will be hereafter mentioned,) that some operation was going forward in his mind; yet that operation could not (from the readiness with which the answers were furnished) be at all allied to the usual mode of proceeding with such subjects: and moreover, he is entirely ignorant of the common rules of arithmetic, and cannot perform, upon paper, a simple sum in multiplication or division. But, in the extraction of roots and in mentioning the factors of high numbers it does not appear that any operation can take place; since he will give the answer immediately, or in a very few seconds, where it would require, according to the ordinary method of solution, a very difficult and laborious calculation: and moreover, the knowledge of a prime number cannot be obtained by any known rule.

"It has been already observed, that it was evident, from some singular facts, that the child operated by certain rules known only to himself. This discovery was made in one or two instances, when he had been closely pressed upon that point. In one case he was asked to tell the square of 4395; he at first hesitated, fearful that he should not be able to answer it correctly: but when he applied himself to it he said it was 19,316,025. On being questioned as to the cause of his hesitation, he replied that he did not like to multiply four figures by four figures: but, said he, 'I found out another way; I multiplied 293 by 293, and then multiplied this product twice by the number 15, which produced the same result.' On another occasion, his highness the duke of Gloucester asked him the product of 21,734 multiplied by 543: he immediately

immediately replied 11,801,562 : but, upon some remark being made on the subject, the child said that he had, in his own mind, multiplied 65202 by 181. Now, although in the first instance it must be evident to every mathematician that 4395 is equal to 293×15 , and consequently that $(4395)^2 = (293)^2 \times (15)^2$; and further that in the second case 543 is equal to 181×3 , and consequently that $21734 \times (181 \times 3) = (21734 \times 3) \times 181$; yet, it is not the less remarkable that this combination should be immediately perceived by the child, and we cannot the less admire his ingenuity in thus seizing instantly the easiest method of solving the question proposed to him.

“It must be evident, from what has here been stated, that the singular faculty which this child possesses is not altogether dependant upon his memory. In the multiplication of numbers and in the raising of powers, he is doubtless considerably assisted by that remarkable quality of the mind: and in this respect he might be considered as bearing some resemblance (if the difference of age did not prevent the justness of the comparison) to the celebrated Jedediah Buxton, and other persons of similar note. But, in the extraction of the roots of numbers, and in determining their factors (if any), it is clear, to all those who have witnessed the astonishing quickness and accuracy of this child, that the memory has little or nothing to do with the process. And in this particular point consists the remarkable difference between the present and all former instances of an apparently similar kind.

“It has been recorded as an astonishing effort of memory, that the celebrated Euler (who, in the science of analysis, might vie even

with Newton himself,) could remember the first six powers of every number under 100. This, probably, must be taken with some restrictions: but, if true to the fullest extent, it is not more astonishing than the efforts of this child; with this additional circumstance in favour of the latter, that he is capable of verifying, in a very few seconds, every figure which he may have occasion for. It has been further remarked by the biographer of that eminent mathematician, that ‘he perceived, almost at a simple glance, the factors of which his formulæ were composed; the particular system of factors belonging to the question under consideration; the various artifices by which that system may be simplified and reduced; and the relation of the several factors to the conditions of the hypothesis. His expertness in this particular probably resulted, in a great measure, from the ease with which he performed mathematical investigations by head. He had always accustomed himself to that exercise; and, having practised it with assiduity, (even before the loss of sight, which afterwards rendered it a matter of necessity,) he is an instance to what an astonishing degree it may be acquired, and how much it improves the intellectual powers. No other discipline is so effectual in strengthening the faculty of attention: it gives a facility of apprehension, an accuracy and steadiness to the conceptions; and (what is a still more valuable acquisition) it habituates the mind to arrangement in its reasonings and reflections.’

“It is not intended to draw a comparison between the humble, though astonishing, efforts of this infant prodigy and the gigantic powers of that illustrious character to

to whom a reference has just been made : yet we may be permitted to hope and expect that those wonderful talents, which are so conspicuous at this early age, may by a suitable education be considerably improved and extended ; and that some new light will eventually be thrown upon those subjects, for the elucidation of which his mind appears to be peculiarly formed by nature, since he enters into the world with all these powers and faculties which are not even attainable by the most eminent at a more advanced period of life. Every mathematician must be aware of the important advantages which have sometimes been derived from the most simple and trifling circumstances ; the full effect of which has not always been evident at first sight. To mention one singular instance of this kind. The very simple improvement of expressing the powers and roots of quantities by means of indices, introduced a new and general arithmetic of exponents ! and this algorithm of powers led the way to the invention of logarithms, by means of which, all arithmetical computations are so much facilitated and abridged. Perhaps this child possesses a knowledge of some more important properties connected with this subject ; and although he is incapable at present of giving any satisfactory account of the state of his mind,

or of communicating to others the knowledge which it is so evident he does possess, yet there is every reason to believe that, when his mind is more cultivated and his ideas more expanded, he will be able not only to divulge the mode by which he at present operates, but also point out some new sources of information on this interesting subject.

“ The case is certainly one of great novelty and importance : and every literary character and every friend to science must be anxious to see the experiment fairly tried, as to the effect which a suitable education may produce on a mind constituted as his appears to be. With this view a number of gentlemen have taken the child under their patronage, and have formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of superintending his education. Application has been made to a gentleman of science, well known for his mathematical abilities, who has consented to take the child under his immediate tuition : the committee therefore propose to withdraw him, for the present, from public exhibition, in order that he may fully devote himself to his studies. But whether they shall be able wholly to accomplish the object they have in view, will depend upon the assistance which they may receive from the public.

DESCRIPTION OF A MACHINE FOR PUMPING WATER used in
THE EAST. BY M. CHASTELLARD.

[From the same.]

THE art of irrigation ought to be better understood in countries which are subject to drought, than in those where abundant and periodical rains seem to render irrigation less necessary: there are circumstances nevertheless under which it is desirable, even in European countries, to procure an abundant and judicious distribution of water. and the expense of a machine with the necessary reservoir for this purpose will be speedily recompensed.

“Watering by hand-engines is frequently disadvantageous, and always tedious. If the gardener has a large piece of ground to manage, he must necessarily water it during the heat of the day, for he cannot have sufficient time before sunrise or after sunset. Besides, the water which he employs for this purpose being newly drawn from a well, or having been contained in deep reservoirs, it cannot get rid of its too great coolness, or of that crudity, which are so injurious to plants; whereas the same water contained in large reservoirs and in uncovered canals for irrigation, soon acquires the temperature of the atmosphere, and the properties of rain water. The way in which the water is distributed in the kitchen gardens of Constantinople, completely secures these objects

“The well is generally dug in the highest part of the ground; and
1812.

the reservoir being still higher it is capable of furnishing the water necessary for feeding the canals which are to distribute it through the garden. From this reservoir a canal is made, which is afterwards subdivided into gutters cut on the edges of the principal walks: these gutters are again intersected at right angles by others which run between the beds where the various plants grow.

“In working these beds, care is taken to throw up a little earth on the edges, so as to form a dyke several inches in height, and solid enough to resist the entrance of the water which is above the beds in point of level: when the reservoir, the canals, and the gutters are filled with water, the gardener with his spade makes an opening in this dyke, or rather removes a small piece of stone or wood which forms a kind of sluice-gate: the water is then precipitated with rapidity from the canal into the bed, and flows over the whole surface. If one watering is sufficient, he shuts up the sluice and passes on to the next bed, and so on, until he waters the whole garden, varying the irrigation according to the nature of the plants. The same process is applicable to fruit trees also.

“It will not be foreign to my purpose, if I here explain the method of forming the large reservoirs just mentioned. Their construction

is simple and economical. It consists of planks dove-tailed together, and fastened at the angles by iron bands. This caisson, which may be compared to the tubs used for orange trees, is like them insulated from the ground by four, six, or eight feet, to prevent the wood from rotting by being in contact with the earth. The deals of which it is composed are tarred on each side, and sometimes it is lined with tarpaulin.

“As to the machine which raises the water to the height of the reservoir, the mechanism is scarcely more complicated than that of a common draw-well, and indeed it does not differ in an essential degree except in the form and composition of the buckets, which are in the form of funnels or conical bags made of leather, and which empty and fill themselves by turns, thus furnishing abundance of water.

“We use in general wooden buckets, which discharge the water into the reservoir by means of a handle attached to them, which gives them a see-saw motion. This mechanism, so simple in other respects, is attended with the disadvantage of being soon worn out: the continual friction and agitation shake the buckets and even the reservoir, and speedily destroying both. The wooden buckets in common use, being armed with iron hoops, have the same disadvantage: they are apt to lock against each other in ascending and descending; and by striking continually against the sides of the well, they derange them in the long run. By using leather buckets all apprehensions of this kind will be removed; for the emptying and filling of their contents is performed in a regular manner, almost without friction, and

without any kind of shaking; and although leather may appear less durable than wood, it is in fact more so when it is continually soaked in water: it then becomes extremely elastic, accommodates itself to every kind of motion, and receives a blow from any other body without being injured.

“It is probable that the ancients made use of leathern buckets for pumping up water. At any rate, the origin of the employment of leathern vessels, applied to the mechanism of wells, must have been derived from the primitive use of that kind of funnel which served formerly, as it now serves, to carry liquids.

“In the suite of the Turkish armies there are generally a great number of led horses, mules, or camels, which have no other business than that of carrying water from the rivers to the field. The buckets in which it is conveyed are of a conical form, the base being closed by a flat piece of wood. They are buckled on each side of the pommel of a saddle, and the other extremity, tied by a cord to prevent the water from escaping, is folded up, and also attached to the saddle, along the flanks of the horse, which are guarded from moisture by a leather covering. This form of the buckets, while it holds abundance of water, is not troublesome to the horse, which may be ridden at the same time with ease. It is only necessary to unbuckle them from the saddle when they are to be filled; for, in order to distribute the water afterwards, all that is requisite is to untie and lower the small extremity.

“In order to use these conical buckets to draw water from a well, a cistern, or even from a river, the

two extremities are to be kept open by means of iron hoops to which cords are attached.

"As to the proportion of each bucket, and its capacity, it must vary according to the quantity of water wanted; but in order to avoid the trouble of calculation to our readers, we shall give an approximate table.

"Every bucket represents a truncated cone.

"A cone five feet in height, on a base twenty inches in diameter, will contain 3,58 cubic feet of water, or nine pailfuls and nine tenths.

"A cone four feet by sixteen inches will contain 1,84 of a cubic foot, or three pailfuls three-tenths.

"We ought to make an abstraction of the loss of water occasioned by the fold which the cone contracts in ascending from the bottom of the well, since it is suspended by the two extremities; this loss may extend to half a pailful, and we have also neglected the capacity of the truncated portion of this cone.

"The largest of these buckets cannot be easily managed but by means of a windlass furnished with a hopper wheel; but the smallest may be managed by a simple windlass with a handle.

"The bucket is the most important part of this machine, and it is even in this that the innovation consists; for the rest of the mechanism may be varied *ad infinitum*, and we may apply the same kind of bucket to all the machines in use for drawing water. It will procure in the same space of time,

and with the same force, a volume of water much more considerable; and it combines another great advantage, that of conveying the water to any given height by means of one or more machines of this kind: For this purpose, it is only necessary to raise the reservoir parallel to the level of the greatest height of a sloping piece of ground, and to cause the water to flow from the reservoir into channels formed by hollow trees, or simply by two planks nailed at right angles, and tarred at the joinings.

"Supposing that we only wish to reach a perpendicular height of twelve feet, we shall elevate the first reservoir on four posts to this height. We may conceive that by carrying the pulley some feet above the reservoir, the bucket will ascend, and will thus be equally well emptied at this height as at the level of the ground, although the mechanism necessary is placed below this same reservoir. We shall even find an advantage in this; for the gardener will be protected from the sun, and the four posts may be concealed by trellis work, to which we may apply vines or other creeping plants or flowers, which will give the scaffolding the appearance of an arbour.

"Finally, the mechanism just described may be applied to the external wall of a house; and if we form a reservoir on the roof, the water may be conveyed throughout the whole of the apartments, and serve several useful purposes.

ON THE CORAL FISHERY IN THE SICILIAN SEAS. By ALFIO
FERRARA, M. D.

[FROM NICHOLSON'S PHILOSOPHICAL JOURNAL.]

"**H**AVING for a long time employed myself in the study of the various productions, with which the sea that bathes the Sicilian shores abounds, the coral was the first object to attract my notice. This beautiful and elegant ornament of the sea could not fail of deserving first to come under my examination. I have been frequently present at the fishing of it, near the coast of Sicily: I have contemplated it in the very bottom of the sea, on its native spot: I have gathered it from stones, and shells, and other marine substances, recently taken out of the sea: I have had it worked in my presence: I have analysed the several varieties of it: in fine, I have extended my researches to whatever would give me the least insight into the nature of this substance, comparing the results of my own observations with every thing the ancients and moderns have written on the subject, and consulting in every point the treasures of natural history, with which the present day has been so abundantly enriched by the accurate experiments and luminous theories of the many great men of the last century.

"I have endeavoured in the present memoir to establish a clear and precise notion of the origin, increase, and nature of coral. This work has been the more pleas-

ing to me, as I flatter myself I have been able not only to confirm by my own observations what has been already written on the subject by former Philosophers and Naturalists, but to add some new facts, that may tend to elucidate the history of this marine production, which has at all times as much occupied the researches of naturalists, as it has engaged the admiration of the fair sex, with whom the beauty of its colour, and brilliancy of its texture, have rendered it a favourite ornament of dress.

"The ancients, attending only to its external form, conceived coral to be a plant; to which from its ramifications it bears some resemblance, and named it lithodendron, or stony plant, on account of its hardness. It was also called by Dioscorides and Pliny. These authors and their contemporaries did not attempt to contradict by the most trifling examination, what the poet Ovid (his head full of transformations) had asserted: that under the water it was a soft plant, but, immediately on being taken from the sea, became hard. This opinion prevailed for a long time, and was encouraged in later times by many great naturalists. Of this number was the celebrated Cesi-

pino.
"Our Baccone, who took much pains to investigate the nature of coral,

coral, could not divest himself of this idea; but, gifted as he was with great sagacity and penetration, not being convinced, either from his own observations or those of others, that coral was a mere plant, and still less that it was stone, he imagined, that the milky juice which drops from the pores of fresh coral, was its seed; which, being dispersed in the sea, is precipitated and gradually accumulated in a regular form in the capsules nature provides for it.

"This opinion, tending to alienate naturalists from the belief of the vegetable nature of coral, was entirely removed by the publication of the valuable and erudite work of the celebrated Conte Marsilli, entitled *Storia del Mare*; who, led away by his imagination, or rather deriving little aid from the state of natural philosophy at that time, suggested the idea, that the moveable substances at the extremity of the branches were the octopetalous flowers of the coral, and thus revived the old opinion.

"Tournefort, who, in the pursuit of his favourite study of body, had remarked the vegetation of stones in the grotto of Antiparos, eagerly adopted this idea; and was followed by Ray, Boerhaave, Klein, and many others of that time.

"No sooner had naturalists begun again to take up the observations of Baccone, than they discovered in the hard substance of coral a sort of earthy concretion: but this not being sufficient to induce them to expunge it from the list of vegetable substances, they considered it as a marine plant encrusted with calcareous earth deposited by the sea. Lehman was of this opinion, to which the mineralogist Baumer was also much inclined.

"Our Ferrante Imperato, in his work on natural history (which, like many other works of the ancients, has been almost buried in oblivion, though well deserving our attention from its containing the principles of many important truths, which have since been brought to light), had already supposed, that some of the species of coral were merely the habitation of marine worms. This opinion had so much of probability, that it has always been entertained by naturalists since; and the discovery of the polypi assists to explain on solid principles the true nature and origin of coral: and on this account the works of Peyssonnel, Jussieu, Guetard, Trembley, Reaumur, Donati, Ellis, Pallas, Cavolini, Spallanzani, and many others in coral, became so interesting. Coral is found round nearly all the Mediterranean islands. Pliny and Dioscorides speak much in praise of that found in the Sicilian seas in their time. It is fished for at present on every part of the shores of Sicily.

"The Messinese collect a great quantity in those straits, even as far as Melazzo: but the Trapanese, who are chiefly employed in working the coral, not only fish in the neighbouring seas about the Eolian and other islands, but extend their search to all the southern shores as far as Cape Passaro, and beyond Siracuse, and even to the coast of Barbary. They are obliged to occupy so large an extent of sea; as they cannot fish again on the same spot for several years, the reproduction of coral requiring a great length of time, even nearly eight years. I have myself collected it on the shores of Catania, and thence as far as Taormina.

"The instrument with which the coral

coral is detached from the bottom of the sea has been known a long time. It is composed of a large wooden cross, having fastened to each of its four extremities nets sufficiently capacious to enclose the coral, which is broken from its root by a large stone hanging from the centre of the cross. The instrument is let down by two ropes from the boats employed in this fishery into the sea, and after remaining a sufficient time it is drawn up by a windlass. The Trapanese claim the invention of this machine.

"From my own observations, and from the most accurate information I have been able to obtain from the people employed in this fishery, I am persuaded, that the coral grows indiscriminately on all hard substances, as rocks, shells, &c.—I have seen it attached to an earthen vessels, which had some time fallen into the sea, and was taken out in my presence. The usual appearance of coral is that of a tree without leaves. It never grows to a greater height than twelve inches, and is seldom an inch thick. The direction of its branches extends always forwards from the spot to which the root is attached; therefore when it grows on the top of a cavern they spread downwards; if from a horizontal surface upwards: most commonly however the branches extend downwards, which enables the nets to enclose it with greater facility when detached by the stone.

"It has been constantly remarked, that the broken branches of coral attach themselves to some hard substances where they continue their growth. It is very common to find many branches of coral, when taken out of the sea, perforated in several parts. There can be no doubt,

that this is the work of the lithophagi; worms which attack even the hardest substances, for it is well known that they pierce and destroy the hardest carbonate of lime. The coral (*isis nobilis*, Linnei) which is most eagerly sought after, is of a fine red colour. Artists and ladies give it the preference. It improves the charms of a beautiful face. Naturalists describe all the varieties; two original colours in coral may be established, white and red, as the two extremes, the gradations of shade from the one to the other producing infinite varieties, among which five principal may be distinguished.

1st. The deep red coral resembling in colour minium. This is considered as the most perfect sort; in fact, it is the largest and most dense, and receives the highest polish. It is commonly called the male coral.

2. Red coral. This is more or less clear, but always less brilliant than the first variety.

3d. Flesh-coloured coral. The ancients call it light red.

4th. Dull white coral: by some it is called fawn coloured, from its resemblance to the colour of the fawn.

5th. Clear white coral. All these varieties are found in the seas round the island, sometimes on the same spot. The first and second are not so abundant or common as the others.

"The extremities of coral, when extracted from the sea, are swelled and rounded, resembling juniper berries. Probably these were the berries remarked by Pliny, which he considered as the fruit of the coral; although in his work he asserts that they are white and soft under water, and become hard and red

red out of it. I am inclined to believe, either, that he wrote from the reports of others, or that he has mistaken for them the red globules formed by the artist. These extremities when pressed, give out a white unctuous fluid resembling milk, which has a sour taste. It was formerly thought to be the seed and nutritious juice of the coral plant.

The substance of coral is hard as well in the sea, as when out. The red kind is red from the first, and it is a singular circumstance, that the ancients should have entertained these two erroneous opinions, which the most simple examination would have falsified.—The central part or axis of the coral is hard, of a firm solid texture, even, and lamellated; and hence capable of taking the finest polish. This is enclosed by a paler coloured bark of a granulated texture, interspersed with holes in the form of stars with eight rays. In the coral of the largest size sometimes is found a kind of joint, or union between the different pieces of which it is composed, these having the appearance of tubes of some length, lying one above the other. In the analysis of coral we obtain a small quantity of gelatinous animal matter, a large proportion of carbonate of lime, and a little iron. The different colours of this beautiful marine production seem to depend on the different degrees of oxidation of the iron, and various proportions of it in union with the animal matter. The discovery of polypi gave the clearest idea of the origin and growth of coral. These animals, the last in the scale of animated nature, form for themselves small nests sufficiently solid to shelter and protect them. These

soft and delicate animals, surrounded by an element in a constant state of agitation, and exposed to the attacks of their numerous enemies, were instructed by nature to form for themselves a covering capable of resisting the percussion of the sea, and affording them a retreat in the moment of danger.

These coralligenous polypi are only a few lines in length; their bodies elongate and ramify into eight delicate threadlike branches around the mouth. These are the arms and legs of the animal, which it can extend and spread out at will to a considerable distance in search of its food. They are analogous to the horns of the snail. The curious manner of propagation of polypi, so different from that of other larger and more perfect animals, is well known; on examining minutely the gelatinous bodies of these polypi, a great number of grains, or little buds, are discernible, covering the surface; these elongate themselves, increase in thickness, diverge and spread in all directions, and become young polypi. Scarcely are these developed, before a new series of sprouts appears from their small bodies by the increase and growth of the small buds on their surface. By this rapid succession the family is propagated in every direction, forming as it were a genealogical tree of existing generations. It is well known how from the soft nature of their bodies these animals are enabled to unite and engraft with each other in the same manner as plants; and one branch of these animalculæ so engrafted lives and regenerates another. Even one single animal may detach itself from the family tree, and establish on another spot a new

a new family with its various branches. While large animals have bones for the support of the softer parts, and shell fish are protected by their shells, the coralligenous polypi make use of a certain proportion of earth to incorporate with and give firmness to their firm.

"Immediately as a polypus has fixed itself on a hard body, it begins to lay the foundation of its future generation. If you only take some stones from the bottom of the sea round Sicily, you will find on them small branches of red coral, and round red spots, which are the first depositions of the coralligenous polypi. In the same way as the bones of the larger animals are formed by the gradual deposition of the earthy particles separated from their food by vessels adapted to this purpose, so is the covering of these polypi formed by the carbonate of lime mixing and encrusting with the gelatinous matter, which is so abundantly secreted by their delicate bodies, and gradually incases them, except the mouth. If a branch of coral newly gathered is immersed in a vessel full of sea water, these animals are perceived issuing from the stellated holes, their mouths gradually appearing first, and then their silklike arms extend, in this manner putting on the appearance of octopetalous flowers, by which the ingenious Count Marilli was deceived.

"The multiplication of polypi, of which I have treated, explains admirably the arboraceous form of coral, as also the increase of the branches detached from the trunk. I have before me a fine specimen of the antipathes, the black coral of the ancients, in which the ex-

tremitry of a branch has united with the principal trunk, and the polypi are seen bedded in it.

"From what we have seen, I think the term zoophyte inapplicable to coral; it is neither an animal plant, nor a plant animal: nor can it be called a zoolite; so it is certainly not a stony animal. It is with more propriety a polypaio; which, on account of its form and to distinguish it from the other analogous works of polypi, might be called polypaio dendroide. In using this nomenclature, we must be careful not to adopt the false idea, that the polypaio resembles a wasp's nest; the wasps may at will leave their nest, but the polypaio is a part of the animal, from which it cannot be detached. Thus the polypaio dendroide is an accumulation of ramified polypi incorporated with the solid substance, in the same manner as the shell of some animals and the bones of others. The above erroneous opinion cannot be entertained by any one, who observes, that in coral the gelatinous membrane of the polypus is continued into the solid earthy part, the same as in bones. Herissant has already pointed out this mistake.

"It is to be inferred from the analogy of coral with bone, that, as it does not arrive at once at a state of maturity, but by degrees, its hardness must also be progressive. However probable this idea may be, it has not been confirmed by experience. I have particularly remarked the small quantity of iron obtained in the analysis of the red coral, I have always found it combined with the gelatinous animal substance in the state of oxide. Not to mention this paper too much, I shall omit the results

results of various experiments I have made; but they have led me to conclude, that the ferruginous substance is phosphate of iron, that is, the oxide of iron united with phosphoric acid, which it is well known gives the red colour to the blood of animals. The phosphate of iron therefore, which in animals has the property of giving the lively red colour to the blood, and even the vermilion hue to the skin, serves to colour the solid part of coral, and give it the brilliant sanguineous tinge.

"The first variety, as I have remarked, is esteemed the most perfect; it is more solid than the other kinds, of a finer and more compact texture, and hence takes a higher polish. In the other kinds, in proportion as the bright colour fades, these qualities gradually decrease, so that the white sort, which is the softest and lightest, is very unfit to be wrought, and takes but a trifling polish. The deficiency in the quantity of phosphate of iron diminishes the colour, and at the same time decreases the density of its texture; or perhaps the light texture by its porosity permits the water to wash away the colouring matter, and consequently that which would tend to bring it to perfect maturity.

"To this may be attributed the peculiarities of some corals, in which the trunk is red; and the branches white; or the branches red within, and externally white; or the branches half white and half red, which is often seen in coralligenous productions; but the red part always proves of firmer texture than the others.

While naturalists have been employed in investigating the origin of coral, and the nature of its

growth, each applying it to different purposes; the fair sex, occupied by the natural desire of pleasing, have been much indebted to the brilliant colour and fine lustre of this marine production. Coral formed into beads is worn as an ornament of the neck and arms; and there is no doubt, that the lively colour of coral gives additional grace to a fine face and beautiful complexion, which cannot be obtained by the use of the precious stones, so that these can only be considered as ornaments of luxury and show. The ladies who are always led away by fashion, because they consider it as depending on the existing taste of the other sex, laid aside this beautiful ornament, to load themselves with jewels brought from distant countries. Thus coral gave place to other ornaments, the rage of pleasing being only gratified by variety. Works of amber have latterly obtained a very high estimation from the softness of its substance and its transparency.

"This substance, which for a time was in high repute, and which the discovery of the precious stones had almost thrown into oblivion, has of late, by the accustomed versatility of capricious fashion, recovered its former value, and has rivalled in price even the ornaments composed of jewels.

"When the value of female ornaments shall depend no longer on the price or scarcity, but on the effect they produce on the complexion, all will yield to the natural beauty of coral. Most certainly Galatea, emerging from the ocean, would select from the numerous offerings of the nymphs the lucid branches of the coral to adorn herself with, which would alone assimilate

simulate with the roundness of her lips, and with the vermilion of her cheeks.

"The working of coral consists in removing the outer bark, and exposing the interior solid and highly coloured part, which takes a fine polish. The coarse part of the bark being removed by the file, it is rubbed with tripoli powder, and lastly, with a metallic earth, which gives the polish. Some bring it to the finest polish imaginable by the use of the oxide of tin.

"The ancients ornamented their swords, bucklers, and helmets with coral; this custom is still in vogue in some part of Asia, where coral is as much esteemed as in the time of Pliny. The soothsayers and priests of that age attributed many mystic properties to it; hence they were in the habit of wearing coral, as well from religious motives, as from regard to its beauty. Paracelsus recommends it to be worn round the necks of infants, as an admirable preservative against fits, sorcery, charms, and even against poison. Many other follies of that man are still prevalent, and of great credit with the common people; and it is very usual in the inland parts of Sicily, to see children wearing amulets of coral round the neck for the above purpose. In the cities it is worn by many in the shape of a horn, as a protection against the influence of evil eyes. It was even believed, that coral would drive away devils and evil

spirits, hence perhaps arose the custom of making crowns of it. Nor have the medicinal properties of coral been less exaggerated, as may be sufficiently seen in the writings of Pliny and Dioscorides. It certainly may be considered as an absorbent; it is used in dentifrice powder, in the Alkermes for indigestion, and in the Troches of Carabe.

"The Trapanese appear to have been the first who worked the coral, being induced thereto by the great quantity of it found in their seas. It is asserted, that Antonio Ciminello, a Trapanese, was the first who discovered the art of engraving coral. In the time of King Alphonso the coral fishery was so assiduously, and so advantageously pursued by the Trapanese, that the ministers of that king proposed to subject the fishery to a tax. In the last century, when it was again proposed, instead of a tax, which probably would have ruined this branch of industry, King Ferdinand instituted some very useful regulations in favour of it.

"Beside forming necklaces and bracelets, the Trapanese have the art of engraving it in the same manner as they do amber and shells, and most certainly many of these works display great spirit, boldness, and grace in the execution, talents natural to the genius of the Sicilian nation.

ON THE COMPOSITION OF TURKISH ROSE PEARLS. BY M. MARCEL DE SERRES.

[From the same.]

TURKEY has a considerable trade in a composition known by the name of rose pearls; and as this composition is very simple, I imagine it may not be uninteresting to make it known, that it may be imitated in other countries. Nothing more is necessary than to take the petals of fresh gathered roses, and pound them carefully in a cast iron mortar well polished. They are to be pounded till they are thoroughly bruised and form a smooth paste. This paste is to be spread on a sheet of iron, and dried in the air. When it is nearly dry, it is to be pounded again with some rose water, and dried afresh. This is to be repeated, till the mass is reduced to a very fine paste, when it is fashioned into the proper shape with the fingers, or with an instrument similar to that used for cutting pills. The sort of beads thus formed are then perforated for stringing, and the paste is dried afresh, till it becomes very hard. When they are smooth and well polished, they are rubbed with oil of roses, to increase their fragrance and lustre. By this simple process the paste of rose leaves takes a very decided black colour, owing to a combination of the gallic acid in them with iron.

“With a similar paste beads of various colours are formed. The most common, next to the black, are red and blue. The colouring matter is added to the paste. It is possible however, that these red or blue beads, which are said to be nothing but the paste of rose leaves so coloured, may be made of a particular paste; and if I must give my opinion, I should think this is the case, from the difficulty of giving a red or blue colour to a paste so black as that of roses. The red necklaces in question must not be confounded with those made of pimento, or those of the fruit of the red bead vine, *abrus precatorius*.

“Frequently to render the Turkish rose pearls more fragrant, oil of roses, storax, and musk, are mixed with the paste; but this addition makes no alteration in the mode of preparing it.

“The black beads are most prized, either because they set off the colour of the skin to more advantage, or because their perfume is more agreeable. These beads find their way over Europe through Austria, and are of some consequence as an article of trade.

PRODUCTION OF SUGAR FROM STARCH.

[FROM M. BOUILLON-LAGRANGE'S ABRIDGMENT OF M. VOGEL'S MEMOIR, AS TRANSLATED IN NICHOLSON'S JOURNAL.]

NO chemist has hitherto been able to form sugar by chemical agents. It is true, that Fourcroy and some others supposed, that at some time or other we should perhaps effect the conversion of starch into sugar, as the component parts of these two substances come infinitely near each other.

" 'Starch,' says Fourcroy, 'announces itself as a little less carbonated than gum: we may say, that it comes very near to saccharine matter; and we shall see hereafter, that it appears in fact capable of forming it by a particular alteration of its own substance.'

" Under the head gum, the same chemist expresses himself as follows: 'It is not improbable, that art may effect the conversion of gums into saccharine matter; and already I have several times remarked, that an aqueous solution of gum, through which oximuriatic gas is passed, acquires a saccharine taste, mixed with a strong bitterness. This view of the subject, at present quite novel, will lead to many researches, and to useful results.'

" It is even pretended, that several authors say they have effected this transmutation of fecula into saccharine matter: but how is it possible, that they should have succeeded, and been silent on a fact of such importance?

" On looking over what has been published by natural philoso-

phers, it appears incontrovertible, that it was reserved for Mr. Kirchoff, of the imperial academy of Petersburg, to convert starch into gemmy matter, and this into saccharine matter.

" His discovery, which opens a new career to vegetable analysis, and may lead to interesting results, has induced Mr. Vogel to pursue these new facts. His first experiments, some particulars of which he has given in the *Journal de Physique*, differ scarcely in any thing from those of Mr. Kirchoff, except in his observing, that part of the saccharine matter is formed in the course of two hours boiling; and that the proportion of two hundredths of sulphuric acid produces more than that of one hundredth, the quantity mentioned by the chemist of Petersburg.

" Since that time Mr Vogel has followed up his experiments with more care, in order to acquire an intimate knowledge of the saccharine matter, and the mode of its formation.

" To remove every idea of the saccharine matter being the result of simple extraction; a matter that, having escaped fermentation, was concealed by the starch; he washed the starch with a stream of cold water, before he made use of it.

" When well dried and reduced to powder, he mixed 2 kil. [4lb. 6½ oz. avoird.] with 8 kil. of Seine water, acidulated with 40 gr. [0.02 of

of the weight of the starch] of sulphuric acid at 56° [1·631].

"He then boiled the mixture in a silver basin for thirty-six hours. There is no danger of its burning, except during the first hour, when it must be kept constantly stirring with a broad wooden spatula. After that time the mixture grows much more fluid, and requires only to be stirred occasionally.

"It is essential to keep up the quantity of water, by adding fresh as it evaporates,

"After this boiling, it is to be clarified when cold by means of charcoal and chalk, and the whole is to be filtered through flannel.

"The liquid having been evaporated nearly to a sirupy consistence, it must be left to cool, that more of the sulphate of lime may fall down; after which the clear liquid is to be decanted off, and the evaporation finished.

"The sugar thus obtained with two hundredths of sulphuric acid in a silver basin was much more saccharine, and less high coloured, than that made in a basin of tinned copper.

"In general the latter cannot be used for the purpose, the tin being strongly attacked by the long continued boiling. A leaden vessel has been substituted for it with success.

"The 2 kil boiled with two hundredths of sulphuric acid yielded, in several comparative experiments, sometimes a little less, sometimes a little more than 2 kil. of sirup at 33° of the areometer [1·295]; so from a mean of them we may conclude, without any material error, that starch yields its own weight of sirup.

"As many substances have a decidedly sweet taste, for instance sugar of milk, the sweet matter in liquorice, the sweet principle of

Scheele (formed during the action of fat oils on litharge in making plasters), without however, containing an atom of sugar, Mr. Vogel thought it necessary to ascertain, in the first place, whether the sweet liquor from starch contained real sugar.

"For this purpose he mixed some yeast with 200 gr. [3089 grs.] of sirup of starch in warm water, and put the whole into a phial, communicating with the pneumatic apparatus, by means of a sigmoid tube.

"Fermentation soon took place, with a very brisk extrication of carbonic acid gas.

"The 200 gr. of sirup yielded by the fermentation upwards of 5 lit. [near 6 quarts] of carbonic acid gas; and a notable quantity of alcohol was obtained by distillation.

"It is certain, that all sirup of starch contains more or less gum, the quantity of which varies extremely, according to the time of boiling, and the weight of the acid employed.

"The most saccharine sirup evaporated slowly in a stove, and dried in tin moulds, afforded a perfectly transparent elastic substance, in every respect similar to the paste of jujubes.

"The author has no doubt, that apothecaries may avail themselves of the sirup of starch, for all this kind of gummy saccharine medicines, particularly those that may remain in a soft state; for the sirup of starch, thus reduced to a solid state, attracts moisture from the air.

"Mr. Vogel substituted the fecula of potatoes for starch, and equally obtained a very saccharine gummy sirup.

"The gum was separated by boiling

boiling the sirup in a close vessel with alcohol at 36° [0.868.]

"The matter on which the alcohol had no action, and which was found in the most perfect sirup to the quantity of two tenths, was very viscous. Being dried and powdered, it exhibited all the characters of gum arabic, namely, its solubility in cold water, forming a thick mucilage, insoluble in alcohol.

"The only character, that appears to distinguish this matter from gum arabic, is its not forming mucous acid with nitric acid.

"It has been asserted, however, that the gummy matter precipitated from sirup of starch is a compound of starch, water, and sulphuric acid.

"To satisfy himself on this head, Mr. Vogel poured a small portion of alcohol into sirup of starch. The precipitate first formed was composed of sulphate of lime and gum. When this was separated, he poured more alcohol into the sirup that had been decanted from it. The second precipitate was gummy matter, unmixed with sulphate: its solution in water was no longer rendered turbid by muriate of barytes.

"The author, however, was not content with this experiment: for it might be objected to him, that the sulphuric acid, being chemically combined with the gum, would not quit it to unite with the barytes. He dissolved this gum therefore in barytes water evaporated to dryness, and gave the mass a strong red heat in a platina crucible: thus the sulphuric acid should have been set free, and no doubt would have seized on the barytes. Besides, this sulphate would have been decomposed by the carbon of the gum,

and converted into a sulphuret: but muriatic acid poured on the calcined matter extricated nothing but carbonic acid gas, and not an atom of sulphuretted hydrogen gas that could be rendered sensible by paper impregnated with acetate of lead.

"Besides, the gum distilled on an open fire did not give out any sulphurous acid, or sulphuretted hydrogen gas.

"It is not therefore a hydrate of starch combined with sulphuric acid; which affords us a fresh proof, that we must take care not to frame hypothesis before we consult experiment.

"He made the same trials with the sirup deprived of gum by alcohol, which did not precipitate the muriate of barytes; but he could not discover in it the least trace of combined sulphuric acid.

"These experiments could not fail gradually to lead to an examination of the action of acids diluted with water on some other substances. Sugar of milk first drew his attention; and with the greater reason, as we have already announced this substance to become more soluble in water after it has been treated with acid.

"Mr. Vogel boiled 100 gr. [1545 grs.] of sugar of milk with 400 gr. of water, and 2 gr. of sulphuric acid at 56° [1.631], for three hours, adding more water as it evaporated. After having saturated the excess of acid by carbonate of lime, he filtered.

"The liquid, though clear, was slightly coloured. Evaporated slowly in a stove, a thick brownish sirup remained, which concreted into a crystalline mass at the expiration of a few days.

"This matter resembling soft
sugar

sugar has a much more saccharine taste than the most concentrated aqueous solution of sugar of milk. From this extremely saccharine taste the author was led to suspect, that a real sugar had been formed, capable of giving rise to the alcoholic fermentation.

" In fact this product mixed with yeast diluted with water was scarcely placed in favourable circumstances for the alcoholic fermentation, before it commenced in a very brisk manner; though sugar of milk never ferments, as is well known to all chemists, and has been recently placed beyond all doubt by the numerous experiments of Mr. Bucholz.

" This fermented liquor yielded a considerable quantity of alcohol. On varying the proportions of sulphuric acid to three, four, and even five hundredths, very saccharine crystals, that ran into fermentation with extreme facility, were constantly obtained, particularly with five hundredths of acid.

" With two or with four hundredths of nitric acid the sugar of milk could not be converted into a fermentable sugar.

" Three grammes [4.63 grs.] of muriatic acid converted the sugar of milk into a very saccharine sirup capable of the alcoholic fermentation; while 2 gr. [30.89 grs.] of radical vinegar made no alteration in the sugar of milk.

" All these sirups reduced to the crystalline state differ from sugar of milk, not only in being susceptible of the alcoholic fermentation, but also in being very soluble in alcohol, a property that sugar of milk does not possess. Evaporated to dryness by a gentle fire, a white, granular, and extremely saccharine mass is the result.

" It remains to explain the manner in which sulphuric acid acts on starch and sugar of milk; to take from them the principle that masks the saccharine substance, or to convert them into fermentable saccharine matters. The author confesses, that it is difficult, and out of his power, to give a clear and plausible theory of this metamorphosis; and, if he risk some notions on this subject, it will be with much reserve.

" Many are disposed to adopt the opinion, that sugar exists ready formed in starch, and that the sulphuric acid only dissolves or destroys the principle that holds it enchained.

" It is obvious, that this reasoning is in a considerable degree vague; and besides, that it is founded on no experiment, direct or indirect. In this hypothesis too we must imagine a compound altogether new, sugar combined with a substance that renders it insoluble in cold water; and sugar has never yet presented us with such a compound.

" Others have supposed, that heat alone is capable of effecting this conversion of fecula into saccharine matter; a fact which, if it were confirmed, might throw fresh light on the saccharine fermentation of Fourcroy.

" Accordingly starch has been boiled with water four days in succession, till it became extremely fluid. The filtered liquor was evaporated, and the result was a thick mucilage, very bitter, without the least taste of sugar. The starch remaining on the filter resisted the action of boiling water, and exhibited a very hard horny matter.

" It remains to be examined, therefore, whether the sulphuric acid,

cid, or the starch itself, be decomposed.

"To judge by the letter from Petersburg, the Russian chemists seem to suppose, that a decomposition of the sulphuric acid takes place.

"To account for these phenomena, we should operate in close vessels. Accordingly, the author introduced into a tubulated receiver a hundred grammes of sugar of milk, four of sulphuric acid, and four hundred of water. To the neck of the retort was adapted a tubulated receiver, from which proceeded a sigmoid tube, opening under a jar filled with water.

"After boiling for three hours, no gas had come over, except the air contained in the vessels. A piece of blue paper introduced into the neck of the retort was not reddened. The water that had passed into the receiver was without taste, did not reddens litmus paper, had no smell of sulphurous acid, and did not precipitate lime-water, muriate of barytes, or acetate of lead; consequently it contained no sulphurous, sulphuric, acetic, or carbonic acid; in short, it was nothing but pure water.

"Barytes-water traversed by the bubbles, extricated during the process, was not rendered turbid in the least, and the gas that had passed into the jars was nothing but the air of the vessels.

"It is evident, that the sulphuric acid had not undergone the slightest decomposition: nevertheless, the sugar of milk was decomposed; it had a much more saccharine taste, and after saturation with chalk it fermented very readily with yeast.

"It was necessary, therefore, to examine the decomposing action of

the sulphuric acid on the substance in question. For this purpose the same experiment was begun afresh in close vessels, with 100 grains of sugar of milk, 400 grains of water, and 4 grs of sulphuric acid. During the process no gas was evolved, as in the preceding experiment.

"The liquid was then concentrated in a dish accurately weighed, after having added 5 grs of potash to saturate the acid.

"The mass thus evaporated to dryness should have weighed 109 grs in consequence of the 100 grs. of sugar of milk, 4 grs. of sulphuric acid, and 5 grs. of potash employed: but it weighed only 98 grs. consequently there was a loss of 11 grs. This experiment was repeated twice more, and there was still a loss of 9 or 11 grs. giving a mean of 10 grs.

"This loss is too great to be ascribed to any error in the weighing, which was conducted with the greatest care.

"Hence we must conclude, that this diminution of weight is occasioned by a quantity of water formed at the expense of the sugar of milk; and this with the more reason, as no gas, no acid, and no other volatile substance, was extricated during the boiling.

"All these experiments with the sugar of milk were equally repeated with starch, except that a much larger quantity of water was added to prevent it from burning. The results were the same as those obtained with sugar of milk.

Conclusions.

"From all that has been said, it follows:

"1. That starch and the results of

of potatoes, boiled with water acidulated with sulphuric acid, are converted into a liquid saccharine matter, the quantity of which corresponds with the weight of the starch employed.

" 2. That this saccharine matter is susceptible of the alcoholic fermentation.

" 3. That the sirup of starch is composed of gummy matter and saccharine matter in variable proportions.

" 4. That the sirup evaporated slowly in a stove exhibits an elastic substance, perfectly transparent.

" 5. That the gummy matter exhibits all the characters of a true gum, except that of forming mucous acid by means of the nitric.

" 6. That neither this gum, nor the saccharine matter, holds sulphuric acid in combination.

" 7. That the heat of boiling water alone is insufficient to convert starch into saccharine matter, as nothing is obtained but a bitter matter, and a horny substance insoluble in boiling water.

" 8. That sugar of milk treated with two, three, four, or five hundredths of sulphuric acid is converted into confused crystals, which have an extremely saccharine taste, and are susceptible of the alcoholic fermentation.

" 9. That this saccharine matter does not contain any sulphuric acid in combination.

" 10. That the muriatic acid effects the same changes in sugar of milk.

" 11. That neither the nitric nor acetic acid converts sugar of milk into fermentable sugar.

" 12. That sugar of milk thus converted into fermentable sugar becomes very soluble in alcohol.

" 13. That sulphuric acid is not decomposed in its action on starch and sugar of milk: and that, from the facts mentioned, it is much more probable, that the acid takes from these substances oxygen and hydrogen in the proportions necessary to form water.

P O E T R Y.

DESCRIPTION OF PORTUGAL.

[FROM LORD G. GRENVILLE'S POEM OF THIS NAME.]

FOR, as I spoke, on Cintra's topmost head,
The ruddy Beam it's latest Influence shed,
The tranquil Breast of Ocean, far away,
Caught, but to lose, the Smiles of parting Day,
With silent course the Shadow's length'ning Train
Swept down the Steep, and sought the distant Plain,
In midway Air the twilight's blue Mist curled,
And, far below me, lay a lessened World!

In kindred grandeur to the Northern Skies
A giant Band, her guardian Mountains rise,
Till, by the Estrella's loftier mould embraced,
Sinks their lost greatness in the howling Waste.
Eastward I turned, where Tejo's glimmering Stream
In melting Distance owned the dubious Beam;
Lisbon shone fair beneath the lively glow,
Spread to its parting Glance her breast of Snow,
And, as her faery form she forward bowed,
Woke the soft Slumbers of her native flood,—
Whilst her white summits mocked the rude command
Of the dark Hills that fence her distant Strand.

Bolder, and nearer yet, the embattled head
Of towery Belem in the radiance played;
From fretted minoret, or antique Spire,
Welcomed the farewell glance of living Fire,
And smiled to view it's turret's dazzling Pride
In pictured lustre deck the answering Tide.

Far to the South, through many a chequered Scene
Of prouder Grandeur, or of livelier green,
Of Towns in whiteness robed, a sun-bright Train,
The widening River mingled with the Main.—

Seaward I stretched my view, where to the West
The Sun Beam lingered on the Ocean's Breast,
Where soft the Atlantic woo'd the dying Breeze
On the smooth surface of his waveless Seas,
On my own Land the Evening seemed to smile,
And, fondly tarrying, pause o'er Britain's Isle.

Each ruder Breath of Ocean's Blast was still,
And Echo slumbered on the noiseless Hill—
'Twas silence all, save where from heathy Dell
The shrill Cicada trilled her late farewell,
Or Goatherd homeward wound his evening way,
And 'guiled the distance with some rustic Lay.—

Where yon tall spires, in parting radiance bright,
Fling from their quivering tops a dubious light,
Throned on that air-drawn steep, whose towery head
Frowns o'er the plain in broader, darker, shade,
Where time-worn Arches, rising bold and high,
Crown the grey stone with antique tracery,
My awe-struck Eye reposes,—and, the while,
As Fancy ponders o'er the gloomy Pile,
Remembrance pauses here,—and while it bears
On pictured Wing the Forms of other Years,
Of convent Haunts by feudal Phrenzy made,
Of Murder shrouded in the conscious shade,
The votive Tower of Regal Rapine proud,
With vast domains by trembling Guilt endowed,
Of Rites by dark remorse and terror wrought,
By costly gifts, and bleeding penance, bought,
Reflection's glance shall mutely turn; to scan
The mind, the motive, as the work, of Man,
And blush to own through all this vast abode
What to his Crimes was raised, and what to God.—

Dread Superstition, as thy tyrant reign
From yon brown summits to the western Main
Stretches it's Influence wide, as thy full hand
Grasps the rich Prize, and shadows half the Land,
Young Genius flies afar, and the free Soul
Of mounting Enterprize, whose strong controul
Bids the pure Stream of manly daring start
Quick from the Rustic's as the Monarch's heart,
Lives now no more, and, with that Soul, has died
It's noblest ruling passion, Patriot Pride.

Beneath these cloistered Walls, no grateful Train
 Blesses their Shadow on the subject Plain.
 For, where the Convent rears it's wealthy head,
 It stays the Sun beam from the Peasant's Shed,
 And Man, and Nature, are alike debased,
 An heartless Slave, amid a cheerless Waste !
 Within,—each livelier Virtue, wont to bless
 The peaceful hours of social Happiness,
 'Mid Souls estranged from all it's dearer Ties,
 From all it's sweeter, kindlier, Sympathies.
 Chilled by thy Touch, in languid current flows,
 And Feeling sickens at it's own Repose.—"

Such is thy baneful Influence, whether shewn,
 As here, the Tyrant of some Mountain Throne,
 Or where thy bolder arm o'er the high Fane
 Of peopled Lisbon spreads it's wider reign,---

E'en where the vertic Beam it's fury pours
 With fiercest fervour o'er yon Indian Shores,
 Where the gaunt Tiger couches for his prey,
 And shares with wilder Man the sovereign sway,
 I trac'd thy bigot march ! I see thee stand
 With mien of terror on the burning Strand,
 There, as the tortured Savage shrieks aloud,
 Urge, with thy Dæmon Voice, the Fiends of Blood,
 Raise thy fell Hymn of Sacrifice on high,
 And close with pious Pomp the horrid Blasphemy !---

GALLANT STRUGGLE OF PORTUGAL.

[From the same.]

" **H**OW lovely is the Patriot Soldier's Death !
 Warm are the grateful Sighs that o'er him breathe,
 " And beauteous every Scar his bosom bears,
 " When washed and hallowed, by his Country's tears."

Thus roused her favourite Warriour to the Strife
 The Spartan Mother, or the Parthian Wife,
 Thus to her children Lusitania speaks,---the stain
 Of her best Blood yet freshens on the plain ;---
 She points each sacred Wound ;---" With you," she cries,
 " With you, my Sons, my Fate, my Vengeance, lies,
 " Live for that cause alone, with it to fall ;"---
 A bleeding Mother's is an holy Call !

Nor let that call be vain ; e'en now on high
 Your brave forefathers sit, in viewless Panoply,
 And, if immortal Powers yet blend above
 The Seraph's Influence, with the Patriot's Love,
 Bend from their Thrones of everlasting light,
 To watch with anxious Hope their native Fight.---

And who is He, who from the wide expanse
 Of unseen distance moves ?---in proud advance,
 A giant Form, he comes !---his Forehead wears
 The snowy ringlets of departed years,
 Her Regal Ermine o'er his Shoulders spread,
 The Crown of Lusitania decks his radiant Head.---
 Your own Sebastian, from the realms afar
 Of highest Heaven hath heard the sounds of War,---
 Indignant heard !---hath burst the tedious band
 That stayed his footsteps from his native land,
 His mighty Mandate once again unfurled,
 He wakes ! the avenger of a prostrate World !
 He moves companionless,---no mortal force
 Can 'bide the swiftness of the Hero's course,---
 Alone, exulting in his matchless Power,
 The radiant vision of a noontide hour ;---
 Death in his right hand sits, but the mild glow
 Of Hope and Conquest light his kindling brow.

Hail awful Being ! as the Rainbow, cast
 O'er Heaven's vast concave, tells, the Storm is past,
 We hail thy coming !---from the rising Sun
 Whether sublime thy seraph flight begun,
 Whether, from Ocean borne, thy shadowy train
 Swept the broad bosom of the western main.---

And now, behold, on Tejo's bounding tide,
 Buoyant, and brave, his milk white Courser's pride,
 Foams the light wave beneath the unearthly tread
 That stamps the Bosom of his sparkling Bed,
 Unbent beneath the Form, his native Stream
 Darts back with joy his Armour's iron gleam,
 The curling surges round their Master play,
 And kiss his footsteps with the rising spray---
 He comes, he comes, thy Chief !---with courage high,
 And new-raised spark of unquenched Energy,
 The warrior Spirit see his Country claim,
 Herald, and Pledge, of her reviving Fame !

And in that cloistered gloom, that shadowy dell,
 Where faintly peals the Vesper's distant swell,

Where

Where calm devotion tends her ceaseless care,
 'Mid the lone haunts of Solitude and Prayer,
 Thy Chieftain's voice was heard !---as the loud blast
 Of Battle's trumpet-call, his accents past,
 Rose with the startled Breeze, and bade around
 Each hallowed grove prolong the unwonted sound !
 Each frowning rock by holy footsteps worn,
 And chapel-cave, the warning notes return,
 Whilst Echo, wakening on the mountain's breast,
 With hundred tongues proclaims the high Behest ;
 Affrighted Penance from her Caverns fled,
 Her Lash forgotten, and her Rites unpaid,
 Religion hushed her chaunt, and to her call
 Turned a last lingering glance, and sighed, Farewell !

Beats there the heart, which ne'er hath owned that Flame
 Which kindles brightest at the voice of Fame ?
 The soul which ne'er hath felt a genial ray
 Glow to the Drum's long Roll, or Trumpet's Bray,
 Start at the Bugle's distant blast, and hail
 Its buxom greetings on the morning gale ?

Such the Muse courts not ; but to him whose ear
 Loves the fierce Joy her quivering war-notes bear
 She lifts the inspiring strain, with him to join
 In fiery haste the fancied battle-line,
 And, whilst her wilder note returns, to chide
 His sluggish pulse's slow and peaceful tide,
 (As the long-harboured Bark, who, wont to lave
 Her stately bosom in the bounding wave,
 Bursts once again the Shipwright's tedious stay,
 To breast the surge, and cleave the watery way,)
 Springs at the sound his Soldier Spirit high,
 To list the tone of martial Minstrelsy ! --

And You, whose anxious sigh has learned to heave
 At some fond thought, which yet 'tis pain to leave,
 Down whose fair cheeks the warmest tears that steal
 Scarce mourn those softer cares you love to feel,
 Daughters of Albion ! should your milder mood
 Pause at the tale of conquest and of blood,
 Shun not the venturous song, tho' fierce it tell
 How the fight thickened and what thousands fell,
 How, closed around, each dark battalion met
 The native force of England's Bayonet,
 How distant flamed her Lightning's volleying glow,
 And fainting Gallia sunk beneath the blow.
 For sure some nobler influence than the power
 Which waits on Beauty in her Myrtle-bower,

Which

Which gilds her smile and woos the enamoured air
 To fan with gentlest breath her auburn hair,
 Bids you exult, when those you loved have won
 That fame perchance your Image first begun,
 And Britain's youth from you demand the Crown,
 Pledge of their Country's worth, and guerdon of their own.
 Sweet is that Country's praise, and yet a part
 Of the pure flame that fires the soldier's heart,
 Unshamed may own the spark from whence it grew,
 And boast it's bright original in You.

The morning rose in clouds, the orient light
 Shed a dim lustre on Alcoba's height,
 The gleam of arms just marked it's topmost pride,
 And scudding mists flew swiftly o'er its side,
 The unwilling Sun from out his heathy bed
 In tearful moisture raised his shaded head,
 Paused in his giant course, then, bending slow,
 Gazed on the embattled throng that moved below,
 Sought with dark blush the empyrean's breast,
 And veiled in purer air his conscious crest—;

I said not that the glorious orb of Heaven,
 In prophet sufferance from the Zenith driven,
 Shrunk from the terrors of the coming fray,
 And woke reluctantly the lingering Day,
 But that, to Fancy's eye, he well might seem
 To shroud with kindred gloom his morning beam,
 Turn, sadly turn, from sight of human woe,
 And view fair Nature's face with lessened glow,
 Shun the stern Heralds of the Fight, and fly,
 Nor witness all her parent agony!—

Marked you yon moving Mass, the dark array
 Of yon deep column wind it's sullen way?
 Low o'er it's barded brow, the plumed boast,
 Glittering, and gay, of France's wayward hos,
 With gallant bearing wings it's venturous flight,
 Cowers o'er it's kindred bands, and waves them to the Fight.

No martial shout is there;—in silence dread,
 Save the dull cadence of the Soldier's tread,
 Or where the measured beat of distant drum
 Tells forth their slow advance,—they come! they come!—

The Wolf steals trembling from the mountain glade,
 The fleet Stag bounds from ont his covert shade,
 The rock bird, startled from his nest on high,
 Bends to the unwonted storm a wondering eye,

And,

And, wildly screaming, from the dark affray,
Swift rising, heavenward wheels his aery way.—

And who are they, who burst the wizard spell
Of Nature, shrined within her peaceful dell,
Rouse the dread slumber of the War, and threat
The federate Sisters on their mountain seat?
Is this the host of vengeance?—this the power
That ruled in blood o'er Russia's darkest hour,
That tamed proud Austria's Eagle to the toil,
And called her death-bought pledge a Victor's spoil,
That strewed her fields with kindred slain, and shred
Her veteran garland for a Stranger's head?
Are these the Bands who, from the wave afar
Of crimsoned Ebro led the waste of war,
To court with luckless boast the hour of Fight,
And brave the Giant to his castle's might?
Where is their matchless Sword? the Trumpet where,
That spake the rally in their kindling ear,
When bleeding Prussia bent beneath their sway,
And wide o'er Jena's plains her ruins lay?—
—Their victor course is run! for see, above,
As bursts the British Lion from his Grove,
Lusia's young offspring quits its neighbouring lair,
Child of his hopes, and nursling of his care,
And hails, with kindred zeal, the coming day;
To flesh it's infant fangs, and claim a welcome prey.—

Their silent march approaches! Now, if e'er
Your Homes, your Country, or your Fame, were dear,
Ere yet the combat closes, let the thought
Of each fond tie, by bold affection wrought,
Rise lovelier yet in Memory, — let it start
With tenfold warmth to kindle round your heart.
Stout be your arm of Thunder, for it draws
It's filial-strength from Nature's sacred cause.
Yours is no hireling hand, no feeble blade
Reluctant lends it's mercenary aid.
Then, as the assertors of your Fathers' right,
Heirs to their worth, and champions in their fight,
Sweep like the mountain torrent on the foe,
'Tis Justice arms, and Britain guides, the blow!—

The fight's begun ;—in momentary blaze
Bright o'er the hills the volleying lightning plays,
Bursts the loud Shell, the death shots hiss around,
And the hoarse cannon adds it's heavier sound,
Till wide the gathering clouds that rise between
Clothe in a thicker gloom the madd'ning scene ;

And,

And, as the billow's wild and angry crest,
That swells in foam o'er Ocean's lurid breast,
Through each dark Line the curling volumes spread,
And hang their white wreathes o'er the Column's head.

But mark,—as onward swept the northern blast,
In opening folds the eddying circles pass'd,
The deafning guns are hushed;—but, from afar,
As slow the gale uplifts the shroud of war,
Half veiled in Smoke, half glimmering on the sight,
What bristling Line expands it's wings of Light?—
It lengthens as it moves,—thus the pale ray
Scowrs o'er the Steep, when tempests pass away.—
Death hovers o'er it's path,—Yes, Britain, here,
Here was thine inborn might!—hark, the loud cheer
Bursts from thy thousand voices to the race,
The ranks of Battle melt before thy face!—

They join!—The shout has ceased!—as when the breeze
Of Winter sweeps along the leafless trees,
When the loud storm is up, and, waving slow,
The stately forest bends before the blow,
Wide shrinks the adverse host, with rustling moan,
Heard distant, speeds the gathering havoc on.—

Yes, France, thou fall'st!—vain was that rallying Cry,
That desperate charge of choicest Chivalry,
From flank to flank thy loud Artillery ran,
Thy boldest chieftains seek the yielding van,
In vain!—for, as the sands by whirlwinds driven
Fly, tost, and scattered, through the face of Heaven,
Thy mangled Front gives way, whilst headlong fear,
And swift pursuit, hang wildly on thy Rear.—
—On, England, on!—Thou, Caledonia, raise,
Midst Lusitania's wilds, thy Shout of other days,
Till grim Alcoba catch thy slogan roar,
And trembling glisten to thy blue claymore.—

And shall not Erin bless the spot, where flew
Fierce to the rocky charge her gallant few?
Poured from the Battle's right her reckless power?—
—The pause of Fortune was her happiest hour!

Yes, whilst thy green Isle yet shall fondly own,
In bond of worth, a kindred Chief's renown,
Whilst yet thy grateful hands shall wreath the sword
That graced so oft thy native Beresford,
Still shall thy soldier, Erin, join the Fame
That band has won to it's commander's name,

Bid them in union bloom, together stand
 The strength and lustre of their parent land,
 And, when his limbs are old, his tresses grey,
 In proud remembrance to his children say,
 Ours was the arm that snatched the Laurel of that Day.

Genius of Britain ! did thy warrior form
 On wing of lightning ride the mountain storm,
 Speak to thy sons in thunder,—bid them shew
 Their bright extraction in each well nerved blow,
 With thine own strength each kindred arm endow,
 And sail, the Monarch of the battle's brow?—
 What though, all viewless still, thy presence shed
 It's noblest influence o'er thy children's head,
 High on each kindling cheek thy ardour glowed,
 'Twas proud, 'twas genuine, for 'twas English Blood!—

Nor blame the votive Muse, if, in the praise
 Which grateful Europe to her Champion pays,
 Which Fortune joys with flattering smile to breathe,
 And Worth to sanction, on her Wellesley's wreath,
 She check the strain which single Merit draws,
 To swell the publick measure of applause ;
 For whilst the Trump of War, in descent high,
 But lengthens out the strain of Victory,
 Whilst yet the inspiring note is heard around,
 And Time itself, but animates the sound,
 Vain were her weaker voice ;— the loud acclaim
 Of those his arm has saved shall speak his Fame,
 His Country's love that fair renown shall guard,
 The Pride of Memory be his best reward.

The storm of Fight is hushed ;---the mingled roar
 Of charging Squadrons swells the blast no more ;
 Gone are the bands of France, the crested pride
 Of War, which lately clothed the mountain's side,
 Gone,—as the winter cloud which tempests bear
 In broken shadows through the waste of Air ;
 Sunk is her plumed head, her shout is still,
 And mute her war-drum on the slumbering hill.—
 The noontide Breeze that swept the peopled heath
 Had borne thr shouts of thousands on its breath,
 The noontide Sun had seen the ardent fight
 Dart back it's lustre with redoubled light ;
 Now,—sad and silent flits the evening blast,
 And the low sun beam gilds a desert Waste!—

'Tis Night ;—and, glittering o'er the trampled heath,
 Pale gleams the moonlight on the field of Death,

Lights up each well-known spot, where, late, in blood,
The vanquished yielded, and the victor stood,
When red in clouds the sun of battle rode,
And poured on Britain's front it's favouring flood.

Shun not that ghastly form!—though, breathless now,
Naked, and stretched upon the mountain's brow,
His mangled limbs, and blood-stained features tell
How, bowed by Britain's wrath, the mighty fell;—
Shun not that ghastly form!—in courage high
And dauntless throb of ardent chivalry,
With heart as bold, with step as firm and free,
He trod, of late, the dangerous path with thee!—
Fired with an equal joy, he marked the gleam
Of France's Eagles kiss the morning beam,
Fought for her fair renown, to battle led,
And proudly perished, at her Legion's head!—

He too, like thee had friends, a Father poured
A last sad blessing on his youthful sword,
Prayed for his distant safety, heard with joy
The martial darings of his gallant boy,
Winged with an ardent hope each anxious sigh,
And viewed his dangers with a veteran's eye.

E'en now.—on bleak Helvetia's icy rock,
Or bloomy hill of vine-clad Languedoc,
E'en now, perhaps, through midnight's chilly skies
To Heaven the reckless prayer of fondness flies,
The warmest hopes that e'er Affection wove,
The sigh of Friendship, or the throb of Love;—
—For sure the stoutest breast may sometimes lend
One blameless sigh to grace an absent friend,
The World may yield to calm regret a part
Of the bright sunshine of a Female Heart,
On cheek of Age one tear-drop yet may burn,
When the Soul ponders on a Child's return!

Then sacred be their last repose who fall
Bravely and greatly at their Duty's call,
Mix with their Country's cries their parting Breath,
And from her Vanguard face her foes in Death!

I too have known the hour when Friendship's tear
Has dewed, from British eyes, a comrade's Bier,
When the rough soldier o'er the lowly cell
Of fallen courage breathed a last farewell,
Paid the last mournful honours to the brave,
And left, with heavy heart, the new closed grave.—

Yes,

Yes, Talbot, I have known that hour, and yet,
 As memory loves to court her fond regret,
 O'er the warm cheek a glow of honest pride
 Rises, to stay the tear-drop's bursting tide,
 Checks the soft yielding tribute ere it strays,
 And the soul's grief half brightens into praise---

Oh had he fallen, when the doubtful ray
 Of conquest paused o'er Britain's brighter day,
 Then had his arm no scanty laurels won,
 The Fight, the Conquest, as the Death, his own!
 France then had mourned the proud memorial torn,
 Fresh from her wreath, to deck his youthful urn,
 Had trembling marked his Eye's last fervid glow,
 And bowed her Eagles to his dying Blow.---
 Twined by no sparing hand the glittering prize
 Had graced his brows, and cheered his closing eyes,
 And the best feelings which on Friendship wait
 Had smiled,---not sorrowed,---at so bright a Fate!---

Yet on that sacred spot, where yonder sod
 Greets with a brighter green the Soldier's blood,
 Shall the still fresh'ning Earth, in traces wild,
 Write on her breast where died her gallant Child,
 Weep in soft night-dews o'er his honoured head,
 And deck with sweeter flowers his narrow bed.
 Though nor the sculptured urn nor breathing Bust
 Crown with their ponderous pomp our soldier's dust,
 Though o'er him wild and free the bleak winds rave,
 And humblest Nature brood o'er Valour's grave,
 Yet rests he not unmarked;---that searching Eye
 Which rules o'er Space, and scans Eternity,
 Which views, unseen, the wayward fate of Man,
 Marks the dread struggle in the Battle's Van,
 Rests on fair Valour's crest in peril's day,
 And gilds her lowering front with brightest ray,
 Which can it's aid in viewless strength supply,
 Point through the bloody fray, and lead to Victory,---
 That Eye can pierce the mountain's deepest gloom,
 With parent Influence watch his grass-green tomb,
 And call with smiles to Honour's last abode,
 Joy, and repose,---the bosom of his God!---

THE EXPLOITS OF RUGGIERO.

[FROM RONCESVALLES. BY R. WHARTON, Esq. M. P. F. R. S.]

BELOV'D of Glory, Spain ! hail, holy ground !
 All hail ! thou chosen scene of deeds renown'd,
 By warriors wrought in each progressive age
 Who struggled to repel th' oppressor's rage !
 Thee not alone Numantia, wrapt in flame,
 Stamps on the scroll of ever-living fame ;
 Thee nor Sentorius, who in freedom's cause
 Brav'd haughty Rome and bade great Pompey pause ;
 Thee nor Pelagius, nor the trophies won
 When the Moor trembled on Grenada's throne—
 Tell thou the world, that on thy favour'd coast
 Fought Wellington, and Gaul her sceptre lost.

O name rever'd ! till human hearts are cold
 Nor kindle at a tale of glory told :
 The world he sav'd that matchless Chief shall hail,
 And measure greatness by his giant scale.
 Conquest, erewhile, beneath the burning ray
 The partner of his long and toilsome way,
 Soars o'er his tent and on his march attends,
 When Lusitania's throne his arm defends ;
 And Gaul, too long by impious frauds upheld,
 Scar'd at her sounding pinions, quits the field.
 See, as he moves, the scorn of slavery spreads ;
 Her visionary hope of Empire fades ;
 The long-forgotten fires of Spain revive,
 And the crush'd nations with their tyrant strive.
 Nor shall that Hero's name one fortress gain'd,
 One host o'erthrown, one tottering realm sustain'd,
 To after-times in deathless lines record :—
 Continuous triumphs all his paths afford,
 And wheresoe'er his guardian banners wave
 Rapacious Gaul shall find her glory's grave.

As when internal sounds from Etna's womb
 Have boded desolation soon to come,
 When darkness overhangs the rifted head
 By fits with intermitting flame o'erspread,
 In dumb suspense the trembling swains attend
 Whither the burning stream its course will bend :
 So did the world in anxious horror wait
 The shock of two such hosts, oppos'd by Fate :
 That shock, to which the whole of earthly race,
 Born or unborn, their weal or woe might trace.

Not on the eve of that eventful fray
 Did youth or pride to confidence give way.
 Close in each warrior's heart his valour glow'd,
 Chasten'd by thoughts that little boast allow'd :
 Regardful still that ne'er was war before.
 Wag'd for such prize, by Christian or by Moor.
 No taunt, no menace any warrior flung :
 Deep silence o'er th' approaching squadrons hung,
 Save, ever and anon, a bow-string's twang,
 Clatt'ring of horses hoofs, and iron's clang.
 So near to nether earth Uriganda lean'd,
 That scarce her ambient fogs conceal'd the fiend :
 Rack'd with a thousand hopes and doubts and fears,
 From the foreseen events small joy was hers,
 Lest what th' Almighty screen'd from Magick's eye
 Might the short triumph of her schemes destroy.

Hors'd on a speckled steed, Biserta's King
 Travers'd th' extended line from wing to wing.
 To close the loose array he gave command—
 Ten thousand lances flam'd in every band ;
 And twice five squadrons in the van of war
 With six behind that own'd Sobrino's care,
 (All resolute, all practis'd, vigorous all)
 Form'd Africk's hope t' avenge Troiano's fall :
 While on the northern confine of the plain
 Lay Pulian ambush'd and the wreck of Spain.
 Less hope had Ferrau around him shod
 If adamantine plates had cas'd his head ;
 That casqueless front inducing all to dwell
 On aid, imparted by the secret spell,
 And Magalon's prophetick word fulfill'd
 In Him, who led them on the fated field.

But Agramant, howe'er his ardent mind
 On the brave youth in confidence reclin'd,
 Arous'd the latent sparks in every breast,
 And thus the separate bands in turns address.
 ' Libyans ! my part is done.---The promis'd Knight
 ' Ye have : The Christian army glads your sight.
 ' What more remains for me ? my single arm
 ' Needless, if genuine worth your bosoms warm.
 ' Yet shall ye see me War's whole terror dare ;
 ' The hottest brant, the meanest labour share ;
 ' All confident, that none of Libyan name
 ' But burns to pass me in this race of fame.
 ' Remember, Warriors ! in yon hostile show,
 ' Each man that combats is your deadly foe :
 ' Your flesh to wolves their rancorous hopes have giv'n,
 ' And to your souls their faith inhibits Heav'n.

' Slay,

' Slay, or be slain—The man is lost, that spares—
 ' Hate sounds this charge, and Hate no warder bears.
 ' 'Tis mine, while your well-order'd front repels
 ' (Fierce as they are) yon unsunn'd infidels,
 ' 'Tis mine, 'tis every knight's, Ruggiero's most,
 ' To quell the Paladin's o'erweening boast :
 ' And much I err, and much the dying Seer
 ' Deceiv'd in this, who told the rest so clear,
 ' If one of those who rides yon flags beneath
 ' The freshness of another morn shall breathe.'

With words like these from band to band he sped :
 Such words in every heart new valour bred.

As when the dewy Evening forward steals
 Stretching her arms athwart the western hills,
 Silent, but quick, her dusky way she wins,
 And Vesper in her front refulgent shines :
 With like progression mov'd the squadrons on,
 Darkening the plain ; so Agramante shone
 Mail'd all in gold, and o'er his crest on high
 A moon of gems that dazzled every eye.

Oppos'd, the Christians stood the shock to wait :
 Not less resolv'd in heart, but less elate.
 Before their eyes no joyous omens play'd ;
 No Heav'n-appointed Knight their army led.
 All at one risk they saw : their King, their faith—
 They, but the first oblation claim'd by Death ;
 Since well they augur'd that th' impending blow
 Involv'd the World in universal woe.
 Lost in a maze of cares, th' imperial Chief
 In each new fancy found new cause of grief.
 Unwilling then was Charles himself to lead
 His squadrons to the charge, as erst he did ;
 For age had reft his limbs of active play
 To rush at once wherever rag'd the fray
 And catch the moments of a changeful day :
 Nor could he fix to what inferior spear
 A monarch might entrust a charge so dear.
 As the bright stars that climb the midnight skies
 Each after each to mortal vision rise,
 So every knight, whose flag armorial stood
 Join'd with th' imperial standard of the Rood,
 Pass'd o'er his mind—The Babylonian pair,
 Known in advent'rous peril much to dare,
 But strangers to the rank and form of war ;
 Gismonda's offspring, brave alike, but young ;
 The strength of Otho by his wound unstrung,
 And Desiderio's age, and Ottachier
 And theamented bonds of Denmark's heir—

Of all he thought ; but every thought was cross'd
 By sad remembrance of his kinsmen lost ;
 And in those mighty chiefs each short reflexion clos'd.
 As when her dusky wings the falcon spreads
 And soars incumbent o'er the vocal glades,
 Wide though she range, her breast as instinct stirs
 Homeward she wheels and to her young recurs ;
 Or as those worlds, that through extended space
 In measur'd periods, measur'd orbits trace,
 Seek the same point from which Almighty force
 Gave the first impulse to their endless course :
 So did the thoughts that fill'd the Monarch's breast,
 Revolving, on his matchless warriors rest.

Not long his wisdom paus'd, if hands unskill'd
 Should rule the chance of that eventful field
 Or He, the King, regardless of his age,
 Meet the first foam of Agramante's rage.
 ' If Fate at Europe aim, 'tis mine,' he said,
 ' To offer to its bolt th' imperial head.
 ' 'Tis mine, if Europe fall, to court my doom
 ' And sink, an earnest of the fall to come.'—
 Instant he bade th' attendant squires unfold
 His sinewy limbs in arms of burnish'd gold :
 Then strode majestick forth. A purple stole
 He wore, the emblem of supreme control.
 His open helm the Sovereign's aspect show'd,
 Where energy and awful grandeur glow'd,
 Temper'd with something soft : on Calpe's height
 The sun's last beam reflects a mellow light ;
 Tho' darkness soon that short-liv'd beam shall hide,
 And Calpe's mighty form in gloom subside.

To Aquilant the pensive King consign'd
 The central post, and Grifon with him join'd.
 Much did he urge th' impetuous knights to sooth,
 And much from single fight dissuade their youth :
 Ah ! vain precaution---When his hour is come,
 Maq deviates not, but hurries to the tomb.
 All means which Chance objects his fate to foil
 He deems a hindrance and surmounts with toil ;
 To meet th' uplifted shaft unconscious runs,
 And seeks, what unbesotted Reason shuns,
 These warriors' doom no counsel might delay—
 Their elfin guardian turn'd her eyes away.
 She stretch'd had seen o'er each devoted head
 Death's fleshless arm : then wide her wings she spread
 And dropp'd some tears that still'd the ambient air,
 And sunk the courage of the knightly pair

Ill boding : either warrior heav'd a sigh,
And something felt abash'd, but knew not why.

Charles to some practis'd leader gave control
O'er every band : his part, to guide the whole.
The rear to aged Amon's rule he gave,
The weak to aid, the fugitive to save :
The left battalion to the Lombard King ;
To gallant Ottachier the dexter wing ;
And mix'd in every squadron many a knight
To rouse the rest and bear the brunt in fight.
Oggier, Avino, Guido, Berlinghier,
Were charg'd the Lombard Monarch's toil to share ;
And with th' Hungarian march'd the Babylonian pair.
Nor these alone amid the squadrons stood,
But thousands more of note and princely blood.
Where else but here (where valour nought avail'd)
Had fierce Spinella's lance of conquest fail'd ?
What, but that yet he felt the Sarzan blade,
Had Otho from the glorious conflict stay'd ?
' Amon ! what needs that I,' the Sovereign cried,
' Should give thee knights to combat by thy side ?
' Old as thou art, thou want'st not other aid
' Since Bradamant is thine, the warrior-maid.
' Yet is she with us ; yet in her we see
' That fire's pure blaze which once ennobled thee ;
' Yet shall Biserta by her arm be taught
' What wonders are by Christian Champions wrought.'

He spoke : ah ! little skill'd in Heav'n's command.—
Strait every Chief in ranks dispos'd his band.
Charles mov'd majestick through th' assembling files ;
The bold confirm'd, the timid warm'd with smiles,
Tinging with crimson every visage wan
And propagating hope from man to man,
Like him, the universal God of day
Who darts on all the globe his cheering ray ;
From sign to sign through Heav'n's expanse pursues
His course, and as he blazes life renews
In Erie's woods, on Lapland's icy plain,
And bleak Del Fuego, frowning o'er the main,
Where Death sits grimly in his rocky chair
Nor seals his eyes in slumber half the year.

Adverse to these the Libyan host came on :
Fierce on the left appear'd Troiano's son.
The central squadron to Sobrino's care
He gave : Marsiglio's sceptre sway'd the rear.
Not stars so numerous shine on midnight's wings
As blaz'd the banners of the knights and kings

Who, rous'd by mystick rites and thirst of fame,
 With Agramant to Roucesvalles came.
 As when the labouring winds old Ocean urge
 And his dark surface heaves with many a surge,
 Where'er the billows swell they burst and foam
 And glittering points bespangle all the gloom :
 So did th' emblazon'd pennons shine afar,
 Rear'd o'er the dusky volume of the war ;
 So, as the knights amid the squadrons torn'd,
 Their helmets with reflected lustre burn'd.
 There Argaliffa tower'd, there Dardinell ;
 Tanfirion, dreadful with his mace of steel ;
 Brave Gastanett, who led th' Arabism files,
 And Pruso, sovereign of the Happy Isles ;
 Bold Agricaltes, of Ammonia lord,
 Where zeal the horned idol once ador'd ;
 With Martassin whose prime of manhood led
 The Garamants, their hoary monarch dead ;
 And Soridano, whose Hesperian reign
 Extends, where Science long explor'd in vain,
 Far in the trackless bosom of the main.
 So wide did Agramante's voice resound :
 Such various aids his mighty purpose found.

He on the left, Ruggiero on the right,
 Above the troops advanc'd their stately height ;
 In stature, as in strength and courage, blest
 Beyond their kind, and born to rule the rest.
 Yet ere the brazen voice of war was heard—
 Yet ere a bow was drawn or horsemen stir'd,
 Ruggiero scann'd with care the long array,
 New to the pomp and pride of such a day.
 The bands oppos'd, the knights with lances fixt,
 The light-arm'd foot and bowmen plac'd betwixt,
 With comprehensive thought the youth perceiv'd,
 Intent on deeds of glory unatchiev'd.
 Not once, regardless who might fight or fly,
 On his own troops did he revert his eye,
 Nor spoke, till measuring out the open ground
 He turn'd, and loudly bade the trumpet sound.

Scarce had that utterance struck the trembling air
 When from their shackles burst the fiends of war.
 At once in either host, through every band
 Shouts undistinguish'd gave the same command.
 At once in full career all forward sprung :
 Thro' the whole plain the dreadful clangor rung,
 And echoing from the lofty Pyrenees
 Like a deep thunder roll'd along the seas,

And shook the steadfast earth and smote the skies—
The Fates look'd upward with devouring eyes;
And plain to sense amid th' incumbent gloom
Was heard the rustling of Urganda's plume.

What life—O breath of Heav'n inspire my lay!—
To the Chief's famish'd lance fell first a prey?
Rigonzo, Parma's Lord, whose rashness ne'er
Paus'd at the glare of any hostile spear,
The Atlantean warrior first defied
And the refulgent lance with crimson dy'd.
Pressing before the line, his bossy shield
Met the broad point: Ruggier its course impell'd
Thro' targe and chest, and hurl'd him on the field.
Ere half the wound was made, he ceas'd to breathe.
Strength is true mercy when the blow is death.
Stopt short, Ruggiero leap'd upon the ground,
And, midst a thousand warriors pressing round,
Turn'd on the Lombard King his ardent eye,
Who furious in the charge came driving by.

Ah, destin'd King! from his aerial throne
Stoops now to clip thee thy unhappy son;
Hails thee, so sadly lost, so soon restor'd,
While Fate demands thee from Ruggiero's sword.

Athwart the stream of fight, his lance abas'd,
'Gainst Desiderio terrible he pass'd,
And 'Stay! 'tis not in front, but on thy side
'That Death approaches to control thy pride'—
In accents that benumb'd the mighty, cried.
At once the spears of many valorous knights
Quick as the glancing of the northern lights
Flam'd at the Champion's breast: the staff he bore
(Snatch'd from a Squire) a bloody passage tore
Thro' him that stood oppos'd: the cavalier
Fell underneath his horse and snapp'd the spear.
Ruggier the truncheon far to distance flung,
And, rushing on the fear-incumber'd throng,
The sun-like splendour of that sword display'd
Which Fallerrina's potent art had made.

For other ends this sword the dame design'd.—
She, to the doom impending o'er her blind,
Form'd the broad blade of purest adamant
In fusion drugg'd with many a noxious plant,
And, adding spells (to work Orlando's bane)
To prayers unholy, sung the solemn strain
That wakes the powers below. . Death felt the word,
And stood confest to sight and bless'd the sword.

But Brava's Knight o'ercame th' insidious Queen,
 And quash'd her magick : Heav'n was with him then
 The sword he seiz'd and oft in battle bore,
 And scarce in Durindana trusted more ;
 Till, in that ill-starr'd hour, the Libyan slave
 Stole the rare prize, and to Ruggiero gave.

Now flam'd the steel-o'er Desiderio's head ;
 But thousands strove the slaughter to impede,
 Rushing upon the warrior, clinging round
 His forward step, and catching every wound
 Like briars which, twisted round a menac'd oak,
 Baffle the woodman's aim, and intercept his stroke.
 But soon the strife was o'er ; the magick brand
 Descending, never fail'd Ruggiero's hand ;
 Nor once the hero aim'd, but at the crest ;
 Nor struck, but clove his victim to the chest.
 Shorter and shriller clamours round him rose ;
 Thrusts of the spear were mix'd with sabre blows,
 At one sole object aim'd---but fruitless all ;
 As the waves swell and roar and broken fall
 Around some mighty ship, which white with spray
 Heeds not their tumult but pursues her way.
 Still did the warrior strike, still downward drove
 Each blow, and still some hapless victim clove
 Till, 'gainst the weighty sword, a shield oblique
 Stretch'd (as the youth address'd his arm to strike)
 Caught the keen edge, and turn'd askance its force---

In vain ! the lot was drawn : its glancing course
 Behind the Monarch's buckler, where the mail
 Might little 'gainst the fated steel avail,
 Found thro' the sunder'd ribs a nobler part,
 And half the sabre glided thro' his heart.
 Prone fell the Monarch on a mound of dead,
 And in a stream of gore his senses fled.

Thro' the Knight's breast redoubled pleasure glow'd.
 The smiles of Conquest are distain'd with blood.
 Behind their hero throng'd the Libyan tide :
 Another Libyan lance his squire supplied.
 Forth sprung Ruggiero, and with flaming eyes
 Singled the Chiefs of note and larger size,
 While the troops rush'd upon th' ignoble train,
 And universal carnage heap'd the plain.
 Two knights there were, Pescara nurs'd the one,
 Ubaldo, for illustrious lineage known,
 And Cozzo, who the pride of Mantua shone.
 Ubaldo first the Atlantean force
 Met furious, lance to lance, and horse to horse.

From the rude shock rebounding, like a ball
 Struck from the surface of a marble wall,
 Backward Ubaldo fell, his legs révers'd ;
 His front the solid earth encountered first---
 The weight, ill-balanc'd, broke the brittle spine ;
 Crush'd was the skull, and bruise'd the brain within---
 The limbs fell nerveless down, and lay supine.

Loud clamours rose around : commingled cries
 Of grief and rage and terror shook the skies.
 To slay one knight was every Lombard's task :
 Ten thousand lightnings glitter'd from his casque.
 Twice fifty knights who own'd Ubaldo's nod,
 Ruggier sent head-long to the dark abode,
 Ere yet his sabre drank of Cozzo's blood,
 Still turn'd he where the squadrons thickest clos'd ;
 Pale Horror sate on every brow oppos'd :
 Scarce ev'n the bravest could their fears restrain,
 And many dropp'd their shields and fled amain.
 Then Cozzo---' Here ! return---your King lies here---
 ' Lies your King unreveng'd, and feel ye fear ?'
 But as he spoke, quick glancing from on high,
 Ruggiero's blade lopp'd off his mailed thigh,
 Nor stopp'd, but thro' the palfrey's ribs made way
 And bedded in his purple vitals lay.
 At once together fell the steed and knight--
 Dismay was in a moment turn'd to flight.
 Heedless of all but life the Lombards fled,
 Stumbling o'er gasping friends and brothers dead,
 With him, the fierce destroyer, close behind,
 And many in one thirst of slaughter join'd ;
 Bardacco, Marbulasto, Darilan
 (The cruellest that since his race began
 Had rul'd in Fez), and Pinadoro's rage,
 Which mercy might not melt nor gore assuage.
 While Roaf, fell spectre, o'er the destin'd bands
 Presided, spreading wide her hundred hands,
 Each pointing out for safety different ways ;
 And from her hundred tongues in various phrase
 Clamouring, the firm to chill, the fearful mind to craze.

But where the flag of Ulivieri wav'd,
 And the two Chiefs th' assault of Africk brav'd,
 Nor yet did ruin crush the Christian line
 Nor to Ruggiero's hand that host resign:
 At the first charge, a space before the rest,
 Grifon and old Sebrino singly prest,
 Oppos'd by wish, not chance: the eager soul
 Of Grifon sought renown, and scorn'd controul.

Stunn'd

Stunn'd from his seat the Libyan Chief was thrown;
 And European bonds his age had known,
 But that so madly bounded Grifon's horse
 That vainly voice or rein restrain'd his course;
 And far into the middle of the throng
 Was the victorious champion borne along
 Unwilling: but diffusing as he rode
 Amid the fearful bands a tide of blood.

That moment seiz'd Tanfirion: he in haste
 The helmet of the prostrate King unlac'd:
 For not a limb he stirr'd: his eyeball's fire
 Was quench'd, nor could his labouring lungs respire.
 His head Tanfirion propp'd with friendly hand
 And with the dusty plume his visage fann'd,
 Fomenting latent life; which soon began
 To tinge his livid lips and visage wan,
 Like the first streaks of day that warns the owl
 To seek her ivied cell, or cavern soul.
 Then to the squires Tanfirion gave to bear
 A charge so priz'd from risk of sword and spear,
 And hurried to the thickest of the fight
 Where danger cover'd all, like universal night.

Nor he alone, but Argaliffa sought
 The press where Aquilant resistless fought;
 And thither Garbo's King, and Manilard,
 And Drudinasso's giant strength repair'd,
 While the bold brothers, girt with many a knight,
 Rag'd yet the more: and hotter grew the fight.
 Ardent of soul, and by remembrance stung
 Of injuries felt before, Spinella sprung
 Where Drudinasso's bulk the firmest minds unstrung.
 Slant upwards did he aim his stubborn lance:
 Nor shield nor mail might turn its course askance,
 Tho' long that mail had spear and sword defied,
 Form'd though that shield of elephantine hide
 By spikes compress'd within a brazen rim,
 And covering all the warrior, trunk and limb.
 Thro' half his chest it pass'd: there, wedg'd, it stood.
 The organs of his life were clogg'd with blood.
 Vainly the giant twitch'd his courser's mane,
 Convuls'd; then sunk supine upon the plain,
 As a fell'd oak that grac'd some mountain's brow
 From the cliff thunders down into the vale below.
 Yet while his breath suffic'd, at Heav'n he rail'd
 Muttering; for half his curses utterance fail'd.
 His features even in death some terror wore;
 Unclos'd his eyes, his teeth suffus'd with gore.

No respite Ulivieri's sons allow'd
 (Marking the fear that bristled thro' the crowd),
 But rush'd at once th' invading host to whelm;
 As when, in vengeance to some guilty realm,
 The Pestilence and Famine side by side
 Sweep o'er its confines with gigantick stride,
 Where'er they look the blighted nations fade,
 And Desolation spreads her gloomy shade:
 So Death's twin Priests assail'd the Moorish line
 And with unnumber'd victims heap'd his thrine,
 Their strength augmenting as their triumphs grew,
 And the foe shrinking more, as more the brothers slew.

But he, the Atlantean Chief, whose eye
 Did the whole conflict with a glance descry,
 Mark'd with the sacred ensign of the Rood
 Usurp'd the ground where late Sobrino stood.
 He stopp'd; the relicks of the Lombard host
 He left, and rapid to the centre cross'd,
 Raising so thick a dust, that scarce within
 The splendid presence of the Knight was seen:
 As the bright Sun in vapour oft is veil'd
 By his own fervour as he rolls exhal'd,
 Till at high noon the writhed masses fly
 And Nature droops beneath his flaming eye.
 Th' astonish'd Christians, who in hot pursuit
 Saw not that onset till they felt its fruit,
 Were lopt or cloven by the dreadful sword,
 Or by the spear transfix'd of Risa's Lord,
 Whether they dar'd th' attack, or sought by flight
 To shun th' impetuous torrent of his might.
 Then Grifon—"Hither haste! O Aquilant—
 ' Though yonder broken troops before us pant,
 ' Precarious Conquest here reverts her eye,
 ' The Libyan triumphs, and the Christians die."
 He spoke: the sable Warrior rein'd his steed,
 Turning, where heaps on heaps his followers bled.
 There blaz'd Ruggiero: thither Aquilant,
 Whom nought of human shape in arms might daunt,
 Rush'd---for a whisper seem'd to urge his spear---
 He thought his Guardian spoke, but Fate beguil'd his ear.
 Appriz'd, his beamy lance Ruggiero couch'd:
 Then trembled Grifon, when the Knights approach'd:
 Then to his mind the Monarch's cautious word
 (Unheeded by himself) too late recurr'd.
 But neither horse was thrown, nor either Knight;
 With splinters of their staves the field was white,
 And each his sword display'd for closer fight.
 Now front to front th' illustrious Champions shone,
 Copquest of one the meed; of both Renown,

Whose

Whose voice alike records the Hero's praise
 On the proud trophy or the storied vase.
 The Paladin in a tive skill and slight
 Excell'd, long practis'd in the arts of fight :
 But in strong harness, grav'd with many a charm,
 In the tempestuous vigour of his arm
 (With which Orlando's self might scarce compare)
 And confidence, the palm Ruggiero bare :
 For tho' in each alike true valour blaz'd,
 Fate then depress'd the one, the other rais'd.
 Ruggiero's mail each blow, each thrust withstood ;
 The Christian Sabre was not ting'd with blood ;
 Tho' ne'er descended his resistless blade
 But the gore spouted from the wound it made.
 Yet might not Aquilante's spirit fail'
 Tho' shiver'd was his shield, and gash'd his mail :
 Cautious, but firm he struck : no sign of dread
 His aspect, or his manly port display'd.

'Twixt two such warriors when the joust began,
 Silent was all the war, each visage wan ;
 As when for mastery of the swampy space
 Which Burhampooter's liquid arms embrace,
 Two Elephants in horrid strife contend,
 Wolves, pards and tigers pant in covert screen'd.
 But when by loss of blood berumb'd and faint,
 Slow grew the arm of mighty Aquilant ;
 When Fate in purple characters display'd
 The doom impending o'er his honour'd head,
 Between th' uplifted sabres Grifon sprung
 (With fear and rage, despair and sorrow wrung)
 And on Ruggiero pour'd a tide of wrath,
 Each blow, for any other, fraught with death.
 ' Shame ! shame ! ' the Atlantean warrior cried---
 Then thicken'd all the fray on either side,
 Here Grifon pressing on, Ruggiero there,
 And mace and dagger us'd, and sword and spear ;
 While Aquilante's strength could ill restrain
 His courser, wounded sore and mad with pain :
 Less and less clear the Hero's vision grew :
 His sinewy gripe relax'd ; a chilly dew
 (Offspring of life's last twilight) o'er him spread,
 And his head swam and all his colour fled :
 Till from the saddle bow upon the ground
 Sidelong he fell at last, and falling swoon'd.

But in the press of such a mingled fight,
 Where every ray that struck upon the sight
 Depicted floundering steeds and dying men,
 No colour, no device but crimson seen,

Not Grifon's self observ'd his brother fall,
 Nor miss'd his well-known crest and sable pall.
 The visual nerve no image might retain
 Save his, who rul'd the carnage of the plain;
 His, whom to see was danger; whom to dare
 In equal arms, was death and black despair,
 Repell'd a little space, the foes career
 Ruggier expected with his proper spear,
 Which from the corse of dead Rigonzo torn
 A squire had thro' the ranks of com' at borne,
 Following, but ne'er till then had reach'd the knight;
 So rapid did he thunder thro' the fight.
 Then twice three hundred knights, together join'd
 (The ranks before impell'd by those behind)
 With Grifon, onward, drove in fierce array,
 Bent to o'erthrow Ruggier, perhaps to slay.
 Scarce twice his lance's length, which fathoms four
 Reach'd in the staff, the head two cubits more,
 Had the bold youth for course, and scarce had couch'd
 His weapon, when the Paladin approach'd.
 Against the buckler's boss did Grifon aim;
 And twenty spears with his united came
 At various points, at limb, and trunk and head
 Driv'n with full force.—But little all bested!
 Upright Ruggiero sate: his horrid spear
 Met Grifon's onset in that fierce career.
 Just on the visor, 'twixt each iron joint
 Of the clos'd helmet, struck the weapon's point
 And in an instant drove the champion down;
 While his own band behind came driving on
 Heedless, and each unable then to rein
 His steed, or mark the warrior on the plain.
 Over the prostrate Knight full forty horse
 With iron hoofs pursued their rapid course,
 Crushing the trunk within its steely guard
 And treating out the life his fall had spar'd.
 Hapless in such a doom! if circumstance
 Can truly make disastrous any chance
 Which the deep voice of human anguish stills,
 And closes up the scene of cares and ills.

As when against Cornubia's utmost shore
 Enormous Neptune bids his waters roar,
 Firm stands the rock, and breaks the whelming tide
 And rolls it shatter'd off to either side,
 While its bleak top the spray and surges hide:
 So, by that fearful onset unsubdued,
 Erect amid the bands Ruggiero stood;
 So the staves shiver'd; so to left and right
 Rush'd in a foam the bloody stream of fight.

Then

Then all in thoughts of safety buried fame :
 Then from all bosoms instinct blotted shame !
 All to the rear in hope of succour sprung ;
 For Hope, from Grifon driv'n, on Amon hung :
 And (as deluded sickness ever flies
 From leech to leech, and every med'cine tries
 Tho' grinning Death each vain attempt defies)
 Not one the living with the dead compar'd ;
 None but to reach the rear and Amon car'd.
 Mingled amid the mass of those that fled
 The swarthy victors o'er the plain were spread :
 None ever thought of spoil ; none staid to view
 The (sometimes tardy) death of him he slew,
 But, covetous of carnage, struck again
 Cleaving the nearest of the flying train,
 And nothing thought atchiev'd, till all the host
 Of Europe were in one destruction lost.

So shone Ruggiero in the field of death :
 Such fame, such conquest glitter'd o'er his path.
 But far behind him on the gory plain
 Lay Aquilant, among the vulgar slain.
 Yet not for aye was memory's power decay'd,
 Nor seal'd his eye-lids in eternal shade.
 Oft, ere its trembling light for ever close,
 Th' expiring lamp revives and faintly glows ;
 And Aquilant, ere life at last withdrew,
 Some moments of returning anguish knew :
 Yet recollection serv'd (the bliss or bane
 Of Man's precarious lot) to whet his pain.
 His own, the type of Europe's doom he view'd ;
 Long Africk's scourge, by Africk now subdued :
 No succour then Rinaldo's lance could yield ;
 Relentless Fate Orlando's arm withheld ;
 While in the adverse host a mightier hand
 Than ever fenc'd before the Moorish band
 The strongest of the Christian warriors slew—
 Himself—perhaps, alas ! his brother too.
 Such thoughts oppress'd him in his dying hour,
 Whene'er the struggling soul resum'd its power
 In short, and shorter intervals : till Fate
 Mark'd the just period of his finish'd date.
 Then did the dread serenity of Death
 Creep o'er his brows ; then cess'd his labouring breath.
 The spirit far from tumult wing'd its way,
 And cold on earth the nerveless members lay.

THE SHIPWRECK.

[FROM MR. WILSON'S ISLE OF PALMS.]

AND well, glad Vessel! mayst thou stem
 The tide with lofty breast,
 And lift thy queen-like diadem
 O'er these thy realms of rest :
 For a thousand brings, now far away,
 Behold thee in their sleep,
 And hush their beating hearts to pray
 That a calm may clothe the deep.
 When dimly descending behind the sea
 From the mountain Isle of Liberty,
 Oh ! many a sigh pursued thy vanish'd sail ;
 And oft an eager crowd will stand
 With straining gaze on the Indian strand,
 Thy wonted gleam to hail.
 For thou art laden with Beauty and Youth,
 With Honour bold, and spotless Truth,
 With fathers, who have left in a home of rest
 Their infants smiling at the breast,
 With children, who have bade their parents farewell,
 Or who go to the land where their parents dwell.
 God speed thy course, thou gleam of delight !
 From rock and tempest clear ;
 Till signal gun from friendly height
 Proclaim, with thundering cheer,
 To joyful groups on the harbour bright,
 That the good ship Hope is near !

Is no one on the silent deck
 Save the helmsman who sings for a breeze,
 And the sailors who pace their midnight watch,
 Still as the slumbering seas ?
 Yes ! side by side, and hand in hand,
 Close to the prow two figures stand,
 Their shadows never stir,
 And fondly at the Moon doth rest
 Upon the Ocean's gentle breast,
 So fond they look on her.
 They gaze and gaze till the beauteous orb
 Seems made for them alone :
 They feel as if their home were Heaven,
 And the earth a dream that hath flown.
 Softly they lean on each other's breast,
 In holy bliss reposing,
 Like two fair clouds to the vernal air
 In folds of beauty closing.

The tear down their glad faces rolls,
 And a silent prayer is in their souls,
 While the voice of awaken'd memory,
 Like a low and plaintive melody,
 Sings in their hearts,—a mystice voice,
 That bids them tremble and rejoice.
 And Faith, who oft had lost her power
 In the darkness of the midnight hour
 When the planets had roll'd afar,
 Now stirs in their soul with a joyful strife,
 Embued with a genial spirit of life
 By the Moon and the Morning-Star.

A lovelier vision in the moonlight stands,
 Than Bard e'er woo'd in fairy lands,
 Or Faith with tranced eye adored,
 Floating around our dying Lord.
 Her silent face is saintly-pale,
 And sadness shades it like a veil :
 A consecrated nun she seems,
 Whose waking thoughts are deep as dreams,
 And in her hush'd and dim abode
 For ever dwell upon her God,
 Though the still fount of tears and sighs
 And human sensibilities !
 Well may the Moon delight to shed
 Her softest radiance round that head,
 And mellow the cool ocean-air
 That lifts by fits her sable hair.
 These mild and melancholy eyes
 Are dear unto the starry skies,
 As the dim effusion of their rays
 Blends with the glimmering light that plays
 O'er the blue heavens, and snowy clouds,
 The cloud-like sails, and radiant shrouds.
 Fair creature ! Thou dost seem to be
 Some wandering spirit of the sea,
 That dearly loves the gleam of sails,
 And o'er them breathes propitious gales.
 Hither thou comest, for one wild hour,
 With him thy sinless paramour,
 To gaze, while the wearied sailors sleep,
 On this beautiful phantom of the deep,
 That seem'd to rise with the rising Moon.
 —But the Queen of Night will be sinking soon,
 Then will you, like two breaking waves,
 Sink softly to your coral caves,
 Or, noiseless as the falling dew,
 Melt into Heaven's delicious blue.

Nay! wrong her not, that Virgin bright!
 Her face is bathed in lovelier light
 Than ever flow'd from eyes
 Of Ocean Nymph, or Sylph of Air!
 The tearful gleam, that trembles there,
 From human dreams must rise.
 Let the Mermaid rest in her sparry cell,
 Her sea-green ringlets braiding!
 The Sylph in viewless ether dwell,
 In clouds her beauty shading!
 My soul devotes her music wild
 To one who is an earthly child,
 But who, wandering through the midnight hour,
 Far from the shade of earthly bower,
 Bestows a tenderer loveliness,
 A deeper, holier quietness,
 On the moonlight Heaven, and Ocean hoar,
 So quiet and so fair before.
 Yet why does a helpless maiden roam,
 Mid stranger souls, and far from home,
 Across the faithless deep?
 Oh! fitter far that her gentle mind
 In some sweet inland vale should find
 An undisturbed sleep!

So was it once. Her childish years
 Like clouds pass'd o'er her head,
 When life is all one rosy smile, or tears
 Of natural grief; forgotten soon as shed.
 O'er her own mountains, like a bird
 Glad wandering from its nest,
 When the glossy hues of the sunny spring
 Are dancing on its breast,
 With a winged glide this maiden would rove,
 An innocent phantom of beauty and love.
 Far from the haunts of men she grew
 By the side of a lonesome tower,
 Like some solitary mountain-flower,
 Whose veil of wiry dew
 Is only touch'd by the gales that breathe
 O'er the blossoms of the fragrant heath,
 And in its silence melts away
 With those sweet things too pure for earthly day.
 Blest was the lore that Nature taught
 The infant's happy mind,
 Even when each light and happy thought
 Pass'd onwards like the wind,
 Nor longer seem'd to linger there
 Than the whispering sound in her raven-hair.

That smile hath might of magic art,
 To sway at will the stoniest heart,
 As a ship obeys the gale;
 And when his silver voice is heard,
 The coldest blood is warmly stirr'd,
 As at some glorious tale.
 The loftiest spirit never saw
 This Youth without a sudden awe;
 But vain the transient feeling strove
 Against the stealing power of love.
 Soon as they felt the tremor cease,
 He seem'd the very heart of peace.
 Majestic to the bold and high,
 Yet calm and beauteous to a woman's eye!

To him, a mountain Youth, was known
 The wailing tempest's dreariest tone.
 He knew the shriek of wizard caves,
 And the trampling fierce of howling waves.
 The mystic voice of the lonely night,
 He had often drunk with a strange delight,
 And look'd on the clouds as they roll'd on high,
 Till with them he sail'd on the sailing sky.
 And thus hath he learn'd to wake the lyre,
 With something of a bardlike fire;
 Can tell in high-empassion'd song,
 Of worlds that to the Bard belong,
 And, till they feel his kindling breath,
 To others still and dark as death.
 Yet oft, I ween, in gentler mood
 A human kindness hush'd his blood,
 And sweetly blended earth-born sighs
 With the Bards romantic ecstasies.
 The living world was dear, 'to him,
 And in his waking hours more bright it seem'd,
 More touching far, than when his fancy dream'd
 Of heavenly bowers, th' abode of Seraphim:
 And gladly from her wild sojourn
 Mid haunts dim-shadow'd in the realms of mind,
 Even like a wearied dove that flies for rest
 Back o'er long fields of air unto her nest,
 His longing spirit homewards would return
 To meet once more the smile of human kind:
 And when at last a human soul he found,
 Pure as the thought of purity,—more mild
 Than in its slumber seems a dreaming child;
 When on his spirit stole the mystic sound,
 The voice, whose music sad no mortal ear
 But his can rightly understand and hear,

When

When a subduing smile like moonlight shone
 On him for ever, and for him alone,
 Why should he seek this lower world to leave!
 For, whether now he love to joy or grieve,
 A friend he hath for sorrow or delight,
 Who lends fresh beauty to the morning light,
 The tender stars in tenderer dimness shrouds,
 And glorifies the Moon among her clouds.

How would he gaze with reverent eye
 Upon that meek and pensive maid,
 Then fix his looks upon the sky
 With moving lips as if he pray'd!
 Unto his sight bedimm'd with tears,
 How beautiful the saint appears,—
 Oh! all unlike a creature form'd of clay,
 The blessed angels with delight
 Might hail her "Sister!" She is bright
 And innocent as they.
 Scarce dared he then that form to love!
 A solemn impulse from above
 All earthly hopes forbade,
 And with a pure and holy flame,
 As if in truth from Heaven she came,
 He gazed upon the maid.
 His beating heart, thus fill'd with awe,
 In her the guardian spirit saw
 Of all his future years;
 And, when he listened to her breath
 So spiritual, nor pain nor death
 Seem'd longer worth his fears.
 She lov'd him! She, the Child of Heaven!
 And God would surely make
 The soul to whom that love was given
 More perfect for her sake.
 Each look, each word, of one so good
 Devoutly he obey'd,
 And trusted that a gracious eye
 Would ever guide his destiny,
 For whom in holy solitude
 So sweet an Angel pray'd.

Those days of tranquil joy are fled,
 And tears of deep distress
 From night to morn hath Mary shed:
 And, say! when sorrow bow'd her head
 Did he then love her less?
 Ah no! more touching beauty rose
 Through the dim paleness of her woe,

Than when her cheek did bloom
 With joy's own lustre : something there,
 A saint-like calm, a deep repose,
 Made her look like a spirit fair
 New risen from the tomb.
 For ever in his heart shall dwell
 The voice with which she said farewell
 To the fading English shore ;
 It dropp'd like dew upon his ear,
 And for the while he ceased to hear
 The sea-wind's freshening roar.
 " To thee I trust my sinless child :
 " And therefore am I reconciled
 " To bear my lonely lot,
 " The Gracious One, who loves the good,
 " For her will smooth the Ocean wild,
 " Nor in her aged solitude
 " A parent be forgot."
 The last words these her Mother spake,
 Sobbing as if her heart would break
 Beside the cold sea-shore,
 When onwards with the favouring gale,
 Glad to be free, in pride of sail
 Th' impatient Vessel bore.

Oh ! could she now in magic glass
 Behold the winged glory pass
 With a slow and cloud-like motion,
 While, as they melted on her eye,
 She scarce should ken the peaceful sky
 From the still more peaceful Ocean ?
 And it may be such dreams are given
 In mercy by indulgent Heaven,
 To solace them that mourn :
 The absent bless our longing sight,
 The future shows than truth more bright,
 And phantoms of expir'd delight
 Most passing sweet return.
 Mother ! behold thy Child : How still
 Her upward face ! She thinks on thee :
 Oh, thou canst never give thy fill !
 How beautiful such piety !
 There in her lover's guardian arms
 She rests : and all the wild alarms
 Of waves or winds are hush'd, no more to rise.
 Of thee, and thee alone, she thinks :
 See ! on her knees thy daughter sinks :
 Sure God will bless the prayer that lights such eyes !
 Didst thou e'er think thy child so fair ?

The rapture of her granted prayer
 Had breathed that awful beauty through her face :
 Once more upon the deck she stands,
 Slowly unclasps her pious hands,
 And brightening smiles, assured of heavenly grace.

Oh, blessed pair! and, while I gaze,
 As beautiful as blest!
 Emblem of all your future days
 Seems now the Ocean's rest!
 Beyond the blue depths of the sky,
 The tempests sleep;—and there must lie,
 Like baleful spirits barr'd from realms of bliss.
 But singing airs, and gleams of light,
 And birds of calm, all-glancing bright,
 Must hither in their gladness come.
 —Where shall they find a fitter home
 Than a night-scene fair as this?
 And when, her fairy voyage past,
 The happy Ship is moor'd at last
 In the loved haven of her Indian Isle,
 How dear to you will be the beams
 Of the silent Moon! What touching dreams
 Your musing hearts beguile!
 Though haply then her radiance fall
 On some low mansion's flowery wall,
 Far up an inland vale,
 Yet then the sheeted mast will tower,
 Her shrouds all rustling like a shower,
 And, melting as wild music's power,
 Low pipe the sea-born gale.
 Each star will speak the tenderest things,
 And when the clouds expand their wings,
 All parting like a fleet,
 Your own beloved Ship, I ween,
 Will foremost in the van be seen,
 And, rising loud and sweet,
 The sailor's joyful shouts be heard,
 Such as the midnight silence stirr'd
 When the wish'd for breezes blew,
 And, instant as the loud commands,
 Sent upwards from a hundred hands
 The broad sails rose unto the sky,
 And from her slumbers suddenly
 The Ship like lightning flew!

But list! a low and moaning sound
 At distance heard, like a spirit's song,
 And now it reigns above, around,
 As if it call'd the Ship along.

The Moon is sunk ; and a clouded grey
 Declares that her course is run,
 And like a God who brings the day,
 Up mounts the glorious Sun.
 Soon as his light has warm'd the seas,
 From the parting cloud fresh blows the Breeze ;
 And that is the spirit whose well-known song
 Makes the vessel to sail in joy along,
 No fears hath she ;—Her giant-form
 O'er wrathful surge, through blackening storm,
 Majestically calm, would go
 Mid the deep darkness white as snow !
 But gently now the small waves glide
 Like playful lambs o'er a mountain's side.
 So stately her bearing, so proud her array,
 The Main she will traverse for ever and aye.
 Many ports will exult at the gleam of her mast !
 —Hush ! hush ! thou vain dreamer ! this hour is her last.
 Five hundred souls in one instant of dread
 Are hurried o'er the deck ;
 And fast the miserable Ship
 Becomes a lifeless wreck.
 Her keel hath struck on a hidden rock,
 Her planks are torn asunder,
 And down come her masts with a reeling shock,
 And a hideous crash like thunder.
 Her sails are draggled in the brine
 That gladdened late the skies,
 And her pendant that kiss'd the fair moonshine
 Down many a fathom lies.
 Her beauteous sides, whose rainbow hues
 Gleam'd softly from below,
 And flung a warm and sunny flush
 O'er the wreaths of murmuring snow,
 To the coral rocks are hurrying down
 To sleep amid colours as bright as their own.

Oh ! many a dream was in the Ship
 An hour before her death ;
 And sights of home with sighs disturb'd
 The sleepers' long-drawn breath.
 Instead of the murmur of the sea
 The sailor heard the humming tree
 Alive through all its leaves,
 The hum of the spreading sycamore
 That grows before his cottage-door,
 And the swallow's song in the eaves.
 His arms enclosed a blooming boy,
 Who listen'd with tears of sorrow and joy
 To the dangers his father had pass'd ;

And his wife,—by turns she wept and smiled,
As she look'd on the father of her child
Return'd to her heart at last.

—He wakes at the vessel's sudden roll,
And the rush of waters is in his soul.
Astounded the reeling deck he paces,
Mid hurrying forms and ghastly faces;—
The whole Ship's crew are there.
Wailings around and overhead,
Brave spirits stupefied or dead,
And madness and despair.

Leave not the wreck, thou cruel Boat,
While yet 'tis thine to save,
And angel-hands will bid thee float
Uninjured o'er the wave,
Though whirlpools yawn across thy way,
And storms, impatient for their prey,
Around thee fiercely rave!
Vain all the prayers of pleading eyes,
Of outcry loud, and humble sighs,
Hands clasp'd, or wildly toss'd on high
To bless or curse in agony!
Despair and resignation vain!
Away like a strong-wing'd bird she flies;
That heeds not human miseries,
And far off in the sunshine dies
Like a wave of the restless main.
Hush! hush! Ye wretches left behind!
Silence becomes the brave, resign'd
To unexpected doom,
How quiet the once noisy crowd!
The sails now serve them for a shroud,
And the sea-cave is their tomb.
And where is that loveliest Being gone?
Hope not that she is saved alone,
Immortal though such beauty seem'd to be.
She, and the Youth that loved her too,
Went down with the ship and her gallant crew—
No favourites hath the sea.

Now is the Ocean's bosom bare,
Unbroken as the floating air;
The Ship hath melted quite away,
Like a struggling dream at break of day.
No image meets my wandering eye
But the new-risen sun, and the sunny sky.
Though the night-shades are gone, yet a vapour dull
Bedims the waves so beautiful;

While a low and melancholy moan
 Mourns for the glory that hath flown.
 Oh ! that the wild and wailing strain
 Were a dream that murmurs in my brain !
 What happiness would then be mine,
 When my eyes, as they felt the morning shine,
 Instead of the unfathom'd Ocean-grave
 Should behold Winander's peaceful wave,
 And the Isles that love her loving breast,
 Each brooding like a Halcyon's nest.
 It may not be :—too well I know
 The real doom from fancied woe,
 The black and dismal hue.
 Yea, many a visage wan and pale
 Will hang at midnight o'er my tale,
 And weep that it is true.

SONNET.

THE VOICE OF THE MOUNTAINS.

[From the same.]

LIST ! while I tell what forms the mountain's voice !
 —The storms are up ; and from yon sable cloud
 Down rush the rains ; while 'mid the thunder loud
 The viewless eagles in wild screams rejoice.
 The echoes answer to the unearthly noise
 Of hurling rocks, that, plunged into the Lake,
 Send up a sullen groan : from clefts and caves,
 As of half-murdered wretch, hark ! yells awake,
 Or red-eyed phrensy as in chains he raves.
 These form the mountain's voice ; these, heard at night,
 Distant from human being's known abode,
 To earth some spirits bow in cold affright,
 But some they lift to glory and to God.

SONNET.

THE EVENING CLOUD.

[From the same.]

A CLOUD lay cradled near the setting sun,
 A gleam of crimson tinged its braided snow ;
 Long had I watched the glory moving on
 O'er the still radiance of the Lake below,

Tranquil

Tranquil its spirit seem'd, and floated slow !
 Even in its very motion, there was rest :
 While every breath of eve that chanced to blow,
 Wasted the traveller to the beautiful West.
 Emblem, methought, of the departed soul !
 To whose white robe the gleam of bliss is given ;
 And by the breath of mercy made to roll
 Right onwards to the golden gates of Heaven,
 Where, to the eye of Faith, it peaceful lies,
 And tells to man his glorious destinies.

NATIONAL VICISSITUDES.

[FROM MRS. BARBAULD'S EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND ELEVEN.]

THERE walks a Spirit o'er the people'd earth,
 Secret his progress is, unknown his birth ;
 Moody and viewless as the changing wind,
 No force arrests his foot, no chains can bind ;
 Where'er he turns, the human brute awakes,
 And, rous'd to better life, his sordid hut forsakes :
 He thinks, he reasons, glows with purer fires,
 Feels finer wants, and burns with new desires :
 Obedient Nature follows where he leads ;
 The steaming marsh is changed to fruitful meads ;
 The beasts retire from man's asserted reign,
 And prove his kingdom was not given in vain.
 Then from its bed is drawn the ponderous ore,
 Then Commerce pours her gifts on every shore,
 Then Babel's towers and terraced gardens rise,
 And pointed obelisks invade the skies ;
 The prince commands, in Tyrian purple drest,
 And Ægypt's virgins weave the linen vest,
 Then spans the graceful arch the roaring tide,
 And stricter bounds the cultured fields divide.
 Then kindles Fancy, then expands the heart,
 Then blow the flowers of Genius and of Art ;
 Saints, Heroes, Sages, who the land adorn,
 Seem rather to descend than to be born ;
 Whilst History, midst the rolls consigned to fame,
 With pen of adamant inscribes their name.

The Genius now forsakes the favoured shore,
 And hates, capricious, what he loved before ;
 Then empires fall to dust, then arts decay,
 And wasted realms enfeebled despots sway ;

Even

Even Nature's changed ; without his fostering smile,
 Ophir no gold, no plenty yields the Nile ;
 The thirsty sand absorbs the useless rill,
 And spotted plagues from putrid fens distill.
 In desert solitudes then I admost sleeps,
 Stern Marius then o'er fallen Carthage weeps ;
 Then with enthusiast love the pilgrim roves
 To seek his footsteps in forsaken groves,
 Explores the fractured arch, the ruined tower,
 Those limbs disjointed of gigantic power ;
 Still at each step he dreads the adder's sting,
 The Arab's javelin, or the tiger's spring ;
 With doubtful caution treads the echoing ground,
 And asks where Troy or Babylon is found.

And now the vagrant Power no more detains
 The vale of Tempe, or Ausonian plains ;
 Northward he throws the animating ray,
 O'er Celtic nations bursts the mental day :
 And, as some playful child the mirror turns,
 Now here now there the moving lustre burns ;
 Now o'er his changeful fancy more prevail
 Batavia's dykes than Arno's purple vale,
 And stunted suns, and rivers bound with frost,
 Than Enna's plains or Baia's viny coast ;
 Venice the Adriatic weds in vain,
 And Death sits brooding o'er Campania's plain ;
 O'er Baltic shores and through Hercynian groves,
 Stirring the soul, the mighty impulse moves ;
 Art plies his tools, and Commerce spreads her sail,
 And wealth is wasted in each shifting gale,
 The sons of Odin tread on Persian looms,
 And Odin's daughters breathe distilled perfumes ;
 Loud minstrel Bards, in Gothic halls, rehearse
 The Runic rhyme, and " build the lofty verse :"
 The Muse, whose liquid notes were wont to swell
 To the soft breathings of the Æolian shell,
 Submits, reluctant, to the harsher tone,
 And scarce believes the altered voice her own.
 And now, where Cæsar saw with proud disdain
 The wattled hut and skin of azure stain,
 Corinthian columns rear their graceful forms,
 And light varandas brave the wintry storms,
 While British tongues the fading fame prolong
 Of Tully's eloquence and Maro's song.
 Where once Bonduca whirled the scythed car,
 And the fierce matrons raised the shriek of war,
 Light forms beneath transparent muslins float,
 And tutored voices swell the artful note.

Light-leaved acacias and the shady plane
 And spreading cedar grace the woodland reign;
 While crystal walls the tenderer plants confine,
 The fragrant orange and the nectar'd pine;
 The Syrian grape there hangs her rich festoons,
 Nor asks for purer air, or brighter noons:
 Science and Art urge on the useful toil,
 New mould a climate and create the soil,
 Subdue the rigour of the northern Bear,
 O'er polar climes shed aromatic air,
 On yielding Nature urge their new demands,
 And ask not gifts but tribute at her hands.

London exults:—on London Art bestows
 Her summer ices and her winter rose;
 Gems of the East her moral crown adorn,
 And Plenty at her feet pours forth her horn;
 While even the exiles her just laws disclaim,
 People a continent, and build a name:
 August she sits, and with extended hands
 Holds forth the book of life to distant lands.

ADDRESS TO PARNASSUS.

[FROM LORD BYRON'S CHILDE HAROLD.]

O H, thou Parnassus! whom I now survey,
 Not in the phrenzy of a dreamer's eye,
 Not in the fabled landscape of a lay,
 But soaring snow-clad through thy native sky
 In the wild pomp of mountain majesty!
 What marvel if I thus essay to sing?
 The humblest of thy pilgrims passing by
 Would gladly woo thine Echoes with his string,
 Though from thy heights no more one Muse will wave her wing.

Oft have I dream'd of Thee! whose glorious name
 Who knows not, knows not man's divinest lore:
 And now I view thee, 'tis, alas! with shame
 That I in feeblest accents must adore.
 When I recount thy worshippers of yore
 I tremble, and can only bend the knee;
 Nor raise my voice, nor vainly dare to soar,
 But gaze beneath thy cloudy canopy
 In silent joy to think at last I look on Thee!

Happier in this than mightiest bards have been,
 Whose fate to distant homes confin'd their lot,
 Shall I unmov'd behold the hallow'd scene,
 Which others rave of, though they know it not?
 Though here no more Apollo haunts his grot,
 And thou, the Muses' seat, art now their grave,
 Some gentle Spirit still pervades the spot,
 Sighs in the gale, keeps silence in the cave,
 And glides with glassy foot o'er yon melodious Wave.

ATHENS IN RUINS.

[From the same.]

COME, blue-eyed maid of heaven!—but thou, alas!
 Didst never yet one mortal song inspire—
 Goddess of Wisdom! here thy temple was,
 And is, in spite of war and wasting fire,
 And years, that bade thy worship to expire
 But worse than steel, and flame, and ages slow,
 Is the dread sceptre and dominion dire
 Of men who never felt the sacred glow
 That thoughts of thee and thine on polish'd breasts bestow.

Ancient of days! august Athena! where,
 Where are thy men of might? thy grand in soul?
 Gone—glimmering through the dream of things that were,
 First in the race that led to Glory's goal,
 They won, and pass'd away—is this the whole?
 A school-boy's tale, the wonder of an hour!
 The warrior's weapon and the sophist's stole
 Are sought in vain, and o'er each mouldering tower,
 Dim with the mist of years, grey flits the shade of power.

Son of the morning, rise! approach you here!
 Come—but molest not yon defenceless urn:
 Look on this spot—a nation's sepulchre!
 Abode of gods, whose shrines no longer burn.
 Even gods must yield—religions take their turn:
 'Twas Jove's---'tis Mahomet's---and other creeds
 Will rise with other years, till man shall learn
 Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;
 Poor child of Doubt and Death, whose hope is built on reeds.

Bound to the earth, he lifts his eye to heaven---
 Is't not enough, unhappy thing! to know
 Thou art? Is this a boon so kindly given,

That being, thou wouldst be again, and go,
 Thou know'st not, reck'st not to what region, so
 On earth no more, but mingled with the skies?
 Still wilt thou dream on future joy and woe?
 Regard and weigh yon dust before it flies:
 That little urn saith more than thousand homilies,

Or burst the vanish'd Hero's lofty mound;
 Far on the solitary shore he sleeps:
 He fell, and falling nations mourn'd around;
 But now not one of saddening thousands weeps,
 Nor warlike-worshipper his vigil keeps
 Where demi-gods appear'd, as records tell.
 Remove yon skull from out the scatter'd heaps:
 Is that a temple where a God may dwell?
 Why ev'n the worm at last disdains her shatter'd cell!

Look on its broken arch, its ruin'd wall,
 Its chambers desolate, and portals foul:
 Yes, this was once Ambition's airy hall,
 The dome of Thought, the palace of the Soul:
 Behold through each lack-lustre, eyeless hole,
 The gay recess of Wisdom and of Wit
 And Passion's host, that never brook'd control:
 Can all, saint, sage, or sophist ever writ,
 People this lonely tower, this tenement rest?

Well didst thou speak, Athena's wisest son!
 "All that we know is, nothing can be known."
 Why should we shrink from what we cannot shun?
 Each has his pang, but feeble sufferers groan
 With brain-born dreams of evil all their own.
 Pursue what Chance or Fate proclaimeth best;
 Peace waits us on the shores of Acheron:
 There no forc'd banquet claims the sated guest,
 But Silence spreads the couch of ever welcome rest.

Yet if, as holiest men have deem'd, there be
 A land of souls beyond that sable shore,
 To shame the doctrine of the Sadducee
 And sophists, madly vain of dubious lore;
 How sweet it were in concert to adore
 With those who made our mortal labours light!
 To hear each voice we fear'd to hear no more!
 Behold each mighty shade reveal'd to sight,
 The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right!

There, thou!—whose love and life together fled,
 Have left me here to love and live in vain—
 Twin'd with my heart, and can I deem thee dead,

When

When busy Memory flashes on my brain ?
 Well---I will dream that we may meet again,
 And woo the vision to my vacant breast :
 If aught of young Remembrance then remain,
 Be as it may Futurity's behest,
 For me 'twere bliss enough to know thy spirit blest !

Here let me sit upon this massy stone,
 The marble column's yet unshaken base ;
 Here, son of Saturn ! was thy fav'rite throne :
 Mightiest of many such ! Hence let me trace
 The latent grandeur of thy dwelling place.
 It may not be : nor ev'n can Fancy's eye
 Restore what Time hath labour'd to deface.
 Yet these proud pillars claim no passing sigh,
 Unmov'd the Moslem sits, the light Greek carols by.

ANCIENT AND MODERN GREECE.

[From the same.]

LAND of Albania ! where Iskander rose,
 Theme of the young, and beacon of the wise,
 And he his name-sake, whose oft-baffled foes
 Shrunk from his deeds of chivalrous emprise :
 Land of Albania ! let me bend mine eyes
 On thee, thou rugged nurse of savage men !
 The cross descends, thy minarets arise,
 And the pale crescent sparkles in the glen,
 Through many a cypress grove within each city's ken.

Childe Harold sail'd, and pass'd the barren spot,
 Where sad Penelope o'erlook'd the wave ;
 And onward view'd the mount not yet forgot,
 The lover's refuge, and the Lesbian's grave.
 Dark Sappho ! could not verse immortal save
 That breast imbued with such immortal fire ?
 Could she not live who life eternal gave ?
 If life eternal may await the lyre,
 That only Heaven to which Earth's children may aspire.

'Twas on a Grecian autumn's gentle eve
 Childe Harold hail'd Leucadia's cape afar ;
 A spot he long'd to see, nor cared to leave :
 Oft did he mark the scenes of vanish'd war,
 Actium, Lepanto, fatal Trafalgar ;

Mark them unmov'd, for he would not delight
 (Born beneath some remote inglorious star)
 In themes of bloody fray, or gallant fight,
 But loath'd the bravo's trade, and laugh'd at martial wight.

But when he saw the evening star above
 Leucadia's far-projecting rock of woe,
 And hail'd the last resort of fruitless love,
 He felt, or deem'd he felt, no common glow :
 And as the stately vessel glided slow
 Beneath the shadow of that ancient mount,
 He watch'd the billows' melancholy flow,
 And, sunk albeit in thought as he was wont,
 More placid seem'd his eye, and smooth his pallid front.

Morn dawns ; and with it stern Albania's hills,
 Dark Sulis' rocks, and Pindus' inland peak,
 Rob'd half in mist, bedew'd with snowy rills,
 Array'd in many a dun and purple streak,
 Arise ; and, as the clouds along them break,
 Disclose the dwelling of the mountaineer :
 Here roams the wolf, the eagle whets his beak,
 Birds, beasts of prey, and wilder men appear,
 And gathering storms around convulse the closing year.

Now Harold felt himself at length alone,
 And bade to Christian tongues a long adieu ;
 Now he adventur'd on a shore unknown,
 Which all admire, but many dread to view :
 His breast was arm'd 'gainst fate, his wants were few ;
 Peril he sought not, but ne'er shrank to meet,
 The scene was savage, but the scene was new ;
 This made the ceaseless toil of travel sweet,
 Beat back keen winter's blast, and welcom'd summer's heat.

Here the red cross, for still the cross is here,
 Though sadly scoff'd at by the circumcis'd,
 Forgets that Pride to pamper'd priesthood dear ;
 Churchman and votary alike despis'd.
 Foul Superstition ! howsoe'er disguis'd,
 Idol, saint, virgin, prophet, crescent, cross,
 For whatsoever symbol thou art priz'd,
 Thou sacerdotal gain, but general loss !
 Who from true worship's gold can separate thy dross ?

Ambracia's gulph behold, where once was lost
 A world for woman, lovely, harmless thing !
 In yonder rippling bay, their naval host
 Did many a Roman chief and Asian king
 To doubtful conflict, certain slaughter bring :

Look where the second Cæsar's trophies rose !
 Now, like the hands that rear'd them, withering :
 Imperial Anarchs, doubling human woes !
 God ! was thy globe ordain'd for such to win and lose ?

From the dark barriers of that rugged clime,
 Ev'n to the centre of Illyria's vales,
 Childe Harold pass'd o'er many a mount sublime,
 Through lands scarce notic'd in historic tales ;
 Yet in fam'd Attica such lovely dales
 Are rarely seen ; nor can fair Tempe boast
 A charm they know not ; lov'd Parion fails,
 Though classic ground and consecrated most,
 To match some spots that lurk within this lowering coast.

He pass'd bleak Pindus, Acherusia's lake,
 And left the primal city of the land,
 And onwards did his further journey take
 To greet Albania's chief, whose dread command
 Is lawless law ; for with a bloody hand
 He sways a nation, turbulent and bold :
 Yet here and there some daring mountain-band
 Disdain his power, and from their rocky hold
 Hurl their defiance far, nor yield, unless to gold.

Monastic Zitza ! from thy shady brow,
 Thou small, but favour'd spot of holy ground !
 Where'er we gaze, around, above, below,
 What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found !
 Rock, river, forest, mountain, all abound,
 And bluest skies that harmonize the whole :
 Beneath, the distant torrents rushing sound
 Tells where the volum'd cataract doth roll
 Between those hanging rocks, that shock yet please the soul.

Amidst the grove that crowns yon tufted hill,
 Which, were it not for many a mountain nigh
 Rising in lofty ranks, and loftier still,
 Might well itself be deem'd of dignity,
 The convent's white walls glisten fair on high :
 Here dwells the caloyer, nor rude is he,
 Nor niggard of his cheer ; the passer by
 Is welcome still ; nor heedless will he flee
 From hence, if he delight kind Nature's sheen to see.

Here in the sultriest season let him rest,
 Fresh is the green beneath those aged trees ;
 Here winds of gentlest wing will fan his breast,
 From heaven itself he may inhale the breeze :
 The plain is far beneath—oh ! let him seize

Pure pleasure while he can ; the scorching ray
 Here pierceth not, impregnate with disease :
 Then let his length the loitering pilgrim lay,
 And gaze, untir'd, the morn, the noon, the eve away.

Dusky and huge, enlarging on the sight,
 Nature's volcanic amphitheatre,
 Chimæra's alps, extended from left to right :
 Beneath, a living valley seems to stir ;
 Flocks play, trees wave, streams flow, the mountain-fir
 Nodding above : behold black Acheron !
 Once consecrated to the sepulchre.
 Pluto ! if this be hell I look upon,
 Close sham'd Elysium's gates, my shade shall seek for none.

Ne city's towers pollute the lovely view ;
 Unseen is Yanina, though not remote,
 Veil'd by the screen of hills : here men are few,
 Scanty the hamlet, rare the lonely cot ;
 But, peering down each precipice, the goat
 Browseth ; and, pensive o'er his scatter'd flock,
 The little-shepherd in his white capote
 Doth lean his boyish form along the rock,
 Or in his cave awaits the tempest's short-liv'd shock.

Oh ! where, Dodona ! is thine aged grove,
 Prophetic fount, and oracle divine ?
 What valley echo'd the response of Jove ?
 What trace remaineth of the thunderer's shrine ?
 All, all forgotten—and shall man repine
 That his frail bonds to fleeting life are broke ?
 Cease, fool ! the fite of gods may well be thine :
 Wouldst thou survive the marble or the oak ?
 When nations, tongues, and worlds must sink beneath the stroke !

Epirus' bounds recede, and mountains fail ;
 Tir'd of up-gazing still, the wearied eye
 Reposes gladly on as smooth a vale
 As ever Spring yclad in grassy dye :
 Ev'n on a plain no humble beauties lie,
 Where some bold river breaks the long expanse,
 And woods along the banks are waving high,
 Whose shadows in the glassy waters dance,
 Or with the moon-beam sleep in midnight's solemn trance.

The Sun had sunk behind vast Tormerit,
 And Laos wild and fierce came roaring by ;
 The shades of wonted night were gathering yet,
 When, down the steep banks winding warily,
 Childe Harold saw, like meteors in the sky,

The glittering minarets of Tepsala,
Whose walls o'erlook the stream ; and drawing nigh,
He heard the busy hum of warrior-men
Swelling the breeze that sigh'd along the lengthening glen.

He pass'd the sacred Harām's silent tower,
And underneath the wide o'erarching gate
Survey'd the dwelling of this chief of power,
Where all around proclaim'd his high estate.
Amidst no common pomp the despot sat,
While busy preparation shook the court,
Slaves, eunuchs, soldiers, guests, and santon's wait ;
Within, a palace, and without, a fort :
Here men of every clime appear to make resort.

Richly caparison'd, a ready row
Of armed horse, and many a warlike store
Circled the wide extending court below :
Above, strange groups adorn'd the corridore ;
And oft-times through the Area's echoing door
Some high-capp'd Tartar spurr'd his steed away :
The Turk, the Greek, the Albanian, and the Moor
Here mingled in their many hued array,
While the deep war-drum's sound announc'd the close of day.

The wild Albanian kirtled to his knee,
With shawl-girt head and ornamented gun,
And gold-embroider'd garments, fair to see ;
The crimson-scarfed men of Macedon ;
The Delbi with his cap of terror on,
And crooked glaive ; the lively, supple Greek ;
And swarthy Nubia's mutilated son ;
The bearded Turk that rarely deigns to speak,
Master of all around, too potent to be meek,

Are mix'd conspicuous: some recline in groups,
Scanning the motley scene that varies round ;
There some grave Moslem to devotion stoops
And some that smoke, and some that play, are found ;
Here the Albanian proudly treads the ground ;
Half whispering there the Greek is heard to prate ;
Hark ! from the mosque the nightly solemn sound,
The Muezzin's call doth shake the minaret,
" There is no god but God !—to prayer—do ! God is great !"

Just at this season Ramazani's fast
Through the long day its penance did maintain :
But when the lingering twilight hour was past,
Revel and feast assum'd the rule again :
Now all was bustle, and the martial train

Prepar'd and spread the plenteous board within;
 The vacant gallery now seem'd made in vain,
 But from the chambers came the mingling din,
 As page and slave anon were passing out and in,

Here woman's voice is never heard : apart,
 And scarce permitted, guarded, veil'd, to rove,
 She yields to one her person and her heart,
 Tam'd to her cage, nor feels a wish to move :
 For, not unhappy in her master's love,
 And joyful in a mother's gentlest cares,
 Blest cares ! all other feelings far above !
 Herself more sweetly rears the babe she bears,
 Who never quits the breast, no meaner passion shares.

In marble-pav'd pavilion, where a spring
 Of living water from the centre rose,
 Whose bubbling did a genial freshness fling,
 And soft voluptuous couches breath'd repose,
 ALI reclin'd, a man of war and woes ;
 Yet in his lineaments ye cannot trace,
 While Gentleness her milder radiance throws
 Along that aged venerable face,
 The deeds that lurk beneath, and stain him with disgrace.

It is not that yon hoary lengthening beard
 Ill suits the passions which belong to youth ;
 Love conquers age—so Hafiz hath averr'd,
 So sings the Teian, and he sings in sooth—
 But 'tis those ne'er-forgotten acts of ruth,
 Beseeming all men ill, but most the man
 In years, that mark him with a tiger's tooth ;
 Blood follows blood, and, through their mortal span,
 In bloodier acts conclude those who with blood began.

'Mid many things most new to ear and eye
 The pilgrim rested here his weary feet,
 And gaz'd around on Moslem luxury,
 Till quickly wearied with that spacious seat
 Of Wealth and Wantonness, the choice retreat
 Of sated Grandeur from the city's noise :
 And were it humbler it in sooth were sweet ;
 But Peace abhorreth artificial joys,
 And Pleasure, leagued with Pomp, the zest of both destroys.

Fierce are Albania's children, yet they lack
 Not virtues, were those virtues more mature.
 Where is the foe that ever saw their back ?

Who can so well the toil of war endure?
 Their native fastnesses not more secure
 Than they in doubtful time of troublous need:
 Their wrath how dead'y! but their friendship sure,
 When Gratitude or Valour bids them bleed,
 Unshaken rushing on where'er their chief may lead.

Childe Harold saw them in their chieftain's tower
 Thronging to war in splendour and success;
 And after view'd them, when, within their power,
 Himself awhile the victim of distress:
 That saddening hour when bad men hotlier press;
 But these did shelter him beneath their roof;
 When less barbarians would have cheer'd him less,
 And fellow-countrymen have stood aloof—
 In aught that tries the heart how few withstand the proof?

It chanc'd that adverse winds once drove his bark
 Full on the coast of Suli's shaggy shore,
 When all around was desolate and dark;
 To land was perilous, to sojourn more;
 Yet for awhile the mariners forbore,
 Dubious to trust where treachery might lurk:
 At length they ventur'd forth, though doubting sore
 That those who loathe alike the Frank and Turk
 Might once again renew their ancient butcher-work.

Vain fear! the Suliotes stretch'd the welcome hand,
 Led them o'er rocks and past the dangerous swamp,
 Kinder than polish'd slaves though not so bland,
 And pil'd the hearth, and wrung their garments damp,
 And fill'd the bowl, and trimm'd the cheerful lamp,
 And spread their fare; though homely, all they had:
 Such conduct bears Philanthropy's rare stamp—
 To rest the weary and to soothe the sad,
 Doth lesson happier men, and shames at least the bad.

It came to pass, that when he did address
 Himself to quit at length this mountain land,
 Combin'd marauders half-way barr'd egress,
 And wasted far and near with glaive and brand;
 And therefore did he take a trusty band
 To traverse Acarnania's forest wide,
 In war well season'd, and with labours tann'd,
 Till he did greet white Achelous'-tide,
 And from his further bank Ætolia's worlds espied.

Where lone Utraikey forms its circling cove,
 And weary waves retire to gleam at rest,

How brown the foliage of the green hill's grove,
Nodding at midnight o'er the calm bay's breast,
As winds come lightly whispering from the west,
Kissing, not ruffling, the blue deep's serene :—
Here Harold was receiv'd a welcome guest ;
Nor did he pass unmov'd the gentle scene,
For many a joy could he from Night's soft presence glean.

On the smooth shore the night-fires brightly blaz'd,
The feast was done, the red wine circling fast,
And he that unawares had there ygaz'd
With gaping wonderment had star'd aghast ;
For ere night's midmost, stillest hour was past
The native revels of the troop began :
Each Palikar his sabre from him cast,
And bounding hand in hand, man link'd to man,
Yelling their uncouth dirge, long danc'd the kirtled clan.

Childe Harold at a little distance stood
And view'd, but not displeas'd, the revelrie,
Nor hated harmless mirth, however rude :
In sooth, it was no vulgar sight to see
Their barbarous, yet their not indecent, glee,
And, as the flames along their faces gleam'd,
Their gestures nimble, dark eyes flashing free,
The long wild locks that to their girdles stream'd,
While thus in concert they this lay half sang, half scream'd.

1.

Tambourgi ! Tambourgi ! thy 'larum afar
Gives hope to the valiant, and promise of war ;
All the sons of the mountains arise at the note,
Chimariot, Illyrian, and dark Suliote !

2.

Oh ! who is more brave than a dark Suliote,
In his snowy camese and his shaggy capote ?
To the wolf and the vulture he leaves his wild flock,
And descends to the plain like the stream from the rock.

3.

Shall the sons of Chimari, who never forgive
The fault of a friend, bid an enemy live ?
Let those guns so unerring such vengeance forego ?
What mark is so fair as the breast of a foe ?

4.

Macedonia sends forth her invincible race ;
For a time they abandon the cave and the chase :

But those scarfs of blood-red shall be redder, before
The sabre is sheath'd and the battle is o'er.

5.

Then the pirates of Parga that dwell by the waves,
And teach the pale Franks what it is to be slaves,
Shall leave on the beach the long galley and oar,
And track to his covert the captive on shore.

6.

I ask not the pleasures that riches supply,
My sabre shall win what the feeble must buy;
Shall win the young bride with her long flowing hair,
And many a maid from her mother shall tear.

7.

I love the fair face of the maid in her youth,
Her caresses shall lull me, her music shall sooth;
Let her bring from her chamber her many-ton'd lyre,
And sing us a song on the fall of her sire.

8.

Remember the moment when Previsa fell,
The shrieks of the conquer'd, the conquerors' yell;
The roofs that we fir'd, and the plunder we shar'd,
The wealthy we slaughter'd, the lovely we spar'd.

9.

I talk not of mercy, I talk not of fear;
He neither must know who would serve the Vizier:
Since the days of our prophet the Crescent ne'er saw
A chief ever glorious like Ali Pashaw.

10.

Dark Muchtar his son to the Danube is sped,
Let the yellow-hair'd Giaours view his horse-tail with dread;
When his Delhis come dashing in blood o'er the banks,
How shall few escape from the Muscovite ranks!

11.

Selictar! unsheath then our chief's scimitar:
Tambourgi! thy 'larum gives promise of war.
Ye mountains that see us descend to the shore!
Shall view us as visitors, or view us no more!

Fair Greece! sad relic of departed worth!
Immortal, though no more; though fallen, great!
Who now shall lead thy scatter'd children forth,
And long accustom'd bondage uncreate?

Not such thy sons who whilome did await.
 The hopeless warriors of a willing doom,
 In bleak Thermopylæ's sepulchral strait—
 Oh ! who that gallant spirit shall resume,
 Leap from Eurotas' banks, and call thee from the tomb ?

Spirit of freedom ! when on Phyle's brow
 Thou sat'st with Thrasybulus and his train,
 Couldst thou forebode the dismal hour which now
 Dims the green beauties of thine Attic plain ?
 Not thirty tyrants now enforce the chain,
 But every carle can lord it o'er thy land ;
 Nor rise thy sons, but idly rail in vain,
 Trembling beneath the scourge of Turkish hand
 From birth till death enslav'd ; in word, in deed unmann'd.

In all save form alone, how chang'd ! and who
 That marks the fire still sparkling in each eye,
 Who but would dream their bosoms burn'd anew
 With thy unquenched beam, lost Liberty !
 And many dream withal the hour is nigh
 That gives them back their fathers' heritage :
 For foreign arms and aid they fondly sigh,
 Nor solely dare encounter hostile rage,
 Or tear their name defil'd from Slavery's mournful page.

Hereditary bondsmen ! know ye not
 Who would be free themselves must strike the blow ?
 By their right arms the conquest must be wrought ?
 Will Gaul or Muscovite redress ye ? no !
 True, they may lay your proud despoilers low,
 But not for you will Freedom's altars flame.
 Shades of the Helots ! triumph o'er your foe !
 Greece ! change thy lords, thy state is still the same ;
 Thy glorious day is o'er, but not thine years of shame.

When riseth Lacedæmon's hardihood,
 When Thebes Epaminondas rears again,
 When Athens' children are with arts endued,
 When Grecian mothers shall give birth to men,
 Then mayst thou be restor'd ; but not till then.
 A thousand years scarce serve to form a state ;
 An hour may lay it in the dust : and when
 Can man its shatter'd splendour renovate,
 Recal its virtues back, and vanquish Time and Fate ?

And yet how lovely in thine age of woe,
 Land of lost gods and godlike men ! art thou !
 Thy vales of ever-green, thy hills of snow
 Proclaim thee Nature's varied favourite now.

Thy fanes, thy temples to thy surface bow,
 Commingling slowly with heroic earth,
 Broke by the share of every rustic plough :
 So perish monuments of mortal birth,
 So perish all in turn, save well-recorded Worth :

Save where some solitary column mourns
 Above its prostrate brethren of the cave ;
 Save where Tritonia's airy shrine adorns
 Colonna's cliff, and gleams along the wave ;
 Save o'er some warrior's half-forgotten grave,
 Where the grey stones and unmolested grass,
 Ages, but not oblivion, freely brave,
 While strangers only not regardless pass,
 Lingering like me, perchance, to gaze, and sigh, " Alas !

Yet are thy skies as blue, thy crags as wild ;
 Sweet are thy groves, and verdant are thy fields,
 Thine olive ripe as when Minerva smil'd,
 And still his bonied wealth Hymettus yields ;
 There the blithe bee his fragrant fortress builds,
 The freeborn wanderer of thy mountain-air ;
 Apollo still thy long, long summer gilds,
 Still in his beam Mendel's marbles glare ;
 Art, Glory, Freedom fails, but Nature still is fair.

Where'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground,
 No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould !
 But one vast realm of wonder spreads around,
 And all the Muse's tales seem truly told,
 Till the sense aches with gazing to behold
 The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon :
 Each hill and dale, each deepening glen and wold
 Defies the power which crush'd thy temples gone ;
 Age shakes Athena's tower, but spares gray Marathon.

Long to the remnants of thy splendour past
 Shall pilgrims, pensive, but unwearied, throng ;
 Long shall the voyager, with th' Ionian blast,
 Hail the bright clime of battle and of song ;
 Long shall thine annals and immortal tongue
 Fill with thy fame the youth of many a shore ;
 Boast of the aged ! lesson of the young !
 Which sages venerate and bards adore,
 As Pallas and the Muse unveil their awful lore.

The parted bosom clings to wanted home,
 If aught that's kindred cheer the welcome hearth ;
 He that is lonely hither let him roam,
 And gaze complacent on congenial earth.

Greece is no lightsome land of social mirth ;
But he whom Sadness sootheth may abide,
And scarce regret the region of his birth,
When wandering slow by Delphi's sacred side,
Or gazing o'er the plains where Greek and Persian died.

Let such approach this consecrated land,
And pass in peace along the magic waste :
But spare its relics—let no busy hand
Deface the scenes, already how defac'd !
Nor for such purpose were these altars plac'd ;
Revere the remnants nations once rever'd ;
So may our country's name be undisgrac'd,
So may'st thou prosper where thy youth was rear'd,
By every honest joy of love and life endear'd !

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

THE year before us has been richer than the preceding in the important department of biblical literature, as well in the number as the value of the works which such department contains.

We shall commence our lucubrations with "A modern, correct, and close translation of the New Testament; with occasional observations, and arranged in order of time. With a special explanation of the Apocalypse. By the author of the "Christian Code" and "Primitive History." 4to. As we have no opportunity of allowing the author of this work, unquestionably composed with much serious and critical attention to his subject, to speak of it in any anterior department of our annual volume, we shall permit him to explain himself somewhat at large in the present place. We have first a preface, containing a general survey of the writer's sentiments and intentions, with the whole of which that is of a doctrinal or historical nature, we perfectly coincide; though in various points that relate to the faculties of taste and judgment, and more particularly in his objections to the *style* and *phraseology* of our established lection, we cannot accompany the author quite so cordially. We then proceed to the proposed di-

vision of the New Testament, which is given in the following order, constituting, in the writer's opinion, the order of time in which the different books were promulgated; Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, Acts of the Apostles: Ep. to the Galatians—I. and II. Thessalonians—I. Corinthians—Titus—Romans—II. Corinthians—I. Timothy—Ephesians—II. Timothy—Philippians—Colossians—Philemon—Hebrews—James—Jude—I. and II. Peter—I. II. III. John—his Apocalypse—his Gospel. The whole closing with a brief Diatessaron of Christ's Revelation; and a few amendments and annotations.

The venerable and learned writer, in his preface, discourses admirably and with much edification concerning the real meaning of the *logos*, and the doctrine of the hypostatic union; gives a very excellent table of the line of succession from David to our Saviour, both according to St. Matthew and St. Luke; and very satisfactorily reconciles every discrepancy in regard to themselves, and to the Jewish narrative. He proceeds to support the authenticity of the sacred books from their numerous quotations by the fathers of the first two centuries; and seems to entertain a wish that some

of the apocryphal epistles could be restored to the rank of genuine writings. He then enters upon the catalogue of modern English translators who form the train he has consulted, and next details the peculiar advantages which he hopes his own labours will be found to possess over those which have preceded him in the following words; in the course of which we could willingly have spared the writer's severity upon the supposed indolence of the right reverend bench: "Each of them have rendered many passages well: whether any of these have succeeded throughout, or have on the whole surpassed our received translation, I will leave to others to decide. If I thought they *have* sufficiently excelled the old translators, or *have* left no room to excel *them*; I would have kept back from this laborious and arduous undertaking! But it is some presumption that none of them have been completely successful; as our hierarchs have not expressed much approbation of any new translation, although they are not, cannot be, *quite* blind to errors in the received version; backward as they are to amend it, averse as they are to improve it, reluctant as they are to transcend it. Formerly Britons were anxious to publish translations more and more perfect; but now we are lukewarm indeed, if not benumbed and *paralysed* altogether! But doubtless I must intend this present translation to be preferable to the old one, in many particulars, and upon the whole. I will say little as to the language of the received version being antiquated and obsolete, as Philon, "be much bold," and as "do you to wit," 2 Cor. viii. 1.; and "set them at one," Acts vii. 26.; and "Godward," 2 Cor. iii. 4.; "thine of her infirmities," 1 Tim. v. 23.; although few now understand, "mo,

wot, wist, whit, &c."—At John vi. 62, is "What and if," and at Matth. i. 18, "When as."—Many other antiquated expressions are to be found; such as "by and by," Matth. xiii. 21.; "They twain," xix. 5 and 6; "anon," Mark i. 80; "ado," v. 39; "bewrayeth," Matth. xvi. 73.; "I trow," Luke xvii. If we retain our old version, as being venerable on account of such antique words; let us rather adopt the still more ancient version by Wickliff—but what can I say of *πολεμεν ποιησαι* being rendered (at Rev. xiii. 5.) "to continue."

It is one of the chief objects, therefore, of the version before us to correct, or rather to give a more modern dress to, the general style of the received text, and to amend such occasional passages as appear to the writer to have been improperly rendered. Upon neither of these points however can we exactly harmonize with the learned writer; and we will candidly state to him our reasons, with one or two exceptions, and which are of little or no consequence. There is not a term in the preceding list that, in our opinion, would be exchanged to advantage. Some of the phrases are scarcely chargeable with being obsolete, as "by and by," "Godward;" while the rest, though somewhat savouring of antiquity, have not only sufficiently preserved their full force and meaning by their actual situation, but are so well fitted to amalgamate themselves with the language of the present day, that, there is scarcely one of them but is at this moment to be found in the popular, but we have no hesitation in saying, the linsey-woolsey verbiage, of Walter Scott, Southey, and most of their imitators. In our vernacular Bible, however, they appear in classical simplicity united with terms of their own standing, and

and constitute one correct and venerable whole, to be honoured rather than despised, and cast away on the mere score of being old-fashioned. In several passages however the author is strangely at variance with himself in this attempt to modernize and improve the standard text: thus, Mark ix. 47, we have, "it is well for thee, a *blinkard*, to attain God's kingdom," and John xxi. 6, "Lads! have ye any meat?" Against the learned critic's remark upon Rev. xiii. 5, we must justify our national reading by entering a little into the history of it. Our translators have not rendered *πολεμον ποιησαι* "to continue," nor have they, in fact, rendered it at all. The English reader ought to know, and we could wish that the present writer had informed him, that the Greek texts differ as to the genuine lection of this passage, the greater number of them, writing *ποιησαι* alone, while Stevens and the Elzivir copy let *πολεμον* precede it, in direct opposition however to the general concurrence of the Latin renderers and scholiasts. It is not worth while to enter at present into the lists on either side of the question; if *πολεμον* be admitted as a genuine term, the version of the text which the learned critic before us has given in its proper place, namely, "to make war," is sufficiently correct; but if the term be an interpolation, the real meaning is "to continue," as given in our standard lection. The very able authors of this lection regarded it, and in our opinion were authorised to regard it as an interpolation, and they have rendered the passage accordingly.

We can only further find space for a few examples of the amended text, with an observation or two upon them as we proceed. The gospel of St. Matthew opens thus; "a table of the [royal] line of Jesus

Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham. Abraham *derived* Isaac; Isaac derived Jacob, Jacob derived Judah and his brothers." We agree with the present very excellent translator, that the term *begat*, in our common version, and which he has exchanged for *derived*, cannot, in its usual signification, apply to all the persons filling up the table of the sacred pedigree; for Salathiel was certainly not, in the strict sense of the term, begotten by Jeconiah, but only adopted into his line, upon failure of his direct issue: yet the word only requires explanation, and a notice that it is in this instance employed on a broader sense, (as it is also in reference to Elezer and Jacob for the very same reason) though in a literal sense in every other link, and every difficulty and misconception become instantly removed. This objection, however, to the English *begat*, applies equally to the Greek *ἐγέννησεν*, to which *begat* affords a better synonym than *derived*: not to add that we cannot recall to our recollection any adequate authority either in English or Latin for the exact use of *derived* as here offered to the world. To the introductory part of the first verse we can by no means assent: "a table of the royal line"—is both too loose and too limited; too loose, because the word *royal* is, to say the least of it, an unnecessary interpolation; and too limited, because the passage is meant to express the general purport of the whole gospel, and cannot, in fairness, be supposed to restrict itself solely to the first seventeen verses of the first chapter with which the table of the line closes. On this account we prefer the standard phrase, "the book of the generation of Jesus Christ," to that now offered, "a table of the line of Jesus Christ," or "of the royal line of Jesus Christ." Though

were the passage to be rendered according to its proper idiom, it ought in our opinion to be: "an account of the life," or, "the biography of Jesus Christ;" for such is the real meaning of *βίβλος γενέσεως* regarded as a Hebraism; or, in other words, as parallel with the obvious Hebrew terms originally employed.

In the sweeping desire which the learned translator professes and follows up, of modernizing the received idiom, the Saxon *eth* is sedulously banished from the later and contracted *s*; and even the Saxon terms themselves are, as often as can be, exchanged for more sonorous Greek and Latin. Thus in the Introduction, p. iii, for "the *whole* armour of God," we have "God's *panoply*," Eph. vi. 10. So, immediately afterward, 2 Peter iii. 10. for "in *all* holy conversation, and *godliness*," we have here "in holy conversations, and *devotions*." In Acts iii. 20. for "that great and *notable* day of the Lord," the writer gives "that great and *conspicuous* day." In like manner, 1 Thess. iv. 16. for the simple and energetic phrase, "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a *shout*, with the voice of the archangel," we have the latinized, and we cannot avoid thinking, deteriorated rendering, "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven will *clamour*, with an archangel's *cl ngor*." And, not further to multiply instances, for the plain and forcible "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling," Phil. ii. 2. we have here offered to us, "with *timidity* and *awe effect* your own salvation."

There is another striking peculiarity which it is impossible not to observe in the present volume, and which we hope, and have no doubt we shall see obviated in a subsequent edition, which we assure the

learned writer we shall cordially hail, and that is, that he has not always been able to satisfy himself as to his own phrases, and in many instances is at variance with his proposed text. Thus 1 Thess. v. 20. in his title page, is given, in true latinized English, "depreciate not expositions;" while in the regular order of the epistle it is rendered, in a more forcible, though more humble style, "set not at nought prophecysings." It is only necessary to quote the received version to shew its superior simplicity and elegance to both these, "despise not prophecysings." So, in the Introduction, Eph. vi. 10, 11, 12. one phrase of which we have already noticed, the whole passage runs thus: "FINALLY, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on God's panoply, that ye may be able to stand against the devil's SNARES. For we wrestle not against blood and flesh, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against the spiritual beings of wickedness in celestial *matters*." Now this same passage is translated as follows in the regular order of the epistle, with an essential difference in the last clause of it in regard to the sense, as well as to the terms, "AS TO WHAT REMAINS, my brethren! be powerful through the Lord, and through the might of his strength. Put on God's panoply; for this, that ye may be able to stand against the devil's METHODS. For our struggle is not with flesh and blood, but with principalities, with powers, with the worldly rulers of the darkness of this *state*, with spiritual beings of evil in the aerial [regions]." The Greek terms *ῥήμα Θεου*, and *λογος Θεου*, are equally rendered, "word of God," in our standard version. The present

present writer has judiciously endeavoured to distinguish these expressions by different phrases. Thus Heb. xi. 3, in which the term is *πίμα*, he translates, "through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by God's DECREE;" while the corresponding passage in 2 Pet. iii. 5, in which the term is *λογος*, he renders "for this escapes those wilful men that the heavens were of old; and the earth consisting of water, and through water, by God's INTELLECT." *Decree*, however, is not, we think, the proper synonym of *πίμα*, and hence the author finds himself obliged to translate the term very differently on different occasions, which he would not have done had he been fortunate enough to have pitched upon a commensurate expression. Neither can we fairly compliment him upon exchanging the usual phrase, "word of God," for "Intellect of God;" nothing is gained in sense, though something in an approach towards Platonism, the very point that ought to be avoided.

Most of the sacred books are preceded by an explanatory introduction, and most of the chapters followed by a few critical or illustrative remarks. With many of these we have been highly pleased. they display a rich store of learning, a cultivated taste, fine fancy, and correct judgment. The author's distinction, Matth. ix. 9, and throughout the gospels, between Matthew and Levi, and his assimilating the latter with Zebbeus and Thaddeus, are valuable hints. There is a force in the following annotation, Luke xxii. 17, though somewhat coarsely expressed, which can scarcely fail of being felt by the advocates for the real presence. "The wine for the supper was distributed—afterwards the eucharist was administered, see xix. 20. But, alive

as he was, he gave not his actual flesh and blood, with his own hands, for them, cannibal-like, to eat the same before his own face. But he gave what denoted them, and are a medium to convey into the human soul the energy thereof; and represented the approaching expiatory sacrifice; and now it is past, still represents it." 1 Tim. ii. 15, usually rendered "she shall be saved in child-bearing," is here given, "she shall be saved by reason of *the* child-bearing," and explained, ingeniously, and perhaps correctly, "that is, the woman's bringing the Redeemer into the world;" consonant to Genesis iii. 15, 16—1 Cor. xiv. 34. The term "*hidden manna*," in Rev. ii. 17, is here rendered, in our author's latinizing system, "*the reconcili manna*:"—this, in our opinion, is far from being an improvement, but we are pleased with his explanation, "the spiritual food of Grace; as true Christians are spiritually fed through the medium of the consecrated bread and wine." Our author's attachment to the Greek and Latin dialects has induced him to retain the Greek term in St. John's second epistle, translated *Lady* in our common lection. Whence the text runs, "the Elder to *Kyria* the Elect, and to her children." So again, v. 5, "and now I beseech thee, O KYRIA." We accede to the advice of separating the first verse of ch. ix, in St. Mark, and uniting it to the last verse of the preceding chapter.

We do homage also to the critical and curious attention which the learned writer has paid to the chronology of St. Paul's epistles; and to the ingenious evidences he has offered in favour of the epistle to the Hebrews, being a genuine work of the same apostle, composed originally in Greek.

It is to the Apocalypse, however, that the author has principally addressed his powers both of annotation and criticism; and we are not acquainted with any hypothesis in regard to the general scope and intention of this most wonderful and sublime of all poems, whether sacred or prophane, which is better entitled to the attention of the biblical analyst. In few words he conceives the first three chapters to be introductory,—and as opening the general charge to the seven Asiatic churches. The Apocalypse itself commences with the fourth chapter; and consists of two distinct series of forthcoming events, or, to a certain extent, coetaneous predictions, the one from the beginning of the fourth to the close of the eleventh chapter; and the other from the beginning of the twelfth to the close of the twentieth chapter; the first, though general, having an especial eye to the eastern empire, and using the imagery of seven seals; and the last, though equally general, having the same peculiar view towards the western empire, and in like manner using the imagery of seven vials. The two concluding chapters forming a kind of grand, magnificent peripateia to the solemn drama.

We have thus noticed with candour, and we flatter ourselves they will be candidly received, the chief observations that have occurred to us, in the course of an attentive perusal of a work whose general merit imperatively demands, and will amply repay an attentive perusal:—a work which evinces sound critical learning, laborious investigation, a high untrammelled spirit, and an ardent desire to be useful in the most important field to which human talents can be applied.

“The Book of Job, literally trans-

lated from the original Hebrew, and restored to its natural arrangement: with notes critical and illustrative; and an introductory dissertation on its scene, scope, language, author, and object. By John Mason Good, F. R. S. Mem. Am. Phil. Soc. &c.” 8vo. The translator of this sublime and magnificent poem has peculiar difficulties to struggle with. The best Hebrew scholar is not by his knowledge of the language qualified to accomplish such a version of the original as may leave nothing more to be wished for: he must be a poet in his feelings while a linguist in his acquirements; he must be fully acquainted with the customs and prevailing sentiments of the scene, and, what is unspeakably perplexing, of the age, also, to which the poem appertains. He must not only transport himself, in imagination, to Arabia, but to the Arabia of twenty or thirty centuries back; he must know as that age knew; he must think as that age thought; he must feel with the keen sensibility of an Asiatic; as if the glowing suns of the peninsula pervaded his whole constitution; and in expressing his own sensations he must shake off the chill sedateness of the European, and quicken to the nervous temperament of the suns of the desert. Perhaps this requisite has fallen to Mr. Good's share in the greatest proportion. He has well expressed much that he found in his original, and has alluded to a variety of subjects, some of which would have borne further inquiry in the track he was reading, to advantage. Besides extensive and close acquaintance with natural history and meteorology, with geology, astronomy, and the sciences in vogue among us, a translator of Job must something more than sympathize with those occult sciences which in early ages wore the mask of science; with

with the piety of the good as then practised, with the superstitions of the froward as then resorted to; he must distinguish the maxims of the wise, derived from the records of experience; while he detects and exposes those fallacious imitations of wisdom which, in all ages and nations, and peculiar in Arabia, have been the dependance of the feeble and the perverse. To the translation before us is prefixed a preliminary dissertation containing a brief inquiry into the scene of the poem, its scope, object, and arrangement; its language and the difficulties attending a translation of it; its author and era; and the doctrines which it incidentally develops. We could have wished to lay before our readers the whole of this introduction, but our limits to the present department will not allow it: yet we have ventured to introduce an extract of some length into another division of our Register for the year. We shall here therefore close the book, recommending it to every one who wishes to study and to understand this first of poems in dignity and style, in importance and excellence, as well of matter as of manner.

"Canticles: or Song of Solomon: a New Translation, with notes; and an attempt to interpret the sacred allegories contained in that book. To which is added an Essay on the name and character of the Redeemer. By the Rev. John Fry, A. B. rector of Desford, &c. 8vo. A few years ago Mr. Good, as is well known, gave a new literal translation, both in prose and verse, of the sacred book before us, and for the first time divided it under the elegant arrangement of detached idyls, for the most part colloquies, containing a series of subjects of one and the same nature, upon

one and the same history. "The principle, observes Mr. Fry, upon which the present *translation* and *interpretation* are conducted is that adopted by Mr. Mason Good, or *more strictly speaking that adopted by Signior Melesigenio.*" "We may borrow the language of Mr. Good, (continues the writer) though we shall often see occasion to differ from him in its application. I have finished the idyl where the subject seems naturally to close, and I have recommenced it where a new subject is introduced." The plan here proposed, therefore, and which the author calls "a most important discovery," so far as relates to the translation, is distinctly and altogether that of Mr. Good; and the only difference we have been able to perceive is, that the idyls of the two translations do not exactly begin and terminate in the same parts of the text; and that some verses are occasionally ascribed to different characters. We are therefore at a total loss to understand what Mr. Fry means both by intimating that Mr. Good's arrangement is adopted from Melesigenio and that his own is more strictly that of the latter than of the former. In the Italian translation the whole of the book is divided into a multiplicity of little detached songs and rondos, *canzone*, and *canzonette*, destitute of all series, or without any connexion of story, author, or design. The translation of Mr. Good, on the contrary, and that of the author before us who has closely followed it up, proceed upon the principle of a regular series, of an unity of author, an unity, or "~~some~~ unity of design," and under a belief that the proper form is that of *idyls*, and not *canzone* or *canzonette*. So far with respect to "the principle of" Mr. Fry's "*translation*." In his "*principle of interpretation*," he is

is, however, quite as far, if not further remote from that of Melesigenio, upon which he tells us that his own is, more strictly speaking, conducted. The interpretation of all the writers indeed is of an allegorical kind: but of allegories Mr. Fry tells us from Bishop Lowth that there are three distinct kinds—the continued metaphor, the parabolic allegory, and the mystical or historic allegory. Bishop Lowth and Mr. Good concur in regarding the Song of Songs as of the last of these three kinds; Mr. Fry asserts that only a few of the idyls or detached parts of the poem “can be properly said to belong to this class; but that they are for the most part of the parabolical (or second) kind.” Melesigenio, however, asserts them in the distinctest manner possible to be all of the first kind, constituting a continued metaphor. “*L'allegoria*, says he, *e una metafora continuata, o piu veramente una continuazion di metafore prese dallo stesso simile.*” “The allegory is a continued metaphor; or more strictly a continuation of metaphors drawn from the same simile.” There is also another point of interpretation in which the present writer, we are persuaded, does not quite agree with his Italian predecessor, we mean in his supposing the poem designed to represent an especial union of our Saviour with the soul of the most holy Mary *Maria Santissima, quanto ella in ogni pregio supera tutte l'altre.* Nothing, indeed, is more evident than that the present respectable writer has never read the work, whose translation and interpretation, he has here flattered himself he has so strictly adopted, and that he is only acquainted with it through the medium of Mr. Good's occasional references: for first, independently of the preceding errors, which could not have occurred if he had read it, he has not made a single refer-

ence to it or quotation from it; and next Melesigenio has given no detailed interpretation whatever, but merely a translation, almost without notes; and has only glanced at what he believes to be the principles of the concealed sense, in two introductory letters, one to Count Alfieri, the other to his sister. As to the translation before us it is sufficiently literal and correct; but certainly, yields in elegance and spirit both to Mr. Good's and Bishop Percy's. Of the author's powers as an interpreter, allowing him his peculiar clue, we think highly; but it is a clue too generally mystical for ourselves. The subjoined Essay aims too much at building a doctrine upon verbal criticism alone.

Mr. Frey's valuable edition of Vander Hooght's *Biblica Hebraica*, which we noticed as printing in parts, in our last year's Register, we are glad to find is making progress; we believe six parts of this work are now completed, though we have not seen more than four of them. As the points are adhered to, we perceive with pleasure that much pains are taken to render them as correct as possible, and the two last numbers, so far as we have examined them, appear to have been superintended with an exacter and more laborious criticism than the preceding. We have also much pleasure in perceiving that a Hebrew New Testament is in preparation from the same quarter, of which we have received specimens that do credit to the accuracy and Hebraic philosophy of the translators. We earnestly wish success to this important and interesting work; as a work not merely of great promise to the Jews of our own country, but of other countries, as well through whatever quarter of the world they may be dispersed. The gospel of St. Matthew is, we believe, just completed.

“St.

"St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans paraphrased: with Introductory Remarks, 12mo." There is much neatness of style and clearness of comprehension in this comment. The writer fully embraces the belief that the epistle he expounds is the work of St. Paul; and he endeavours to account, but upon this point we do not think him very successful, for its obscurity, by observing, that it was the belief of the Roman christians, who were of Jewish origin, that the doctrines of christianity were to be grafted on the stock of Judaism; and hence, as these christians were almost intractably attached to this egotistic opinion, the apostle was obliged to conceal his design, and to conduct his attack with considerable address. We much more completely enter into the writer's views in the following passage, "that the great cause of schism, in the apostolic times, was an unreasonable veneration for the law of Moses; that the Jews were particularly inveterate against those converts from heathenism who refused submission to the Mosaic rites, and that against those who had deserted them their rage was plenary itself."

"The History of all Religions, &c. By John Bellamy, 8vo." There is much bustle and garrulity in this work, intermixed with a certain portion of ingenuity and learning. There is also a considerable love of minute criticism displayed through every part of it, and especially in the obsolete and tiresome department of logomachy. When the Author once lays his hands upon a proper name he is seldom satisfied till, by dividing it into a kind of ammonian radicals, he has rung it through as many changes as may serve to give it a new and quaint origin than any thing that has been hitherto offered

upon the subject. He derives the Chinese from Joktan, fourth in succession to Shem, and brother of Pelog, merely because we are told, Gen. x. 28, 30, that the dwelling of the sons of Joktan was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, *a mount of the east*." Now although China is properly denominated a *country of the east*, by what means it can be specifically traced out under the expression *a mount of the east*, we honestly confess that our spectacles will not enable us to determine; while, at the same time, Mr. Bellamy has not vouchsafed to inform us. He has offered indeed another, though a collateral reason for the same opinion, namely, that the situation of these descendants of Joktan was undeniably that part of the world we now call India." This we would also much rather have seen *undeniably proved*, than *undeniably asserted*. But admitting the fact, it indirectly destroys all the force of his own conclusion: for had the author been in a very slight degree versed in the science of comparative anatomy and physiology, he would at once have seen that the Chinese and Indians have no pretensions to one and the same *subordinate* stock, although we admit them to have descended from one primitive sire. This volume however contains upon the whole an extensive research, though loosely compiled and without a sufficient attention to arrangement. The field nevertheless is open, and at present we are not in possession of a better sketch than Mr. Bellamy has here offered.

"Letters to a Friend on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion. By Olimbas Gregory, L.L.D. 2 vols. 8vo." The history of this neat and elegant survey is so clearly stated in the following concise passage from the author's

thor's preface that we cannot do better than give it in his own words: "It originated in a series of conversations which I had about five years ago with a friend much younger than myself who had a considerable acquaintance with almost all except religious subjects. He expressed much surprise that a person of my habits and pursuits in other respects should adopt the religious notions I had long entertained, or indeed be solicitous about any religious opinions whatever; and I endeavoured to assign the reasons which led me to embrace them, and to consider such topics as of the first importance. After a short time we were so far separated as to have much fewer opportunities of personal intercourse; and I, in consequence, became induced to carry on the momentous inquiry we had previously commenced by letter. Pursuant to this intention, all the letters in the first volume were actually written; they were read in manuscript by my friend; and, I have reason to believe, were not unproductive of benefit. Having proceeded thus far, a growing particularity of inquiry was produced on the one side, and a gradual extension of plan on the other; and thus, after many interruptions, and in the midst of numerous avocations of a very different kind, the work has become what it now is." To which we may add that it has become a work of high value and importance, not less on account of the force and perspicuity with which the argument is followed up, than for the general liberality with which it is written, and the popular elegance of its style, which cannot fail to attract, as we understand it has attracted, already the great body of the people to a perusal of its interesting contents. The following are the sub-

jects of which it treats, and the order in which they are discussed:—Letter I. On the folly and absurdity of Deism. II. The necessity of a revelation of the will of God. III. Opinions of the Heathens, their poets and philosophers, relative to God, to moral duty and a future state. IV. The probability that there should be mysteries in a revealed religion. V. Genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures. VI. Evidence deducible from the prophecies. VII. Evidence deducible from miracles; and the credibility of human testimony. VIII. Resurrection of Jesus Christ. IX. Evidence drawn from the rapid diffusion of Christianity, and its triumph over persecution; also from the purity and excellency of the scripture morality and theology. X. Inspiration of Scripture. XI. On some of the most plausible objections urged against the truth and divine authority of the Scriptures. With this letter the first volume closes. The contents of the second are as follow:—Letter XII. General view of Christian doctrines. XIII. Depravity of human nature. XIV. Atonement of Jesus Christ. XV. Divinity of Jesus Christ. XVI. Conversion. XVII. Influence of the Spirit. XVIII. Justification by faith. XIX. Providence. XX. Resurrection of the body. XXI. Eternal existence after death. XXII. Summary of Christian duties. It only remains for us to add, that we wish the limits of our analytical survey would afford us space to copy various passages from this valuable work in vindication of the high opinion we have expressed concerning it. This however not being the case, we must refer our readers to the volumes themselves, with no doubtful presentiment that they will feel thankful to us for the recommendation.

"The Mosaic Creation: illustrated by discoveries and experiments derived from the present enlightened state of science: to which is prefixed the Cosmogony of the Ancients; with reflections intended to promote vital and practical religion. By Thomas Wood, 8vo." This is upon the whole a useful and well-digested work: the author's views appear correct and scriptural, his style is neat and perspicuous, and his information collected from authoritative sources.

"Redemption; or a View of the Rise and Progress of the Christian Religion from the Fall of Adam to its complete establishment under Constantine the Great. By the Rev. Montagu Pennington, M. A." &c. 8vo. Three distinct dispensations of revealed religion appear to have been communicated to mankind in the order of the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian. It is with some kind of confusion, therefore, that all these are blended into one common appellation, as though only one dispensation had prevailed from the fall of Adam to the present hour. Yet, though the author's title is not logically correct, he sufficiently unfolds his object, and very fairly and punctiliously adheres to it; an object moreover of high and momentous importance. He exhibits a clear view and a judicious explanation of the analogies of the different dispensations to which we have adverted, and of the close bearings which the Jewish have upon the Christian, in the principal prophecies which relate to the Messiah, and which he arranges and follows up in the order in which they are supposed to have been delivered. In his verbal criticisms upon the Old Testament, the author avows his ignorance of the Hebrew tongue, and is consequently com-

pelled to trust to the information of others. We have no reason to complain of his having spared himself upon this subject; but we would much rather have had to have applauded his personal acquaintance with it, and can never cease to regret that any man, whose immediate profession is that of the Bible, should, in the present enlightened day, be ignorant of either of the languages in which the original of his Bible is written.

"A Dissertation on the Books of Origen against Celsus; with a view to illustrate the argument, and point out the evidence they afford to the truth of Christianity. Published in pursuance of the will of the Rev. J. Hulse, as having gained the annual prize instituted by him in the University of Cambridge. By Francis Cunningham, of Queen's College," 8vo. This is a very useful, valuable, and laborious performance; and we congratulate the learned undergraduate on his successful competition in having obtained the Hulsean prize, which is a reward annually bestowed, in conformity with the injunction of its very excellent founder upon the author of the best prose performance on a subject "composed in the English language, on the evidences in general, or on the prophecies, or miracles in particular, or on any collateral proofs of the Christian religion, in order to evince its truth and excellence;" the author being a member of the University under the degree of M. A. The celebrated treatise of Origen against Celsus contains the chief and earliest arguments advanced both against and in support of the historical evidence and doctrines of the Christian religion, at a period when is direct and personal evidence might be almost immediately appealed to, and in which it is most important

to know what was the general opinion of the church in regard to its doctrines. The equally balanced acuteness of the antagonists left no objection to be brought forward on the one hand that could possibly weaken the Christian cause, and no answer to such objection on the other hand, by which it is capable of being repelled and refuted. But Celsus, though he wrote comprehensively and shrewdly, wrote at the same time loosely; and was as loosely replied to by Origen: and hence it is one important advantage in the work before us, that it has methodised the entire subject, omitted all extraneous and tautological matter, and reduced the controversy into six chapters, appropriated to the history and writings of the Jews; the Scriptures; the history of Christ; the miracles; the character of the early Christians; and a summary of the evidences flowing from the general inquiry. In the course of the second chapter it is curious to observe that so numerous and extensive are the quotations from the New Testament made by Celsus himself, that, to adopt the words of the editor, "a great part of the history of Christ, a statement of his doctrines, his character, and that of his disciples, may be gathered" from this arch enemy to the Christian cause himself. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that similar quotations should be still more frequent in the reply of Origen, who, we are here expressly told, cites "from twenty-nine books of the Old Testament, from all but three in the New, and from five books of the Apocrypha. His quotations agree very accurately with our text, and many passages, which since have been disputed, are held by him as authentic."

"Hymns, partly collected and partly original; designed as a sup-

plement to Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns. By Wm. Bengo Cady, D.D." 12mo. pp. 631. We know not exactly what to make of the volume before us: the title is so express that we can scarcely suppose it to be otherwise than the genuine compilation of the popular and distinguished character whose name it bears; yet the compilation itself is of such a nature as almost to tempt us to a belief that his name has been unwarrantably suborned. The sincere and ardent piety of the very excellent Dr. Watts is known to every one, and his justly celebrated Psalms and Hymns were intended, as the original author indeed expressly asserts in his preface to them, for *public worship*, and the use of *religious assemblies*; and constitute the standard book for this purpose among all the denominations of dissenters in England, while they are very largely introduced into many of our established churches and chapels. In a supplement, therefore, expressly intended for the same purpose, and proving its intention as well as the profound learning of the compiler, whoever he may be, by a *Greek* quotation, borrowed in true classical form, from the scarce and dusty writings of St. Paul, and introduced as a motto to the title-page, we should certainly have a right to expect that the poets who were selected to follow in Dr. Watts's train would be persons of the same cast of religious sentiments as himself. Our readers will therefore we think be not a little surprised when we assure them that the most conspicuous of these supplementary train-bearers of Dr. Watts, these confidential associates in his own cause of sacred psalmody, are not exactly of his own persuasion, however exemplary they may have been in other respects; and that

they chiefly consist of the pious and devotional Messrs. Dryden, Pope, and Broome; the celebrated martyrs Chatterton and Burns; those sweet enthusiasts *Walter Scott*, and the author of the Oratorio of Alexander Balus; and that truly evangelical friend of Voltaire, Frederick the Great of Prussia!!! Were it not that, the subject is somewhat too solemn for such a purpose, we should like to be present while the doctor's congregation (if he be really the compiler of this mysterious medley) were striking up a stave from the *hymn* as he calls it which he has here introduced upon the awful subject of *The Day of Judgment*, from the fashionable romance of *The Lay of the last Minstrel*; or were melting beneath the piano of the following air of Maria de Fleury, another of the compiler's *elect*, parodied verbatim from the well-known song, so fashionable a few years ago at Vauxhall Gardens, "Thou soft-flowing Avon;"

Thou soft flowing *Kedron*, by thy silver stream
Our *Saviour* at midnight, when *Cynthia's*
pale beam
Shone bright on the waters, would often
times stray,
And lose in thy murmurs the toils of the
day!

The topography is here just as erroneous as the personality and mythology are incongruous with each other. Kedron had no *silver* stream, or *soft-flowing* waters; but was an empty brook or channel, perfectly dry during the greater part of the year, and only occasionally filled with water in the winter season, or after violent storms. As the *soft flowing* Avon, however, is here magically transmuted into the *brook* Kedron, and our Saviour outrageously associated

with *Cynthia* or *Diana*, the reader will not be much surprised at finding a variety of other associations in this evangelical Ranelagh of nearly as extraordinary a nature, and all under the general patronage of Dr. Watts's distinguished name, and with a view of furnishing spiritual comfort to enliven the gravity of the different denominations of dissenters. Thus Pope and Dryden are united with the Rev. Mr. Whitfield and the Rev. Messrs. Westleys; Frederick of Prussia, and Maria de Fleury with Bishop Kenn and Bishop Horne; Walter Scott with Dr. Doddridge; Chatterton with Luther; Mrs. Barbauld with the Rev. Mr. Ryland; Dr. Johnson with Madame de Guion; the writer of Alexander Balus with Mr. Newton; Mr. Latrobe, the Moravian, with Dr. Aikin; Helen Maria Williams with Dr. Haweis; and the Rev. Mr. Toplady with the Rev. Mr. Heginbotham. These, however, are but a small sample of the recruits which the present *drum ecclesiastic* has assembled together; for we cannot pass through the entire muster, which in many instances consists of names that are at least unknown to us, and we believe nearly equally unknown to Parnassus. We have only time to observe, that they are ranged together with little or no order; their productions being sometimes grouped, and sometimes scattered, sometimes in a collective form, and sometimes in a miscellaneous; and that the same writer, when we had reason to believe his whole stock had been exhausted, not unfrequently redoubles upon us with an additional stock three or four times over. The bulky volume closes with specimens of psalmody by the compiler himself, which in facility of versification are for the most part superior

to many that precede them. Their chief defects are want of variety both in subject and metaphor; and, which is of a much less venial nature, a palpable incongruity in the metaphors themselves, which are often buddled together in a most extraordinary and somewhat risible manner. Let the following example suffice, p. 605.

Soon must these veins thro' every branch
Feel mortal poison flow;
But from the shores of life we launch
To quit a world of woe.
Soon as I taste the dark, cold stream,
And drop some parting tears,
I shall escape life's feverish dream
And lose tormenting fears.

Here death is first represented as a *poison flowing through* the author's veins; and the remedy which he recommends to himself for this *poison of death* is that of getting into a boat and *launching* away from the *shores of life*! The physician who, in common language, should prescribe a similar antidote would run a strong risk of being laughed at. In the prosecution of the metaphor, however, in the opening of the next verse, the *boat* seems to be altogether lost sight of, and the dying author is *in* the water and struggling with the stream; for in this sense only can the word *taste* be made to apply; while *death*, which, in the preceding verse, is a *poison flowing through his veins*, is here transmuted into the *cold dark stream* with which he is contending; and *life*, which, in the same verse, is the *shore* from which he launches forth, is here changed, by a motion of the magic-lathe, or magic-lantern, into a *brain-fever*. We have not room for other quotations, but that we may not be accused of having selected the only instance of incongruous comparison to be met with, we will just hint that the first verse of the same hymn labours under the very

same defect; and that on a very cursory survey we have noticed hymn 955 entitled, *Desertion*; 938, the phrase *Impatience reprov'd*; 952, v. 4, *pulse of death reviving*, &c. together with many others, indictable for the same offence. In closing these few strictures it becomes us to add, that the compiler, whoever he may be, speaks of a new edition as speedily forthcoming, and adds, as one reason for such a step, that "the bulk of the *present* volume is exceptionable." We think precisely with him upon this subject, and have only to add that the exception ought to have been avoided in the first instance, although it had been at the expense of several of those poems which he regards, to adopt his own phrase as "*very superior pieces*."

The sermons of the current year exhibit no particular work of pre-eminent merit, regarded as literary compositions. We ought, perhaps, in the first instance, to notice Mr. Mant's "*Appeal to the Gospel, or an Inquiry into the Justice of the Charge alleged by the Methodists, and other Objectors, that the Gospel is not preached by the National Clergy* : in a series of discourses delivered before the University of Oxford in the year 1812, at the lecture founded by the late Rev. J. Bampton, M.A." &c. 8vo. The author in an open and dignified manner, and fully sensible of the importance of the clerical character, and especially the importance of rescuing that of the established clergy from the very severe, and in many respects undeserved, charges that have of late been brought forward, follows up, in the present series of lectures, the work which the Bishop of Lincoln has so recently opened before him. And in this part of his undertaking his panoply is brilliant and of the best temper. But he is

an assailant as well as a vindicator; and we cannot, in this department of professional duty pay him all the compliment to which we think he is fairly entitled while defending his own proper citadel. We are aware however of the difficulty of the subject; there is a provoking acrimony in many of the writers whom he has to oppose which renders it almost impossible for human nature not to retort occasionally in something of their own spirit; and there is such a medley of doctrines and personal graces professed and pretended to, by the different tribes enlisted under the very diffuse banners of modern Methodism, that it is almost impossible not to confound the assumptions of one subdivision with those of another, or so to arrange the various counts in the bill of indictment, as to allow no party an opportunity of pleading *not guilty* in every instance. There is hence a little fermentation and confusion in this part of our author's subject, which we could have wished had been avoided. We believe, however, that the charges and assaults of the Methodists have been of essential service to the national church; and that the clergy have been, in various instances, induced to more circumspection and zeal both in the fulfilment of their parochial duties, and in training up students to succeed to their labours: and we cordially concur with Mr. Mant in the practical conclusion of his discourses in which he seriously exhorts that this salutary circumspection should be resolutely persevered in, as the best means both of defending and adorning the church, and of encircling her with unfading glory.

"Church Union: a series of discourses, in which it is urged, that the great Christian duty of main-

taining communion with the Apostolical Church remains uncanceled by British Laws. By Edward Davies, Rector of Bishopston," &c. 8vo. This volume may be contemplated as containing matter consequential upon that of the preceding. Mr. Davies, regarding our own national, as the genuine apostolical church, here powerfully inveighs against the two opposite crimes of schism and indifference; of resisting it by active strife, or cold lethargic drowsiness. "The extensive ruins of sacred edifices," says he, "which remain in our land, furnish ample proof that in the time of Roman superstition, this was not the case, and the separate conventicles which daily arise in our streets, appear in judgment against us, and accuse us of woeful apathy in the cause of that religion from which we hope for eternal salvation." We cannot conclude without expressing our high satisfaction at beholding the late Curate of Olveston, whom we chiefly know by his elaborate Celtic Researches, advanced to a preferment to which his merits have so richly entitled him.

The remaining volumes of Sermons which have chiefly occurred to us, are the late Dr. Stokes's, "on various Subjects," one vol. 8vo. selected from a much larger number preached at the Cathedral of Waterford, but not peculiarly prepared, nor perhaps particularly intended, by the author for publication. Subjoined is a "Narrative of the first Appearance of our Lord in the Day of his Resurrection," with notes, in which the writer supposes, with many others, a difficulty in reconciling the first clause of Matth. xxviii. 9, with the rest of the history; and endeavours to make the whole accordant by the very curious but clumsy way of rejecting the clause

clause as spurious. — "Christian Ethics;" or Discourses on the Be-
atitudes, with some preliminary and
subsequent discourses; the whole
designed to explain, recommend, or
enforce the duties of the Christian
life. By Thomas Wintle, B. D. &c." 2 vols. 8vo. Plain in language, and
somewhat too general in doctrine.
—"Sermons on various Subjects,
and Letters to an Under Graduate
at the University. By the late Rev.
William Alphonsus Gunn. To which
are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, by
Isaac Sanders, A. M." 8vo. The
deceased author was warmly at-
tached to the Calvinistic creed; and
a previous volume of his discourses
published since his decease having
been purchased by his brethren of
this persuasion with great avidity,
the editor has here endeavoured to
indulge them with a second treat.
Mr. Gunn appears, from the account
of his life, to have been a worthy,
zealous, and conscientious preacher.
—"A Defence of the Ancient
Faith; or Five Sermons in Proof of
the Christian Religion. By the Rev.
Peter Gandolphy," 8vo. This work
has the singular character of being
published in our vernacular tongue
by a clergyman of the catholic
persuasion: and, like the greater
number of Sermons that proceed
from the same quarter, it abounds
rather in pomp and declamation,
than in the small still voice of sober
and forcible though unobtrusive
argument.

Among the single sermons, or
pamphlets of sermons, we have
chiefly to notice Mr. Vaughan's
"Two Sermons, preached at the
visitation of the reverend the Arch-
deacon of Leicester in the years
1805 and 1811; to which is added,
a Sermon on the Salvation which
is in Christ only:" animated, perspi-
cuous, appropriate, and sound.—"A
Sermon preached at the parish

church of St. Andrew, &c. May
19, 1812, before the Society for
Missions to Africa and the East.
By the Rev. William Goode, M. A." An important subject judiciously
handled, and which we rejoice to
find is in a very promising state.
At the time of printing the preced-
ing report, the missionaries esta-
blished on the banks of the Rio-
Dembia had thirty boys and twenty
girls under instruction; we now
learn that the number has increas-
ed to a hundred and twenty.—"On
the Discouragements and Supports of
the Christian Minister: a discourse
delivered by the Rev. James Ro-
bertson, at his ordination over the
Independent Church at Stretton,
Warwickshire. By Robert Hall." The writer is one of the most cele-
brated, and perhaps the most justly
celebrated, orator of the dissenting
communion: and he will by no
means risk his laurels by the publi-
cation of this very excellent dis-
course. It abounds with correct
views, and momentous instruction
communicated in highly eloquent
and forcible language.—"The Ado-
ration of our Lord Jesus Christ, vin-
dicated from the Charge of Idolatry,
a discourse delivered at the Gravel-
Pit Meeting, Hackney. By John Pye
Smith, D.D. published at the request
of the hearers." A very excellent and
argumentative defence of the doc-
trine stated in the title, and some-
what extraordinary, from its being
delivered in the same place, and,
unless there be two Gravel Pit
Meeting-houses, apparently to the
same congregation, which successively
formed the theatre and audience of
Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham, and
which have hitherto been supposed
to constitute the strong hold of uni-
tarianism.—"Two Sermons preach-
ed before the friends and supporters
of the Protestant Dissenting Aca-
demy at Homerton, Dec. 11, 1811.

By Robert Winter D. D. and William B. Collyer, D. D." The Homerton Academy is, we believe, the principal college among the dissenters for preparing students for the ministry: and the sermons before us were delivered on the completion of various extensive repairs and improvements which had been bestowed upon it. It is a somewhat singular coincidence that the text selected by each of the preachers should be nearly the same; the former having chosen Eph. iv. 11, the latter, Eph. iv. 11, 12. We have neither time nor inclination to run a parallel between the rival productions: it is sufficient to observe, that the very appropriate subject of the "great importance of a holy and learned ministry," is judiciously treated by both; and with a seriousness and feeling that evidently shew both were in earnest, and deeply sensible of the solemnity and moment of the charge which was intrusted to them.

In the progress of what we may denominate the controversial divinity of the year, we have also been indebted to Dr. Winter for another small publication, which he has entitled "Thoughts on Subscription to Articles of Faith: in Six Letters addressed to a society for educating young men for the ministry at Homerton Academy." In the course of the argument, the writer observes, that "no advantage is gained by the adoption [of subscription] in ascertaining the qualifications of the young man. If he be otherwise proved suitable, this is superfluous: if not, it is inadmissible."—The question is of great extent if pressed to its utmost latitude, though it appears to be here chiefly confined to the expediency of admitting students into the immediate academy before us without

a test. Dr. Winter argues against subscription in the manly and proper spirit of a dissenter, who neither shrinks from his own cause, nor from any of the consequences to which it leads. His arguments, however, are, in our opinion, open to a clear and satisfactory reply even in reference to the individual institution before him; and we have heard that the indiscriminate admission of students which has been allowed in this place, has at times led to much internal commotion, and speculative scepticism. Yet its managers cannot support a test in their own immediate case without indirectly condemning themselves for objecting to it in the articles of the national church.

"A calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ; including a brief Review of the Controversy between Dr. Horseley and Dr. Priestley, and a Summary of the various Opinions entertained by Christians upon this subject. By Thomas Belsham, Minister of the Chapel in Essex-street." 8vo. This volume speaks highly in favour of the honesty of the writer during his investigation of truth, though as to the genuine course and result of the argument we can by no means compliment him on his success. It appears from the preface that Mr. B. was once a believer in the pre-existence of our Saviour, and *generally* acceded to the doctrine of his divinity. He was at this time a lecturer to one of the standard dissenting academies in the country: and in the prosecution of his office he collected together all the various texts of scripture that bore upon the trinitarian controversy, and arranged them under what he believed to be their proper heads. The issue was, that he soon became transmuted from an Arian (perhaps from a Trinitarian)

Trinitarian) to a Socinian; "regarded it as his duty to speak out: and being no longer able to fulfil the design of his appointment, resigned his office into the hands of the trustees, took leave of an affectionate congregation, and retired with no other expectation or prospect at the time but (*than*) that of passing the remainder of life in obscurity and silence." Upon this subject we shall close with only two observations. The first is, that Mr. Belsham, even upon his own showing, appears to have been unsettled, at the time he commenced the inquiry for his own satisfaction: for he was then, as it evidently appears to us, wavering concerning the divinity of our Saviour, though satisfied of his pre-existence. The second is, that although Mr. Belsham's line of pursuit was sufficient to make a convert of himself, it was

insufficient to make converts of his congregation, for otherwise he would scarcely have left them; and hence the argument drawn from the force of numbers is against him; and we have some pleasure in noticing this fact, because we have been told, within the last few years, that upon the conversion of more than one dissenting minister from Trinitarian to Arian or Socinian principles, the whole or greater part of the flock have instantly changed sides along with the shepherd. And, thirdly, the high expediency, and indeed necessity, that all public teachers of divinity should be decided in their own opinions, and give proof to the world, and especially to those connected with them, of such decision; which can only be done by a public declaration, and this, whether subscribed or not, is of no consequence.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprehending Medicine and Surgery, Physiology, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Rural Economy, Agriculture, Horticulture, Perspective, Mathematics, Arithmetic.

THE "Society for the Improvement of Medical and Surgical Knowledge," established a few years since, has published a third volume of its "Transactions," since our last retrospect. The articles are too numerous, and for the most part of too technical a nature for a popular work like the present. But while on this account we are prevented from examining them seriatim, we feel it due to the real merits of the volume to give this short notice of its appearance to the public; to testify our full belief that it has at least maintained, if it have not enhanced, the character which the society has already acquired; and to add, that the contributors to it consist of the following names: Dr. Baillie, Dr. Blane, Mr. Brande, Mr. Brodie, Dr. Buchan, Dr. Clarke, Mr. Clarke, Dr. Denham, Mr. Home, Mr. Macgregor, Dr. North, Dr. Storer, Dr. Wells, and Mr. Wilson.

"A Treatise on some practical Points relative to the Diseases of the Eye. By the late John Cunningham Saunders, Demonstrator, &c. To which is added, a short account of the Author's Life, and his method of curing the congenital cataract, by his friend and colleague, J. R. Farre, M. D. The whole illustrated by coloured engravings," 8vo. coloured, 11. 11s. 6d. plain, 11. 1s. The very great merit of the author of this posthumous work, in

the particular and important line of surgery, to which he exclusively directed his attention, and the indefatigable activity with which he pursued it, entitle the pages before us to a somewhat longer notice than we can usually find space to bestow on subjects merely professional. The author had long intended to draw up a series of essays on the most important diseases of the eye; but, in the course of executing his intention, experienced considerable interruption from his professional engagements, and especially from ill health. Unfortunately this last source of interruption became at length so powerful as to compel him to make an entire pause; and he only lived to complete the first three essays in the work before us, none of which, however, received his final correction. The remainder of the work is compiled by the editor from posthumous notes and cases of his excellent friend, containing facts which he conceived, and justly so, to "be too valuable to be lost." These he has arranged into a connected form; and the volume thus produced, consists of the six following chapters or essays. I. On inflammation of the conjunctiva in infants. II. On inflammation of the iris. III. On the cure of inversion of the upper eye-lid by excision of the tarsus. IV. Of some of the more important terminations of ophthalmia;

thalmia: the arrangement of this chapter, consisting of effusion by a coagulable lymph—suppuration—slough—and ulceration; every distinct head containing a variety of important remarks. V. Illustration of some of the more important changes of structure in the eye, directed chiefly to the different species or varieties of amaurosis. VI. On the congenital cataract: the most important essay of the whole, and containing a new, and in various stages of disease or periods of life, a more valuable mode of operating than has hitherto been presented to the world.

“Observations on the Use of Caustic Alkali in Scrophula and other Chronic Diseases. By Joseph Brandish, &c.” 8vo. The writer speaks with an unbecoming sort of confidence of the certainty of his boasted remedy—for it is assertion almost without proof or example;—and his reason for not giving examples is not a little curious; he observes, that as such an “advantage cannot be realised without wounding the feelings and delicacy of those who have intrusted themselves to my care, and have received from me the strongest pledge of secrecy, every humane and honourable reader will see the propriety of preserving inviolable that secrecy with respect to the names of all, and of my being very cautious and sparing in the enumeration of instances without names, lest the minute detail of circumstances should lead to a discovery of the persons.”

Mr. Brandish is now in town operating occasionally upon his patron, the Duke of Sussex, as his house surgeon; but in his successful practice upon some hundreds of patients, as he informs us, labouring under the immediate disease before us, were none of these casts acts

of charity or benevolence? or did he never indulge himself in deeds of this kind, either with a view of obtaining examples of success that might be laid before the public, or from the higher motives of generosity and goodwill? Mr. Brandish, however, being now situated in the metropolis, notwithstanding the above notification of unlimited prosperity in his country practice, seems to think that the air of London may serve as well as any other atmosphere, and that even sea-bathing is a resource of trifling value in comparison with his own medicine, which he thus prescribes: R. Ciner: Clavel lator: Americanor: lb vj. Calcis viv: recent: Ciner: ligni combusti aa lb ij aq. Bulliant: Cong vj. We have given the author's own form from its great peculiarity. He is not obliged to follow the nomenclature of the London College of Physicians; but he ought at least to have given us neat Latin, and a neat chemical process, from both which, however, he has deviated equally. We shall only further observe, that of the above liquor he gives a dram to children from four to six years of age, twice a day, gradually advancing the dose to three drams: and accompanies his internal alkali with mercurial frictions in small quantities, proportioned, also, to the age of the patient. The season of the year for pursuing this plan is through the warmer months, from the beginning of April to the end of October.

“Popular Directions for the Treatment of the Diseases of Women and Children. By John Burns, Lecturer of Midwifery, &c. 8vo. The advantage of popular treatises on medicine may perhaps be questionable, but of the talents of the present writer for communicating medical

medical instruction, we have already had too many proofs to render it in any way questionable: and we have no hesitation in recommending the present work as one of the best that has occurred to us in regard to clearness of professional views, and simplicity and perspicuity of style.

"A Collection of Treatises on the Effects of Sol-lunar Influence in Fevers; with an improved method of curing them. By Francis Balfour, M. D." 8vo. The greater part of these treatises have appeared already in a detached form: and they are now brought into an accumulated shape to give accumulated force to the author's favourite hypothesis. We have never seen any grounds, in our own country or in any other part of Europe, for acceding to the periodical influence which he seems so fully persuaded is in existence, and conceives to be peculiarly obvious in India. It is difficult, however, to imagine how the heavenly bodies referred to can exercise a controul in this latter part of the world which mankind are so little acquainted with elsewhere; and if it be a fact, of which we have many doubts, that an influence thus regular does prevail, we should at present be rather disposed to refer it to some other cause than that contended for in the work before us.

"A Treatise on the Management of Infants, containing the general principles of their domestic treatment, with the history and method of cure of some of their most prevalent and formidable diseases. By J. Syer," 8vo. A commodious work for those who reside in the country, so remote from the regular practitioner, as to receive the benefit of his discriminating advice rarely and with difficulty.

"Dissertation on the bite of a rabid animal; being the substance of an essay which received a prize from the Royal College of Surgeons in London in the year 1811. By James Gillman, F. L. S." 8vo. containing many ingenious and several useful hints upon a subject which is still involved in inexplicable obscurity.

"Inquiry into the process of nature in repairing injuries of the intestines; illustrating the treatment of penetrating wounds and strangulated hernia. By Benjamin Travers, Demonstrator of Anatomy at Guy's Hospital, &c." 8vo. An ingenious and temperate examination of a part of surgery which is yet open to much improvement, written obviously from an extensive practical attention to the subject, and offering much rational and valuable advice.

"An Account of the Ravages committed in Ceylon by *(the)* Small Pox, previously to the introduction of vaccination; with a statement of the circumstances attending the introduction, progress, and success of vaccine inoculation in that island. By Thomas Christie, M. D. &c." 8vo. We have seen few publications better calculated to prove the very high benefit of vaccination than the little work before us. Anterior to the introduction of this antidote to the small-pox, the ravages of this last disease in Ceylon were most deplorable: the villages in which it appeared were almost immediately deserted in despair by all but the sick and dying, who were left a prey to wild beasts. Inoculation hospitals for the small-pox were established in 1799, and the prejudices of the natives were at length overcome. The disease was considerably checked, but the number of deaths among the inoculated patients

ents was still in the proportion of one to forty. By the substitution of the vaccine inoculation the disease appears to have been very nearly extirpated; and the number of persons inoculated in 1809, was not less than 25,697. "I am not without a hope," says the writer, "that the expulsion of *(the)* small-pox from so large an island as Ceylon, may excite considerable attention in Great Britain, and that the measures pursued by government there, for *prohibiting* variolous inoculation, and encouraging vaccination, may be thought worthy the attention of the British legislature." A statuteable prohibition within the realm of British liberty would, however, be a very strong step, and which, as we are by no means prepared to justify, we hope the growing wisdom of the times will never render it necessary for us to oppose. It is a measure far better calculated for the meridian of Trincomalee or Point de Galle, than for that of London or Westminster.

"An explanation of the causes why vaccination has sometimes failed to prevent *(the)* small-pox; and also a description of a method confirmed by experience of obviating such causes. By Edward Leese, &c. 8vo." The best and most candid inoculators admit of occasional failure, and several of the causes of deficiency are sufficiently obvious and defined; to a few of these the observations before us are applicable; but there are some causes still too subtle for detection, and which probably depend upon the peculiar character of the constitution.

"Physiological Reflections on the Destructive Operation of Spirituous and Fermented Liquors on the Animal System. By Thomas Foster, F. L. S." 8vo. This volume has the

merit of dissuading from a system or practice of ebriety: beyond this, however, we perceive nothing to offer in its favour.

"Essays on the Changes of the Human Body at its different ages; the diseases to which it is predisposed in each period of life, and the physiological principles of its longevity. The whole illustrated by many analogies in plants and animals. By Thomas Jameson, M. D." &c. 8vo. This volume consists of an introduction and three essays; the first on "the changes of the human body at its different ages; the second on "the diseases to which the body is predisposed in each period of life; and the third on "the physiological principles of longevity, deduced chiefly from tables of mortality, and the preceding history of the body." We cannot give much commendation to our author's strictures; he is generally far more confident of the truth of his own opinions than we are, or than we believe he will find the greater part of his readers to be; and he is often most confident upon those points where there is most reason for hesitation and modesty. He has searched into the opinions of many of the ancient schools, but merely to bring up what has often been resuscitated and re-buried as of no use whatever; and he does not appear to have a discrimination in his own mind between irritability and sensation, or between sensation and instinct. In the order of time he is a rigid septenarian, and conceives that all the principal changes that take place in the animal frame are resolvable into series of seven days, seven months, or seven years: thus the *fœtus*, he tells us, can live in the seventh month; the child acquires its teeth at seven months after birth; and learn

learns to walk in seven more: manhood consists of a triple septennary of years, and the grand climacteric of the ancients of the triple of this triple, or seven nine times over. It is somewhat unlucky for this series of calculation that the first *natural* period here referred to, that we mean of birth, is not seven, but *nine* months; that in the free air and natural state of the country children usually begin to walk at *seven* months, and not at *fourteen* months old; and that in many nations, and especially in the precocious climates of the east, majority among males is established at *eighteen*, instead of at *twenty-one*, and among females still earlier.

The science of botany regarded exclusively has furnished us but little that is worthy of notice: we have seen a few elementary books of trivial value, unworthy of record, and a new edition of Lee's "Introduction" revised with far less care than it ought to have been, and by no means brought down to even the more striking improvements and discoveries of the present day. We have also noticed a few of Dr. Telford's numbers of his "Sketches towards a Hortus Botanicus Americanus," which promises far more in the continuation of the title-page, than from the specimens before us, it appears likely to perform: for it undertakes not only to give "coloured plates of many new and valuable plants of the West Indies and North and South America, but to subjoin "a catalogue of the plants (and of many others, natives of Africa and the East Indies, which have been or might be, introduced with advantage into the West Indies) with concise and familiar descriptions of many species, showing their various common and botanical uses, places of growth, medica-

virtues, or general uses, their classes and orders: arranged after the Linnean system. Also a concise yet comprehensive glossary of terms, prefixed to a general index." The whole of this cyclopaedia of the botany of the new world to be completed in *six* numbers of quarto size, each containing only from thirty to forty pages, and consequently the whole work being intended to be limited to about two hundred pages. It will hence be necessarily conceived that the descriptions are too concise both for scientific purposes, and for general interest. The work however is showy, and the plates imposing: which are probably the chief objects the compiler has in view.

"Monograph of the British Juncagerrmannia; containing a coloured figure of every species, with its history and description. By William Jackson Hooker, F.R.S. and F.L.S. &c. 4to. No. 1. 7s. 6d." We meet Mr. Hooker once more with great pleasure; for we found him lately an intelligent and agreeable guide over a considerable part of the dreary wastes of Iceland, and sincerely commiserated him on the unfortunate loss of his manuscripts. The very excellent article before us is compiled with his usual spirit and accuracy, and bids fair to make us intimately acquainted with a branch of botany which has hitherto been in many instances confounded by every phytologist with other branches, and never duly discriminated by any writer. The number before us contains four plates, each accompanied with a letter-press description: the specific character being given in Latin, and a fuller account in our own tongue. The plants to which these plates are allotted are *J. Hutchinsia*, (a new species, specifically denominated from a lady who cultivates the same study in a remote

remote corner of Ireland, with an ardour which has seldom been surpassed) *J. julacea*, and *J. concinnata*. We conclude with recommending to Mr. Hooker to be somewhat more concise in his specific definitions; which, though accurate, are almost always too long, and very generally too loose and straggling.

"*Sylva: or a Discourse of Forest Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's dominions: as it was delivered in the Royal Society on the 15th of October 1662, upon occasion of certain queries propounded to that illustrious assembly, by the hon. the principal officers and commissioners of the navy, together with an historical account of the sacredness and use of standing groves.* By John Evelyn, Esq. F. R. S. With notes, by A. Hunter, M. D. To which is added the *Terra*, a philosophical discourse of Earth." 4th edit. 2 vol. 4to. We hail the re-appearance of the present work, as one of the most important in a national point of view which has ever issued from the British press; which first seriously fixed the eye of both government and the people on the great necessity of growing timber at home for the use of our navy, stimulated the sacred fashion (if we may be allowed such a term for such an occasion) of extensive groves and other plantations, put a stop to the barbarous ravages which at that time were committing on all the most ancient forests of the country, and laid a foundation for that navy which in our day has excited the astonishment of the world, and laid the navy of every other and of all other people prostrate at its feet. "The want of timber," says Mr. Evelyn, "and the necessity of being supplied by foreign countries, if not prevented by better and more industrious instruments, may prove

in a short time, a greater mischief to the public than the late diminution of the coin. I wish I prove no prophet, whilst I cannot for my life but often think of what the learned Melancthon, above an hundred years since, was wont to say, that the time was coming when the want of three things would be the ruin of Europe, *lignum, proutam monetam, probos amicos; timber, good money, sincere friends.*" It is curious to observe how nearly this prophetic fear of Mr. Evelyn has been realized in every one of its branches; all Europe has been suffering most severely through the last twenty years for want of sincere and mutual friendship between the different nations that constitute the great community of the civilized world; it has been suffering nearly as long for want of a due circulating medium; and unless the late important change had taken place in the northern states, we should ourselves at least have been bankrupts in ship-timber, notwithstanding the attention that has long been paid to the internal growth of oak and elm, from the vast extent of the present British navy and British commerce. Mr. Evelyn often indulges in a most poetical style, and amidst his enthusiasm for terrestrial groves, is frequently looking forward to the still better groves of the celestial mansions, where mankind may taste freely of the fruit of that tree which cost the first gardener and posterity so dear; and where the most voluptuous inclinations to the allurements of the senses may take and eat and still be innocent; no forbidden fruit; no serpent to deceive; none to be deceived. Hail! O hail then, and welcome, you blessed Elysiums, where a new state of things expects us: when all the pompous and charming delights that detain us
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here awhile shall be changed into real and substantial fruitions, eternal springs, and pleasures intellectual, becoming the dignity of our nature." The author concludes by enumerating the principal groves mentioned by the poets, amplifying the fable of the Hamadryads, and denouncing "*diræ*" against such as shall wantonly violate the sanctity of trees and forests, at the same time holding out long life as the reputed reward of such as plant them: "*Hæc scripsi Octogenarius*," adds the venerable Evelyn; "thus have I written being four-score years old; and shall, if God protract my years and continue my health, be continually planting, till it shall please him to transplant me into those glorious regions above, the celestial paradise, planted with perennial groves and trees, bearing immortal fruit; for such is the tree of life, which they who do his commandments have right to."

"The Mineral Conchology of Great Britain; or coloured figures and descriptions of those remains of testaceous animals or shells which have been preserved in various times and depths in the earth. By James Sowerby, F. L. S. &c." We have frequently had to accompany this excellent and indefatigable naturalist in other branches of organised matter, and heartily shake hands with him therefore on the present meeting. The work he proposes is much wanted to fill up what is almost an empty niche in the gallery of the natural history of our own country; and the author proposes to persevere in it in the form of monthly numbers or fascicles, as in his previous work of the English Botany. Not more than the first four numbers have hitherto reached us, the price 2s. 6d. each: of these we cannot but approve of the ele-

gance and general accuracy of the plates, which include several species or rather perhaps varieties, of undescribed testaceous worms, found among other petrifications in digging the excavations at Highgate hill. The textual descriptions, however, are not equal to the graphic; there is less classical elegance and amenity in the style than the plates are entitled to; a defect which we shall hope to see corrected in the subsequent numbers.

"Petrology. A Treatise on Rocks. By J. Pinkerton, 2 vols. 8vo." It is always a much easier matter to pull down than to rebuild; and such, in a pre-eminent degree, is the case with the volumes before us. The writer seems to think that all who have hitherto treated on the subjects of geology and mineralogy have been mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—and ought never to have been regarded in any higher light; for even those of them who have attempted systems have completely failed, and have given us nothing more than the most barbarous buildings, distinguished by the most barbarous descriptions and terms. He believes therefore the ground is altogether open to him; and inspired by the lofty thought that "in this also, as in other sciences more genius is required to build a system than to make observations," he boldly adventures to throw down every thing around him, and to construct his own edifice upon the site and out of the ruins of former attempts. Mr. Pinkerton is first disgusted with the distributory terms of class, order, genus, species and variety, as applied to the science of mineralogy; chiefly however, as far as we can learn, from these terms having been occasionally employed by some mineralogists with no small degree of awkwardness and confusion,

fusion, and because the author has somehow or other conceived an idea that the word *species* necessarily implies *vitality* and *procreation*; whence he concludes, that however correctly such a kind of nomenclature may apply to animals and vegetables, it can never be introduced without the greatest absurdity imaginable into the mineral kingdom. To get rid of this objection at once, however, it is only sufficient to observe, that, there is not the slightest foundation for the hasty and chimerical idea which has given rise to it. The term was first employed in a philosophical sense, by Lucretius, as a synonym for the *εἰδωλα* of Epicurus and Democritus, and is precisely analogous, as the Latin poet himself indeed, tells us on a variety of occasions to *simulacra*; thus De Rer. Nat. iv. 34. x. *rerum simulacra*, in iv. 711, is explained by *species rerum*, semblances, or images of things; it being the opinion of this school that every substance in nature is perpetually throwing off from its surface fine, filmy floscules, possessing the very same qualities of taste, touch, smell, colour and sound, as the parent body from which they originate, and that as such film, floscule, exhalation, image, or *species*, impinges, according to its peculiar nature and power of producing a peculiar effect, upon the eye, ear, palate, nostrils, or general skin of the body, it excites its correspondent sensation. And hence this doctrine has been peculiarly and exclusively denominated in physical philosophy the doctrine of *SPACIES*; and the term *species* has been derived from it, and applied in physiology indeed to such *living* productions as either immediately and probably descend from one common parent form, or have such a general resemblance in their structure and habits

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that they may rationally be supposed to have so descended, although we are not perfectly capable of tracing the lineage; it has hence been employed, in general language, to signify any substance, mode, or quality, possessing *distinct* or *separate* properties or attributes from any other substance, mode or quality, which from their general nature, however, evince some degree of affinity, and may be resolved into one common origin, or arranged under one common head. Nothing, therefore, is more nugatory than the *chief* objection, for to us it appears to be the chief, on which Mr. Pinkerton has boldly presumed to prove a necessity for subverting all the received distribution of mineralogical science, and for devising a new fabric in its stead.

Let us next, however, attend to the fabric itself which it is thus fondly proposed to substitute. Mr. Pinkerton proposes to divide the mineral kingdom into three PROVINCES: *Petralogy*, or the knowledge of rocks or stones which occur in large masses; *Lithology*, or the knowledge of gems and small stones; *Metallogy*, or the knowledge of metals. "These constitute what in the ordinary divisions would be called classes. Each of these provinces is divided into a certain number of DOMAINS; and to the province of *Petralogy*, that immediately before us, are allotted *twelve*." The first six being distinguished by the substances themselves, may be called *substantial*; while the remaining six, being distinguished by circumstances or accidents of various kinds, may be called *circumstantial*, or *accidental*; but this last division is of little moment. The first six domains of *petralogy* comprise, 1st, The *siderous* rocks, or those in which iron predominates; not in the comparative

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parative quantity when analyzed, but in the quality and essential difference which it imparts. 2. The siliceous, denominated, as usual, from the quantity of silex. 3. The argillaceous. 4. The Magnesian: these two, again, are denominated from predominance. 5. The calcareous. 6. The carbonaceous. The remaining six domains, derived from circumstances or accidents, are seven: the composite or aggregated rocks, as, 7. calcareous spar, with schorl, quartz, and garnets, felspar, and siderite or hornblend, &c. This domain has often been confounded with the granites, however alien from that description: 8. The diamictonic, or rocks in which the substances are so completely mingled that it is difficult, even upon an analysis, to pronounce which predominates. 9. The anomalous, or those which contradict the common order of nature, and present unexpected and unusual combinations. Some of these domains, though they afford few objects at present, may in the progress of science be greatly enriched and enlarged; and the utility of such divisions will be more perceptible as the study advances towards perfection, the greatest obscurity at present arising from want of necessary subdivisions. The remaining three domains are generally admitted in geological works; namely, 10. The transilient rocks, an interesting series, in which one substance gradually passes into another, as granite into porphyry, trap into wacken, and the like. 11. The decomposed rocks, which gradually decay into sand, clay, or productive soil. 12. The volcanic, which requires no other description." These are our author's *orders*; and for the terms *species*, *subspecies*, *varieties*, and *subvarieties*, we have *structure*,

aspect, *variety*, *diversity*, and *element*.

We have only space for a single remark or two, which we shall limit to the *classification*, and the *nomenclature*. The first is designed to offer us a system more simple and perspicuous than any hitherto presented. In comparing it, however, in our own minds, with that of Brömer's, published at Stockholm in 1730; that of Linnéus, published at Leyden, first in 1736, afterwards in 1748, and in its most complete state in 1768; that of Waller, given successively at Stockholm in 1747 and 1772; that of Woltersdorf, of Berlin, in 1748; of Carthuser, published at Frankfort in 1755; of Juss, published at Gottingen in 1757; of Cronsted, published at Stockholm in 1758; of Vogel, published at Leipzig in 1762, and 1776; of Veltbeim of Brunswick in 1781; of Bergman, published both at Leipzig and Dresden in 1782; of Kirwan, published in 1794; of Werner, published in 1789; of Schmeisser, as published at London in 1796; of Babington, as published in 1796; of Gmelin, which is undoubtedly an improvement upon Linnéus, and of Brogniart, which is the last that has reached us worthy of any particular notice, we have not found any one of these systems, which upon the score of mere classification we have not preferred. In point of simplicity we incline to Gmelin, in point of perspicuity to Werner. For Mr. Pinkerton's twelve domains, Werner offers us five formations: primitive, transitive, floetic or horizontal, alluvial, and volcanic. Mr. Pinkerton's first nine domains are produced for the most part by splitting Werner's first or primitive class; and his three last, by confounding Werner's four last classes or formations. With regard to the *nomenclature*,

nomenclature, it should be remembered that our author's professed object in every change of terms is to free the science from German barbarism, and form it upon a principle of pure classical taste. Now we will venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that no mineralogist has ever met with a term more barbarous than that of *diamic-tonic*, and, which, if employed at all, should be *diamic-tic* or *diamic-tous*, (from *διαμικτυμι* as we suppose) for the terminal *tonic*, gives it a more compound derivation, and a different sense, or rather *nonsense*. *De-maïn*, which is employed distributively, as signifying *part of a province*, should rather have changed places with *provinces*, and been used collectively, as signifying *various provinces*; and for the difference between *variety* and *diversity*, which are both made use of in the present classification, the reader must consult the writer himself, as he must also for his separation of iron from the metals, and introducing it into the list of earths.

"Essays on Natural History and Rural Economy: by the late John Walker, D. D. Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, 8vo." There is much amusement, some useful information, and many inaccuracies in these essays. The latter ought, however, to be viewed with a friendly and forgiving eye, as the papers appear to have been selected from a considerable number, of which none were prepared or perhaps intended for the press; while they have not had the good fortune to pass through the hands of an editor of sufficient science to correct the errors that occasionally mar them, or of sufficient taste to proscribe those that are of trivial importance. The number of the essays is fifteen. The

first contains "a catalogue of the most considerable trees in Scotland"—considerable chiefly in point of bulk and age. The second is devoted to, "the natural history of the inhabitants of the Highlands." The third the "history of Icolmkill:" the fourth "the history of Jura;" the fifth, "the Basse and its productions,"—the native rock of the Solan goose. The sixth on shell marle, of more value to the inhabitants of New South Wales, than of the Hebrides. The seventh, "on the utility of Natural History." The eighth, "a Memoir of Sir Andrew Balfour, founder of the Edinburgh botanical garden, and physician in ordinary to Charles II. The ninth, "the natural history of Loch Leven." The tenth and eleventh, "mineralogical journals, (*itineraries*) from Edinburgh to Ellioch, and from Edinburgh to London." The twelfth is entitled "Salicetum, or the natural history and cultivation of willows." The thirteenth, "Mammalia Scotica," containing an enumeration of those animals belonging to the class specified, which either has been, or are still found wild in Scotland, or are kept in a domesticated state. The thirteenth offers a "statistical account of the parish of Collington," with a detailed description of the modes of agriculture pursued by the inhabitants, and various observations on the subject of parochial assessments. The fourteenth contains various antiquarian remarks on the vestiges of a destructive battle, supposed to have been fought between 426 and 547, in the vicinity of Collington. The concluding paper consists of a "Memorial concerning the scarcity of grain in Scotland," in 1801.

In taking a general glance at these documents, it is easy to perceive that our author is a better philologist

gist than zoologist, and a better zoologist than mineralogist. It is chiefly in zoology that we have found him erroneous; in mineralogy we have hardly found him at all, and he seems therefore to have been sensible of his deficiency upon this subject, and to have avoided it with suitable modesty. The first essay, though possessing nothing very novel, is one of the most agreeable. The ash appears to thrive in North Britain to a larger bulk than the oak, which seems indeed to yield in extent of girth to the elm, chesnut, and yew. The largest known oak, an old tree at Lochaber, measures 24½ feet in circumference at its widest girth. Wallace's oak, supposed to be the most ancient in the kingdom, and to have afforded an asylum to Sir William Wallace, nearly five centuries ago, in consequence of which it has been held sacred ever since, is 22 feet in circumference, four feet above the ground. But in Dunbartonshire there is an ash, that at the same distance from the ground, measures 34 feet; while the stump of the Kilmalie ash, which formerly stood near the parish church of the Lochiels was not less than 58 feet in circumference, and 21 feet at its greatest diameter. Of various others we have the following scale:

	ft. in.
An elm in Tiviotdale, called the Trysting-tree, . . .	30 0
Beech in Mid Lothian, probably 240 years old. . . .	19 6
Chesnut in Forfarshire, 500 years old, decayed	42 8½
Yew in Perthshire.	52 0
Hawthorn in Perthshire . . .	9 0
Arbor Vitæ in Galloway . . .	5 4
Pear tree near Edinburgh. .	12 0

The peregrinations encountered in the island of Jura are drawn up with much spirit, and amenity, and

we are sorry we have not space to copy a few descriptions. The writer observes that cripples are here numerous, from a disease produced by a worm burrowing under the skin, "that penetrates with exquisite pain the interior parts of the limbs. It is termed in the Gaelic language *Filhm*, and is generally lodged either in the knees or ancles." The writer does not seem to know what to make either of this disease or of the worm that produces it: but it appears to us to be a species of filaria dracunulus, or Guinea worm, though we have not hitherto heard of any thing of the kind existing in temperatures of so low a scale. In the thirteenth essay we are told, that "it appears that the poor in Scotland, amounting to fifty thousand persons, have, of public parochial charity, about 43,000*l.* allotted for their support; which does not afford to each pauper 20 shillings yearly; a sum, it must be acknowledged, very inadequate to their necessities." The economy of a Scotch labourer, however, is deserving of great credit, and it were well if some part of it were generally copied by their brethren on this side the Tweed. "When allowance," observes Dr. Walker, "is made for the days in which he is debarred from work, by the state of the weather or other accidents, his income cannot be reckoned to exceed 13*l.* a year. Yet upon this he has often to support a wife with two, three, or four children; and when sober and industrious, supports them in a decent manner. The wife, generally by her carefulness and industry, adds something. Yet wherever the income and expense of a labourer's family come to be compared, as they have often been, and committed to paper, the expense, to a degree of surprise, always turns out higher than

than the income. Yet they live without running into debt, and thrive, and the children are brought up in a creditable way. This is much to the praise of the poor labourers in Scotland; and no reason can be given for it but that there subsists among them a degree of frugality and parsimony, which escapes (*escape*) the knowledge and observation of people in higher life. —A married ploughman, with all his perquisites, has generally to the amount of one shilling every working day, or about 10*l.* a year."

"General View of the Agriculture of the County of Cornwall. Drawn up and published by Order of the Board of Agriculture, &c. By G. B. Worgan, Esq." This survey is drawn up with considerable modesty, and has been submitted to and revised by various Cornish agriculturists of much eminence and ability; and may hence be supposed to contain a fair and correct description of the rural economy of the county to which it is specially directed. The writer, however, was, from some reason or other, not stated in the introductory or any other part of the work, *obliged* to travel and make his remarks in the winter season; while even in its busiest spring-time, Cornwall, from its superior attention to mineralogy, would have far less thriftilly repaid his inquiries than many other provinces. We learn, however, in general, that the farms of Cornwall are usually of very small extent; that there are very few instances of their corn comprising six hundred acres; and that their average is from half this size, which is denominated in various instances a barton, to a mere cottage tenure of from three to four acres, "It may be said," observes Mr. Worgan, "that there are more farms in Cornwall of from 30*l.* to

50*l.* a year than of any other description. In the western parts the farms are very small indeed, and very high rented." We are here also told that the same quantity of land divided into small farms, lets for more, and produces a larger crop than when occupied by a single tenant. Nothing can more decisively prove the general imperfection of the Cornish mode of agriculture: or that *necessity* rather than *ease* is the chief stimulus to Cornish thrift and industry. Mr. Worgan strongly recommends an encouragement of the *Tamarix Gallica*, or Tamarisk shrub, as a fence for this part of England. It grows quick, is very bushy, and feathers down to the ground: its full height is usually about ten or twelve feet. The shrub, however, is far too tender for general use, unless habit should render it hardier than we have hitherto ever known it. Cornwall, however, as we have already suggested, is chiefly celebrated and is best entitled to examination for its mineral treasures: upon which subject Mr. Worgan has not touched, "Professor Davy having undertaken to draw up in a distinct work a mineralogical survey of his native county." —We are moreover consoled in the introductory part of the volume, by the information, that whatever the merits of the present production may prove, Cornwall is in many respects a highly interesting county; its inhabitants renowned as a brave, loyal, and public-spirited people; shrewd, sensible, and intelligent: that "no county has produced more eminent characters, either in the polite arts or the learned professions;" that "the women are amiable, *for the most part* accomplished, and make excellent wives:" that "if Lancashire has its *witches*, Cornwall has its *diamonds*, and those too of the
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most beautiful lustre:" that "from the peer to the peasant there is a mildness and complacency of temper, an urbanity, hospitality, and courteousness of manners, a noble frankness and liberality of heart, extremely conciliating to the stranger; and what is peculiarly Cornish, morning, noon, or night, they greet the traveller with an appropriate gracious salutation." In proof of which our courteous surveyor adds, that "three several nights in his *tour through Cornwall*, he missed his road and was benighted, and each time in the remotest part of the county, on *gently tapping* at the door of the cottager, the good man rose from his bed, left his home, and walked with him some miles, nor would leave him until he had conducted him to his place of destination. One of these *good Christians*, on taking leave of him said, *with a countenance* that spoke his heart, "health and a long and happy life to you, Sir, and heaven after death!" —On taking our leave of Mr. Worgan, we heartily wish him the same, though we have not the honour of being of Cornish extraction: and we also heartily wish that in his neat agricultural tour through this or any other district, he may neither be *obliged* to travel in the *winter*, instead of in the *summer*, or in the *night time*, instead of in the *day*; for he may not always be able to see his companion's *countenance* so accurately in the dark, as he appears to have seen it in the case before us, or to see so good and *Christian-like* a countenance, even though he should have the fortunate assistance of a keen *nyctolopia*.

"Further Observations on the present State of Agriculture, and Condition of the lower Classes of the People in the Southern Parts of Ireland: with an Estimate of the

Agricultural Resources of that Country; and a Plan for carrying into Effect a Commutation for Tithe, and a Project for Poor-laws. By Joshua Kirby Trimmer," 8vo. This little volume is a continuation of the subject as contained in a preceding publication, which we noticed about three years ago. Mr. Trimmer is an ingenious and humane observer, and his attention has been fixed upon Ireland in consequence of his having been employed under the Board of Ordnance to superintend a brick manufactory belonging to government in that part of the united kingdom. His account of the miseries of the lowest class of potato-cultivators we know to be correct, and of many of his proposed schemes, though not of all, we can conscientiously approve. The subject of tithes, and that of poor-laws, have their difficulties in every country, and it is always much easier to start objections than to propose reforms; and about as much easier to propose reforms than to carry them into execution. The following brief statement, selected from Dr. Beaufort's Memoir of a Map of Ireland, published in 1792, is of importance. "The whole island contained eleven hundred and twenty benefices, two thousand four hundred and thirty-six parishes, one thousand and one churches, and three hundred and fifty-four glebe-houses, on about twenty million acres of land English measure: in some counties there were nearly five parishes to one church; and estimating the whole population at only three millions eight hundred and fifty thousand, there were, on an average, almost *four thousand inhabitants, and twenty thousand acres of land to each church*, and upwards of fifty thousand acres to each glebe-house. I then deducted four millions of acres for waste

waste land, after which there remained on an average only one church on every sixteen thousand acres of land fit for cultivation. Since that time a grant has been made by parliament of fifty thousand pounds towards building churches and glebe-houses, which is now expending."

"Observations on laying out Farms in the Scotch style, adapted to England; comprising an Account of the introduction of the Berwickshire Husbandry into Middlesex and Oxfordshire. With 40 plates. By J. C. Loudon, F. L. S. Imperial 4to. 5l. 5s." Mr. Loudon is a warm partizan of the agriculture of North Britain: we admit the very great improvements it has undergone, but we cannot concede to it the general superiority here contended for. Mr. Loudon is also a *picturesque* as well as an active and industrious farmer; he divides his improvements into the three classes of agricultural, horticultural, and *harmonious* workmanship; and although we would carry the last as far as the grand object proposed would allow, we should certainly fall far short of the present author's suggestions. Mr. Loudon is moreover somewhat of an enthusiast in his agricultural feelings and proposals, and, like most enthusiasts, carries the subject somewhat beyond that of common sense. Thus in speaking of the great benefits produced by the agricultural devices of Scotland, he tells us that "agriculture has derived, is deriving, and will derive more benefit from it than has been accumulated, since the days when Adam first *wielded a spade*." We will just hint that it is the general opinion of antiquaries that the implement of a *spade* was not invented till some *few years* after the death of Adam; and that the farm of Eden, and that to which Adam was tenant after being ejected

from his first leasehold, were cultivated without the spade, though they have not yet unanimously agreed as to the instrument that was employed in its stead. In the same sprightly feeling Mr. Loudon advises that the farmer should not only have his house conveniently situated for a general survey of his estate, but be accoutred with a *French-horn* and a *trumpet*, by which to issue his orders to the different corps that are marshalled in his train at a distance of from half a mile to a mile from his bed-room window: he should, observes he, "with a French-horn first direct the attention of his party, and then give orders through a speaking-trumpet."

"Hints for the formation of Gardens and Pleasure-grounds. With Designs in various Styles of rural Embellishment; Glass-houses, Hot Walls, Stoves, &c." 4to. 2l. 8s. This costly work is from the excur-sive fancy of the preceding author: and it is only necessary to observe, that it contains essential proofs of the same originality, activity, and whimsical humour.

"The Elements of Linear Perspective, designed for the use of Students in the University. By D. Creswell, A.M. &c. 8vo." This is the work of a young man, but of a man who has conceived well, and written perspicuously. After introducing his definitions he investigates the principles of the delineation of objects upon a plane surface—illustrates the signification of the word *given* when applied to a point in fixed space, and to the perspective-plane; and proceeds to the application of the elements of linear perspective, and the preparation of the plane on which a picture is to be drawn, with some well-selected examples. This occupies rather more than half the work. The author

thor then proceeds to an examination of pictures supposed to be drawn according to the rules of linear perspective; and makes deductions, from the propositions of the preceding section, applicable to an examination of pictures drawn upon a vertical plane. He next investigates the appearance of pictures seen from a point which is not their proper point of view; explains several of the more common phenomena of pictures; and concludes with developing the principles of the delineation of shadows with examples.

On the pleasant and fruitful subject of ecclesiastical architecture we have received various productions, and several of them highly entitled to attention. We may particularly notice, "A Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England during the middle ages: with ten illustrative plates. By the Rev. John Milner, D.D. F.S.A. &c. 8vo." "An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, with a view to illustrate the rise and progress of Gothic Architecture in England. By the late Rev. G. D. Whittington; 2d edition." "Observations on the Varieties of Architecture used in the structure of Parish churches. To which is added, a description of the characteristics of the Saxon, Norman, and Pointed-arch styles; list of churches now remaining built by the Saxons; an account of bishops and others who were architects; and the contemporary architecture of the various periods, 8vo." The last is perhaps the most useful book of the whole, as containing a compendium of various opinions on the deeply-contested subject of the origin and merits of the Gothic or pointed style, together with a variety of valuable remarks made by actual survey. In

regard to depth of study, and original matter, however, it must yield to both the preceding, in which the two authors take very different grounds of reasoning, exhibit very different views, and consequently arrive at very different conclusions. Dr. Milner is enthusiastically attached to the style of architecture before us, which in consequence he has endeavoured to separate from the degrading title of *Gothic*, and to distinguish by what, in truth, forms its leading character, the pointed centre of the arch; while he will not allow that the Gothic nations had any thing to do with its invention, which he ascribes chiefly, if not altogether, to the Norman prelates who rebuilt the different cathedrals of England during the latter part of the eleventh century, and the beginning of the twelfth; and consequently conceives that our own country is fairly entitled to the merit of having perfected, if not originated it. He asserts it indeed to have been founded in some degree upon the Saxon, so denominated merely because it prevailed during the Saxon dynasty, but which in fact is the Grecian or Roman style, having the essential character of that style, though, in consequence of the general decline of the arts, most rudely executed. "The Norman windows and portals were much larger and better proportioned than those which preceded them, and were generally supported by columns at the sides; their mouldings also and other carvings, though not essentially different from those of the Saxons, were far better designed and executed. In short, next to the effect of *sublimity*, what these ingenious and indefatigable architects chiefly aimed at in their religious structures, was *beauty*. An equal attention to these two effects did,

did, by degrees, produce a perfectly new style in architecture, properly called *the pointed style*, being one of the greatest efforts of human genius, that has been witnessed in the course of ages." Mr. Whittington's talents we have formerly had occasion to notice: he disputes the present theory, and endeavours, though vainly in our estimation, to trace the style from the eastern countries, believing it to have been brought thence by the crusaders. He is also nearly as little disposed to compliment it, when put in comparison with the Grecian orders, as Mr. Barry. In its interior we think it excels in both beauty and sublimity, but perhaps yields in regularity and harmony: in its exterior the Greek style has a decisive advantage in every respect.

"An Elementary Investigation of the Theory of Numbers, with its application to the indeterminate and diophantine analysis, the analytical and geometrical division of the circle, and several other curious algebraical and arithmetical Problems. By Peter Barlow, of the Royal Military Academy, 8vo." We have by no means space to analyse this work. Let it suffice to say, that the

author has successfully studied in the school of Euler; and that to much valuable matter from Legendre and Gauss, he has added no small quantity of his own.

"A Treatise on the Resolution of the higher Equations in Algebra. By W. Lea, 4to. pp. 48." Upon this work also we can report favourably: Mr. Lea has well studied Mr. Woodhouse, and in the tract before us has simplified various methods, and reduced them to one common and easy principle.

"A new System of Arithmetic: including specimens of a method by which most Arithmetical operations may be performed without a knowledge of the rule of three; and followed by Strictures on the nature of the Elementary instruction contained in English Treatises on that science. By Thomas Clark, 8vo." We see no just reason offered in the work before us for deviating from the common mode of instruction; and, upon a tolerable examination of this boasting volume with the treatises it so arrogantly impugns, have no hesitation in saying, that the vanity of the latter makes it uprise and *kick the beam*.

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Paleontology, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

WE commence as usual with the "Transactions of the Royal Society, and shall give a list of the articles contained in the volume for the current year, with such observations upon several of them as their superior importance or interest may seem to demand. I. "On the grounds of the method which Laplace has given in the second chapter of his *Mécanique Céleste* for computing the attractions of spheroids of every description. By James Ivory A. M. communicated by Henry Brougham, Esq. F. R. S. M. P." This is a valuable paper but cannot be abridged. II. "On the attractions of an extensive class of spheroids." By the same: communicated as above. A useful accompaniment to the preceding. III. "An account of some peculiarities in the structure of the organ of hearing in the *Balaena mysticetus* of Linnéus. By Everard Home Esq. F. R. S." According to Mr. Home's observations the whalebone whale, the animal here referred to, can only hear by the blow-hole or nostril, since it is into the canal leading into this organ that the eustachian tube or internal duct opens, and since, also, it is only by this duct that the whale has any communication with the external air as a medium of sound. The article is illustrated by two plates. IV. "Chemical researches on the and some other animal fluids. By William Thomas Brande, Esq.

F. R. S." These researches appear to have been accurately conducted, and their results are highly curious, as being at variance with many of the most popular opinions upon the subject. According to the experimental analyses before us the serum of the blood contains no gelatin whatever; and the serosity or fluid which oozes from it, when coagulated by heat, consists of albumen in combination with alkali; the author also supposes that the gelatin, so common to every part, is an actual product of every part, in consequence of local secretion, notwithstanding that gelatin is found in the mass of the blood, though not in its serum. Iron he asserts to be found in only very small quantities in any of the animal fluids, and nearly as much in one fluid as in another; certainly not more in the colouring matter of the blood than in any other part of it. He conjectures that the red hue is connected with the removal of a portion of carbon and hydrogen from the blood; and that its various tints depend upon modifications of animal matter, and not, as conceived by the French chemists, on an oxydizement of iron. V. "Observations of a comet, with remarks on the construction of its different parts. By Wm. Herschel, LL. D. F. R. S." XII. "Observations of a second Comet, with remarks on its construction. By the same." These papers are minutely

minutely descriptive of the comet that appeared towards the close of 1811, and that of smaller magnitude which became visible in the beginning of 1812. The first of these is calculated at 192 millions of miles distance from the sun: the second at 164 millions; the first at 262 millions of miles from the earth, the second at only 83 millions; the tail of the former at 45 millions of miles in length; that of the latter at not more than half a million of miles. VI. "On a gaseous compound of carbonic, oxyd, and chlorine By John Davy Esq. Communicated by Sir H. Davy Knight, &c." X. "An Account of some experiments on the combination of different metals and chlorine." By the same. XVIII. "An account of some experiments on different combinations of fluoric acid." By the same. XXII. "On some combinations of phosphorus and sulphur, and on some other subjects of chemical inquiry. By Sir Humphrey Davy, knight, Sec. R.S." all tending to support the late series of experiments and hypothesis of the latter celebrated chemist. VII. "Narrative of the Eruption of a Volcano in the sea off the island of St. Michael. By S. Tillard, Esq. Captain in the royal navy." Communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, bart. &c. A very extraordinary eruption, producing an island which the writer, accompanied by a few adventurous friends, mounted, and named Sabrina Island. V II. "On the primitive crystals of carbonate of lime, bitter-spar and iron-spar. By William Hyde Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." containing useful additions to the Abbé Haüy's tables of crystallography. IX. "Observations intended to show that the progressive motion of snakes is partly performed by means of the

ribs. By Everard Home, Esq. F.R.S." XXI. "On the different structures and situations of the solvent glands in the digestive organs of birds, according to the nature of their food and particular modes of life. By the same." containing useful additions to the general stock of the author's papers on physiology, and comparative anatomy, but requiring plates for their elucidation. XI. "Further experiments and observations on the action of poisons on the animal system. By B. C. Bredie, Esq. F. R. S." XX. "Further experiments and observations on the influence of the brain on the generation of animal heat. By the same." being a continuation of subjects we have already noticed. XIII. "Additional experiments on the muriatic and oxymuriatic acids. By William Henry, M. D. F. R. S. &c." leaving the controversy between Sir Humphry Davy and Mr. Murray still in a state of indecision. XIV. "Of the attraction of such solids as are terminated by planes, and of solids of greatest attraction. By Thomas Knight, Esq." XV. "Of the penetration of a hemisphere by an indefinite number of equal and similar cylinders." Both incapable of abridgment. XVII. "Observations on the measurement of three degrees of the meridian, conducted in England by Lieut. Col. William Mudge. By Don Joseph Rodrigue." Shewing that if this measurement be correct, there can be no flattening at the poles, or elevation at the equator.

Whilst we are upon the subject of the Royal Society, we shall step somewhat forward to notice the "History of the Royal Society from its Institution to the end of the eighteenth century." By Thomas Thomson, M. D. F. R. S. L. & E. 4to.

4to. Our readers are well aware, that a very excellent abridgment of the Transactions of the Royal Society, from its formation in 1665, to the close of the year 1800, has lately been executed by the joint labour of Dr. Hutton, Dr. Pearson, and Dr. Shaw. The volume before us is intended to be an accompaniment to this excellent compilation, and has, indeed, been drawn up by Dr. Thomson at the express suggestion of the learned authors of the abridgment. The original plan, however, seems to have been considerably departed from; and the work before us has become rather an arranged *summary of the materials* of the transactions at length, than a *history of the society* adapted to the recent abridgment. "Throughout the whole work," observes the writer, "the references have been made to the Philosophical Transactions rather than to the abridgment, because it was the object of the author to make it *independent of the abridgment*. These references, however," he continues, "will serve equally well for the possessors of either work; because in each page of the abridgment are printed the date and number of the volume where the corresponding paper is found in the original; and the page of the original, where the paper commences, is affixed to the title of each paper in the abridgment." All which, however, should, in our humble opinion, have rather been an additional reason for our author's adhering to what certainly must have been the original intention, and making his references correspond with the Transactions in their abridged form, from the facility with which any person can pass from the abridged to the primary volumes from which they have been epitomized; nor is it very easy to

reconcile the above extraordinary assertion of Dr. Thomson, that "throughout *the whole work* the references have been made to the Philosophical Transactions rather than to the abridgment, because it was the object of the author to make it independent of the abridgment;" with his opening assertion, that "the following work was projected by the proprietors of the new abridgment, and was intended to consist partly of biographical sketches of some of the most eminent Fellows of the Royal Society, and partly of an arranged view of the whole contents of the Philosophical Transactions from the commencement of the work in 1665 down to the end of the year 1800, *when the abridgment terminated*. The plan being laid before the author some years ago, he readily agreed to undertake the execution of it." With the abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, the present volume, commenced at the suggestion of its proprietors, is in perfect parallel; it begins and terminates with it, and so far forms a whole; but it forms no whole with the Philosophical Transactions in the original, for though it begins with the work it breaks off while it is continuing, and in the very middle of its career.

We are ready, however, to admit the great pains and labour which the indefatigable author has given himself in the perusal of so voluminous a journal as the original work. "The first," says he, "and not the least fatiguing part of the task, was to peruse the whole of the Philosophical Transactions, and to arrange all the papers under distinct heads, according to the sciences to which they respectively belonged." Even here, however, he might have saved himself a world of labour by con-

fining

fining his *perusal* to the abridgment, and only occasionally consulting the actual Transactions, where the former appeared insufficient. And he might have saved himself in a still greater degree, and in our opinion not only much better have accomplished the original design, and complied with the actual title of the volume which is a "History of the Royal Society," but composed a book that would have been demanded with far more eagerness by the public, if, instead of chiefly devoting himself to the task of still further epitomising the learned labours before us, he had entered at full length into what we may be allowed to denominate the *biography* of the Society, both corporately and individually, and only noticed the literary productions as the progress of his journey might have demanded. As the volume stands at present it can only be regarded as a second and more summary *Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions* reduced, indeed, to an arranged form, and not as a "History of the Royal Society." It may, indeed, be observed as a general truth, that the history of a literary society is for the most part a history of its literary labours; but this is only to make Dr. Thomson's work a repetition of that to which it is or rather was intended as a supplement; for in this light the abridgment itself becomes a history, and a far better, because a far more detailed history of the Royal Society than the volume before us: yet we cannot concede that the *whole* of the history of all learned societies is confined to their scientific contributions. There is an actual and embodied life of high consequence and importance belonging to many of them, comprising, as we have already stated, their corporate biography, and that of

their several, or at least their principal members; and to none of them of higher—perhaps to none of them of so high—a consequence as that of the venerable institution before us, as being the parent and pattern of every similar institution, and as having continued foremost in the order of merit as well as in the order of time. It only remains for us, in the cursory glance which our limits will still further allow us to throw at the very learned and scientific work before us, to add the following sketch of the author's general arrangement. We have, first, an historical introduction, which, except the appendix, is the whole that relates to the *corporate* biography of the society, occupying sixteen pages; and we then enter upon the body of the work, which is divided into five books, comprising the five general subjects of natural history; mathematics; mechanical philosophy; chemistry; and miscellaneous articles, forming a sort of *cryptogamic class*, and including weights and measures, political arithmetic, antiquities, and (for its last chapter) a section, most awkwardly denominated once more *miscellaneous articles*, like the book itself to which this chapter belongs, and subarranging the articles of printing, the stylns and paper of the ancients, hatching of chickens at Cairo, encaustic painting, teaching the deaf and dumb to speak, the Romansh language, Mozart, and Crotch, two remarkable infant musicians. The whole closes with an appendix containing a copy of the charter of the Royal Society in the reign of Charles II. a copy of the patent granting Chelsea to the Royal Society, together with some additional privileges and powers during the same reign; minutes of the society respecting Sir Isaac Newton;

Newton; an alphabetical list of the Fellows of the Society, and a general index to the volume. The work will undoubtedly be found useful, and evinces much and assiduous labour; but its arrangement is capable of great improvement, and the professed object for which it was originally undertaken, yet remains to be accomplished.

"Memoirs of the Caledonian Horticultural Society," 8vo. We notice the incipient labours of this newly-established institution as an additional proof of the rapid stride of useful and practical science in every department of nature. The society commenced in 1809, in imitation of the London Horticultural Society, whose existence and laudable exertions we have often noticed, and shall, as we trust, often have occasion to notice with high commendation. The Earl of Dalkeith was elected president, and Sir James Hall, Dr. Rutherford, Dr. Coventry, and Mr. Hunter vice-presidents. The members meet quarterly; and as far as we are able to judge from the general character of its more conspicuous promoters, as well as from the value of many of the articles contained in the first number of the memoirs before us, the only number which has hitherto reached our hands, we cannot do otherwise than augur well concerning the future use and growing prosperity of the institution. We are peculiarly pleased to find that the society have entered into a spirited resolution of putting proposed improvements to the test of experiment under their own eye and superintendence. In two valuable papers on the curl in the potatoe by Mr. Shirreff and Mr. Dickson, we find Mr. Knight's opinion concerning the origin of

this disease, and which we have already communicated, distinctly and satisfactorily confirmed. The curl must now therefore be regarded as analogous to the infirmity of old age, as proceeding from too long a use of the same variety of potatoe in the form of cuttings, and as only yielding to the propagation of the same valuable vegetable by the mode of seeds.

"The Life of John Knox, containing illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland; with biographical notices of the principal reformers, and sketches of the progress of literature in Scotland during a great part of the sixteenth century. To which is subjoined an appendix, consisting of letters and other papers never before published. By Thomas M'Crie, Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh," 8vo. This is a temperate, but animated and interesting work, though from the peculiarity of its style somewhat better calculated for the meridian of Edinburgh than of London. The honest and intrepid scholar, whose history it communicates, not merely from common sources, but from a variety of original and authentic documents, has never before been presented in so favourable a point of view; the stern and rigid Presbyterian is here softened down into a man of mildness and fine feeling; and the builder of mean and sordid meeting-houses, is depicted, not only as an accomplished scholar, but as a scholar of nice and elegant taste. The point is perhaps carried somewhat too far; yet we cannot avoid observing that the real character of John Knox has seldom hitherto had fair justice done it in his own country, and, perhaps, never on this side the Tweed. Scotland, from the account before us, appears at the commencement of his career,

to have been as deeply sunk in all the depravities, corruptions, and superstitions of the dark ages, as any part of the south of Europe; to *amend* its moral and even its religious edifices appears to have been almost impossible, and certainly the shortest if not the best way, was that actually pursued by this zealous proto-reformer, to pull down the crazy building and construct a new one. Upon this subject let our readers judge for themselves from the following extract. "The corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally depraved before the reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion. The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours. They were privy-councillors and lords of session, as well as of parliament; and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar acts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by

the same weapons. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops. Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices given *in commendam* were kept vacant during the life of the commendatory, sometimes during several lives, to the deprivation of extensive parishes of all provision of religious service; if a deprivation it could be called at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for this purpose. There was not such a thing known as for a bishop to preach; indeed I scarcely recollect a single instance of it mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish episcopate down to the period of the reformation. The practice was even gone into desuetude among all the secular clergy, and was wholly devolved on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.

"The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastic order from contracting unlawful wedlock, the bishops set the example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices; and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry; many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought. Through

Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds. The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals. Of the doctrine of Christianity scarcely any thing remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour with the "one Mediator between God and man;" and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary and other saints, than to "him whom the Father beareth always." It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, and flagellations; the wonders of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low table-talk, and fire-side scan-

dal, formed the favourite topics of these preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, solid, and sublime doctrines of the Bible."

"The Life of the Rev. John Hough, D.D. successively Bishop of Oxford, Litchfield and Coventry, and Worcester, &c. By John Wilmot, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A." 4to. We learn from this biography, in few words, that John Hough, the subject of it, was born April 12, 1651; entered at St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, Nov. 12, 1669, and was afterwards elected a fellow of the same society; was ordained deacon in 1675; in 1678 became domestic-chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, whom he accompanied to Ireland in consequence of his grace's appointment to the vice-royalty: in 1682 returned to England, in 1685 was collated to a prebendal stall in the cathedral of Worcester, and shortly afterwards presented to the rectory of Temsford in Bedfordshire. He was next elected president of Magdalen College by the fellows of the society, in opposition to the intentions of the court; and shortly after the revolution was created Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards translated to the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, which he was allowed to hold in connexion with the presidency. In 1702, he married the relict of Sir Charles Lee, of Billesley, Warwickshire, who died in 1722, and to whom he was attached with an affection that induced him after her decease to observe the day of her death with fasting and religious veneration. Having passed successively through the episcopal honours enumerated in the title-page, he died at the good old age of ninety-three, in the fullest possession of his intellectual faculties. Mr. Wilmot has been

been enabled to enrich the present biography with a variety of private letters, and original communications that prove this firm and excellent defender of the Protestant church, and the political liberty of the people, to have been as highly endowed with domestic as with public virtues. With a degree of complacency which it is delightful to contemplate in a man of his character and station, he appears to have interested himself in a great variety of the little fugitive concerns of his friends and their acquaintance; and to have entered with much feeling and tenderness into all their minute and casual incidents of sorrow or joy. His good sense is, at the same time, displayed in many of his remarks; and he occasionally mingles serious and moral reflections with a sort of artless facility, and in a manner perfectly free from all parade and ostentation. The most brilliant incident in his life, however, is the manliness with which he conducted himself upon his election to the presidency of Magdalen College. We have already hinted that he was elected in opposition to the intentions of James II. The fact is that upon a declaration of the vacancy, a mandamus was sent to the college from the court to elect one Anthony Farmer, who, however, as was stated in a humble representation addressed by the fellows to his Majesty, had not any of the qualifications for the office which the statutes of the college demanded. To this application no answer was returned; and having waited till the 15th of April, the farthest period allowed by the college laws, the fellows elected the Rev. John Hough. On June 22 following, this election was declared void by King James's commissioners for 1812.

ecclesiastical affairs; but the court, finding at the same time, that Farmer was a man of notoriously bad character, issued a mandamus to the fellows in the ensuing August to elect Dr. Samuel Parker, an avowed Papist. With this order, also, the fellows most honourably refused to comply, which, indeed, they could not have obeyed without a violation of their oaths. The king, who was at Oxford in September, endeavoured to intimidate the refractory part of the college into an implicit obedience to his will; but they still persisted in shewing more deference to the sanctity of an oath than to the mandate of a monarch. In consequence of this, Dr. Hough and the whole body of the fellows of the college were cited to appear on the 21st of October, before certain lords commissioners appointed specially to visit the college. These commissioners came to Oxford attended by three troops of horse, and opened their trust with great pomp. Dr. Hough, on this occasion, conducted himself with the greatest temper, dignity, and firmness; allowing neither solicitations nor menace, neither hope nor fear, to violate in any degree his oath or betray his trust. Notwithstanding the repeated demands of the commissioners, he refused to deliver up the keys of his lodgings to the person whom the king had selected for the president; and finally, before the commissioners withdrew, boldly protested against all their proceedings, as illegal, unjust, and null. This noble and heroic resistance, to an arbitrary mandate of the crown, had a powerful effect in modifying the slavish notions of passive obedience which had been widely diffused among the clergy of the day, and in preparing a foundation for a more liberal mode

mode of government under William III.

"Some Account of the Life and Writings of James Benigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. By Charles Butler, Esq." 8vo. We have too often had occasion to give specimens of the learning, and masculine style of the present writer to render it necessary to offer any additional observation on this subject; and we have so largely quoted from the present work in another department of our Register, as to make all further notice of its contents, interesting as the work is, superfluous.

"The Lives of John Selden, Esq. and Archbishop Usher: with notices of the principal Englishmen of letters with whom they were connected. By John Aikin, M.D. 8vo." We lately had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the present author's translation of the memoirs of the celebrated Huet, or Huetius, Bishop of Avranches: memoirs which present us with an epitome of the general history of the learning on the Continent at the period to which they are restricted. During the composition of this work "I was necessarily, (says Dr. Aikin,) led to cast an eye upon the general state of literature of our own country; and the cursory survey I took of it gave me an interest in the subject which urged me to further inquiry. On tracing backwards the history of English erudition I soon came to two names that seemed to form an era, previously to which our contributions to the stock of critical literature were comparatively inconsiderable; whilst those names were themselves annexed to writings quoted and applauded by the most eminent contemporary scholars in Europe. These were *Selden* and *Usher*, men whose celebrity (that of the former especially) was not confined

to mere authorship; but who acted important parts in the church and state at a period of extraordinary interest in English history. I was therefore induced carefully to examine the extant narratives of their lives, together with the biographical documents afforded by their own writings; and this research convinced me that a clear and unprejudiced account of the services they rendered to letters, and of the conduct they pursued in the momentous transactions of their time, might still be rendered worthy of the public notice." It is only necessary to add that the distinguished compiler has fulfilled the task he allotted to himself with his usual judgment, perspicuity, and candour; and by his indefatigable researches has added no small portion of interest and originality to the histories of these celebrated scholars that have already passed before the public.

"The Life of Ulrich Zuinglius, the Swiss Reformer, by J. G. Hess; translated from the French, by Lucy Aikin," 8vo. Ulric Zuinglius, or Zuingle, was born in 1484 at Wild-haus in Switzerland, shortly after the birth of Luther, and not long before that of Calvin. He was in truth the forerunner of Calvin in the peculiar kind of reformation which at the period before us was so rapidly effected in the thirteen cantons; but, having been less violent and forward than his successor, his fame has been in a very considerable degree unjustly eclipsed by that of the latter. In the work before us, M. Hess has detailed a clear, simple, and interesting story, especially respecting the events that produced a change in the religious principles of Zuinglius, and the means by which he diffused them among his countrymen; interwoven with so much of contemporaneous history

history and biography, literary, civil, and ecclesiastical, and such short and judicious reflections, as are necessary to its illustration. The translation is somewhat less free than faithful; there is an occasional attachment to the idioms and phraseology of the original which we are surprised at, considering the family from which the version proceeds: yet upon the whole it is given with perspicuity and spirit, and, except on such occasions, with simplicity and ease. There is an awkwardness in styling the subject of the biography, after the Latin termination, *Zuinglius* in the title-page, and after his proper name *Zuingle*, in the body of the work. Agreeably to the custom of the times, Zuinglius, as chief ecclesiastic, accompanied the armies of his countrymen, as well as instructed them in the vale of peace. It was on an occasion of the former kind that he fell a sacrifice, and the world became deprived of his eminent services. This closing incident is thus related: "In the beginning of the battle, while Zuingle was encouraging the troops by his exhortations, he received a mortal wound; fell in the press, and remained senseless on the field of battle while the enemy were pursuing their victory. On recovering his consciousness he raised himself with difficulty, crossed his feeble hands upon his breast, and lifted his dying eyes to heaven. Some catholic soldiers who had remained behind found him in this attitude. Without knowing him they offered him a confessor; Zuingle would have replied, but was unable to articulate; he refused by a motion of the head. The soldiers then exhorted him to recommend his soul to the holy Virgin. A second sign of refusal enraged them. "Die, then, obstinate heretic!" cried one,

and pierced him with his sword. It was not till the next day that the body of the reformer was found and exposed to the view of the army. Among those whom curiosity attracted, several had known him, and, without *sharing* his religious opinions, had admired his eloquence and done justice to the uprightness of his intentions. These were unable to view his features, which death had not changed, without emotion. A former colleague of Zuingle's, who had left Zurich on account of the reformation, was among the crowd. He gazed a long time upon him who had been his adversary, and at length said with emotion, "Whatever may have been thy faith, I am sure that thou wast always sincere, and thou lovedst thy country. May God take thy soul to his mercy!" Far from sharing in this sentiment of compassion, the soldiers rejoiced in the death of a man whom they considered as the principal support of heresy; and they tumultuously surrounded the bloody corpse of the reformer. Amid the ebullitions of their fanatical joy, some voices were heard to pronounce the words, "Let us burn the remains of the heresiarch." All applauded the proposal: in vain did their leaders remind the furious soldiery of the respect due to the dead: in vain did they exhort them not to irritate the Protestants, who might one day avenge the insult: all was useless. They seized the body; a tribunal, named by acclamation, ordered that it should be burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds; and the sentence was executed the same instant."

"Account of the Life and Writings of Robert Simson, M. D. late professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow. By the
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Rev.

Rev. William Trail, L.L.D. F.R.S. Ed. &c." 4to. The life of Dr. Simson develops little of incident or adventure; like most other mathematicians and geometers he exists almost entirely in his books and other papers; only a few of which however were published anterior to his decease. The work before us indeed, is a tribute of gratitude from one of the professor's very few surviving pupils, to the memory of his respected friend and tutor, who gives the following account of his having undertaken it. "About thirty years ago the late Earl Stanhope honoured me with a request to draw up an account of the life and writings of the late Dr. Simson of Glasgow, which might be published in the new edition of the *Biographia Britannica*. The slow progress of that great work left me much at liberty as to the time of preparing an article which could appear only near the end of it; and, for a number of years, having been occupied by engagements of a different kind, I was in some measure compelled to postpone the execution of my undertaking much longer than I wished to have done. As there is not at present any near prospect of the completion of the *Biographia*, I could not properly at my time of life, defer any longer embracing the opportunity afforded me of paying this small tribute of respect to the memory of that eminent man, by whose friendship and instruction I was honoured during some of the last years of his life." The style is plain and unaffected, occasionally not without elegance and spirit.

"Memoirs of the Life of Prince Potemkin, Field Marshal, and Commander-in-chief of the Russian army, Grand Admiral of the Fleet, &c. Translated from the German," 8vo.

This extraordinary character, evincing a singular combination of the greatest vices with the greatest virtues, and so essential to the glories of the reign of Catharine, has been so often biographized by original writers in our own tongue, that no new history of him, unless drawn from secret and unexplored sources, can be expected to communicate any degree of novelty or originality. The work before us makes no pretensions to such a possession, and it, hence, contains little that most readers of general biography have not met with before. But the treatise, nevertheless, agreeably hashed up in a fresh form, and the translator has done justice to the German compilation. The life is full of intrigue, adventure, and change of fortune, and cannot fail of being interesting to those who are unacquainted with the crafty favourite, or the gaudy court of the great czarina.

"A new Analysis of Chronology: in which an attempt is made to explain the History and Antiquities of the primitive nations of the World, and the prophecies relating to them, on principles tending to remove the imperfection and discordance of preceding Systems. By the Rev. William Hales, D.D. vol. II. in two parts," 4to. The continuation of this work displays a considerable portion of reading and critical acumen; but the parts immediately before us are far more limited in their range than we had reason to expect, being almost exclusively confined to sacred history and philology; the historical and philological subjects moreover, being promiscuously interwoven with each other with strange and unravelling perplexity. If the author had displayed more method, and kept the variety of materials which he has thus

thus curiously associated together, in a more regular arrangement, he would have made a valuable addition to an important department of chronological inquiry.

"The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain; translated from the Welsh copy attributed to Tysilio; collated with several other copies, and illustrated with copious notes; to which are added original dissertations on the following subjects: the History and Epistle attributed to Gildas; the authority of the Brut; the primary Population of Britain; the Laws of Dyfnwal Moelmyd; and the ancient British Church. By the Rev. Peter Roberts, A. M." 4to. 2l. 2s. We first became acquainted with Mr. Roberts through the medium of his "Sketch of the early History of the Britons;" and the kind of feeling excited in us upon a perusal of his *Sketch*, is once more excited in us upon a perusal of his edition of the *Chronicle*. He is a scholar of indefatigable research, ardent love of archæology, enthusiastic attachment to his country, and sufficiently versed in philology and general history. His patriotic devotion, however, sometimes runs a strong risk of degenerating into that peculiar morbid affection to which nosologists have assigned the name of *nostralgia*;—it has at least occasionally warped his judgment, and in the strong desire of ascribing an almost illimitable antiquity to the existence and sciences of his countrymen, has induced him in various instances to take fable for fact, and to venture upon what we cannot but regard as an unwarrantable *emendation* of an ancient text. There are various ancient books to be met with in the vernacular dialect of the principality entitled *brut*, report, narrative, or chronicle: and of these

the two oldest are the *Brut Tysilio*, or Chronicle of Tysilio, and the *Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur*, or Chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Tysilio is by many writers, and among the rest by the respectable antiquary before us, supposed to have been the son of a Welsh prince, who flourished in a very early era, and was canonized in the seventh century: for which, however, we have nothing more than mere rumour, scarcely amounting to general national tradition. Gruffydd ab Arthur, or Geoffrey of Monmouth, is much better known to have flourished in the twelfth century, and to have been consecrated bishop of Llandaff in the year 1152. The work for which he is chiefly celebrated is a Latin narrative, which appears to be a medley of fact, fable, and tradition, dedicated to Robert, earl of Gloucester, son of Henry II, which he professes to have translated "from a very old book written in the Welsh language," which he had received from Walter surnamed Mapes, or Calsenius, archdeacon of Oxford, who, he tells us, brought it from Bretagne. This, however, is a different work from the *Brut Gruffydd ab Arthur*, though it has a general resemblance to it; and especially in the author's fanciful interpolation of incidents into the history of the Cymri, which we now know, could not either chronologically or chorographically have appertained to it; and still more particularly in his frequent addiction to the marvellous and miraculous; in consequence of which the character of Geoffrey, as an historian, has for many centuries sunk even below its proper level.

Besides these more connected histories or narratives under this name of *bruts*, the traditionary knowledge of the Cymri or primitive Britons have

have been handed down in pieces of poetry; and especially in short stanzas, which from their allusions to some three historical events, three distinguished characters, or recording three proverbial sentiments, have been denominated *triads*. Of the origin of these we know nothing; they appear, however, to have been the only mode of perpetuating national occurrences or proverbial wisdom, as in all other countries, antecedently to the use of *written* records, and are, with tolerable accuracy, ascertained to have been continued till very nearly the era of Geoffrey of Monmouth. And hence the fair deduction that follows is that *letters* were not in general use for any considerable period before the twelfth century, among the inhabitants of the principality. The Welsh antiquaries, however, are of a different opinion; and they have endeavoured to obtain from their ancestors the credit of their having known and employed alphabetical characters, if not before the commencement of the christian era, at least as early as the fifth or sixth century afterwards, and a passage in Cæsar is adverted to in favour of such an opinion, which, however, to say the least of it, is by no means decisive upon the question: whilst on the contrary, it is forcibly argued, not merely that all their historical traditions, antecedently to the twelfth century, are traditionary verses; but that, first, they cannot produce a single satisfactory proof of alphabetic or even pictured characters among any of their most ancient remains; and secondly, that neither Gildas nor Nennius, both British writers in Latin, the former as old as the sixth, and the latter as old as the ninth century, could discover, as they distinctly affirm, any Cymric written records, and

were obliged to draw their resources from oral traditions, or Roman, Saxon, and other collateral ramifications: neither is there a single line of Taliessin, the Homer of Wales, to be met with as an autograph or contemporary manuscript, although this national poet has no power of laying claim to a higher antiquity than Gildas. The object of Mr. Roberts, however, is once more to maintain the literary honour of his country, and to this purpose he labours with all his might in the very ingenious and recondite volume before us: yet while we admire his industry and ingenuity, and applaud his hardihood, we cannot but wish that these excellent qualities had been exerted on a more thrifty field.

"The Gleaner: a series of periodical essays, selected and arranged from scarce or neglected volumes, with an introduction and notes; by Nathan Drake, M.D. &c." 4 vols. 8vo. This is designed as an accompaniment of the "British Classical Essayist," consisting (in the edition printed a few years ago under the superintendence of the present writer, and enriched with critical and biographical notices of his own) of the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*; the *Rambler*, *Adventurer*, and *Idler*; the *World*, *Connoisseur* and *Mirror*; the *Lounger*, *Observer*, and *Looker-on*. "These, it may be said, display the literary *harvest* of this province of English composition; while the volumes now presented to the public may not inaptly be considered as *gleanings*; which, though when scattered widely over the ground they attract but little comparative attention, will now, it is hoped, when collected and put in order, form a sheaf not less rich in quality, or beautiful in appearance, than the more *immediate* product of the field."

field." The metaphor sufficiently explains the author's object, and is well drawn up excepting as to the terms *immediate product*, since all the different ears of grain, whether scattered or collected, are equally the immediate product of the field, are equally true to their own kind, and imbued with the same respective power. The work we have found highly entertaining, and the discriminating talent it evinces, affords another proof of our author's exact and classic taste.

"Classical Recreations, interspersed with much biblical criticism. Vol. I. By Edmund Henry Barker, Esq. Trin. Col. Cam." These are literally as, indeed, designated by the title, *recreations*;—notices drawn up from the author's common-place book, from hints apparently entered into it upon an extensive scale of classical and biblical reading. Many of the suggestions are ingenious; many discover a fine classical taste; some of them want authority, and a few are altogether nugatory. If the work be continued, we should like to see it in a more arranged form, and a somewhat less scholastic style and character,

"A Grammar of the Malayan language, with an Introduction and Praxis, By William Marsden, F.R.S. 4to. 11. 1s."

"A Dictionary of the Malayan language, in two parts, Malayan and English, and English and Malayan. By William Marsden, F. R. S." 4to 2l. 2s. The literary and commercial communities of our own country are under great obligations to the author of these volumes, who has hereby given us a useful key to what may almost be called a new and untried chamber in the great building of language and national history. The Malayan tongue is spoken as the chief dialect in the

further peninsula of India, and throughout a numerous archipelago of islands peopled by a hardy and sea-faring race, with whom our commercial intercourse has for the last thirty years been increasing, and our confidence proportionably augmenting. Settlements have been formed in various places, and have obtained a stability that promises to be durable; while our late acquisition of Batavia adds considerably to the importance of our Malayan connexions. Mr. Marsden acquired his knowledge of Malay in the island of Sumatra, on the southern coast of which is situated the principal English establishment; and as the language is spoken with much diversity in different parts, and amongst different ranks, the author, without very extensively following up these diversities, has given it, and in our opinion correctly so, as employed in the conversation of the superior classes of the Malays of the island on which he resided: in the course of which we find it as strongly tinged with Arabic as the Castilian of Cordova. The alphabet here employed is the Arabic, with a slight variation in the diacritical points; the letters composing it are thirty-four, of which thirteen are pure Arabic, six pure Malayan, and fifteen common to both languages; and the character here made use of is the Niski; at which we are somewhat surprised, since the Talik is now become almost as common to our own presses as the former.

"Calamities of Authors: including some Inquiries respecting their moral and literary characters: By the author of *Curiosities of Literature*," 2 vols. 8vo. This is indeed a most lugubrious history; but in our opinion in a very considerable degree overcharged, though written

written with a sort of commendable feeling and compassion, for the extensive and eccentric corps whose miseries it so touchingly describes. The fact is, that all professions, ranks, and circles of mankind, could scrape together innumerable histories of misfortunes, embarrassments, and contumelies peculiar to themselves, if a very little exertion were to be made for such an occasion; and consequently the tribe of writers must in the common order of things have had their own proper portion of bitters allotted to them: and their actual trade being that of narrative, description, compilation, and invention, the world has heard much more of the evils of authorship than of any other kind of *ship* or *shape* whatever. The cases before us are, however, for the most part well selected, highly interesting, and many of them drawn from original sources. They peculiarly deserve the attention of young, unfledged authors; of writers who are qualified for any thing rather than writing, and of that numerous division of the general body, who have little discretion, and perhaps still less learning; who are extravagant without wit, and rampant without genius.

“Reviewers reviewed: including an inquiry into the Moral and Intellectual effects of habits of criticism, and their Influence on the general interests of literature. To which is subjoined a brief history of the Periodical Reviewers, published in England and Scotland. By John Charles O'Reid, Esq.” 8vo. The author is not in love with the profession of public and periodical criticism. It is certainly a question well worthy of inquiry whether the fashion for periodical criticism, so common to our own day, has been produc-

tive of more benefit or disadvantage to the general cause of literature. Upon this question Mr. O'Reid has entered, but he has hitherto only taken one side of it; and, in our opinion, even on that side, he has not offered all that might be advanced by an ingenious advocate. His language conveys a cordial contempt for professional reviewers, and as mortal a hatred of their works as if he himself had been fatally wounded or lamed for life, by a general volley from the whole fraternity. Periodical criticism, in his opinion, destroys all taste even in the man who antecedently possessed it, as effectually as a cup of poison. In answer to this we shall only observe, that many of the best established writers, and of the most approved taste, in the present day, have been for years, and still are occasionally, periodical critics. The same public bane, in Mr. O'Reid's opinion, puffs up the reader with a tympany or flatulence of knowledge, and excites him to become a superficial scholar, and an empty pretender. It should also be observed, that periodical criticism sows the seed, and cultivates the soil of science upon an extensive scale; and though the product is in many cases, we are ready to admit, effete and blighted, and never attains a proper maturity, it excites and rears to a perfect fruit, in numerous instances, seeds that would otherwise never have put forth a single germination: while, in regard to authors, notwithstanding its too frequent severity, it diffuses to the world a general knowledge of works, which in a thousand instances would otherwise fall from the cradle to the grave: and we will entreat Mr. O'Reid's pardon, while we suggest, that even the work before us might possibly

possibly have been but little heard of, with all its taste and talents, but for that very speaking trumpet which he is so anxious to decry.

Few years have been more largely favoured by the muses than the present, and, if we except the higher flights of poetry, few years have been more auspiciously favoured. The fair maids of Aonia have sported with peculiar courtesy amidst the nobles and legislators of the land; and hence Lord Byron has been excited to the romaunt of "*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*;" Lord Geo. Grenville and R. Wharton, esq. M.P. have produced their respective epics of *Portugal* and *Roncesvalles*; and Lord Edward Thurlow, his volume of miscellaneous verses. Of the last we have not yet obtained a copy; for at the moment of writing these remarks, it is barely announced; and we shall hence return to it in our next retrospect. Of the three preceding, the order of merit will be very generally admitted, we believe, to run in the order of succession we have allotted them. Lord Byron's poem is deeply melancholy, but sweetly musical; his descriptions are often drawn to the life, but they are all overshadowed with yews and cypresses. The war scenes in the peninsula, and the glories that the English and Portuguese have lately acquired there, form equally the subjects of Lord G. Grenville and of Mr. Wharton: the former poem is confined to two books, it is not merely the shorter, but in more respects than one the lighter of the two; the latter poem carries the metal of not less than twelve books, and is as much heavier in style, as in number of guns. We have given extracts from each, however, in another department, and for the rest shall leave our readers to determine for themselves.

Besides these, we have received a very interesting volume of poetry from Mr. John Wilson, under the title of "*The Isle of Palms, and other poems*;" modelled indeed upon the morbid simplicity of style that so peculiarly characterises Mr. Wordsworth and Mr. Southey; but with the merit of adding to their beauties, and diminishing their blemishes, a sample of which we have given as above. "*Eighteen Hundred and Eleven: a poem by Anna Letitia Barbauld*;" a severe and ill-omened national satire, whose prophecies have, fortunately for us, been already falsified in many points; and from which, on account of the strength of the poetry, we have also given a specimen or two.—"*The Philosophy of Melancholy: a poem in four parts, with a mythological ode. By T. L. Peacock*:" easy, plaintive, and respectable.—"*The Country Pastor, or Rural Philanthropist*;" containing lines of some merits that celebrate an imaginary character of somewhat more merit; though both appear to be a little deficient in activity.—"*Simple Minstrelsy. By Mrs. Cockle*:" to whom we have often been already indebted for fugitive pieces, that, like the present, have meant well, and exhibited a pleasing fancy and cultivated taste.

Foremost amidst the plays of the year we have to notice another volume presented to us by Miss "*Johanna Baillie*;" and we are sorry that our limits will allow us to do nothing more than to notice it. The appeal, however, has been already made to the public, and its award is well known to be that it does not quite equal the powers manifested in the two preceding volumes. We have here, as well as formerly, both a tragedy and a comedy, adapted to each of the series of passions attempted

tempted to be portrayed; a system which alone would be sufficient to bear down the powers of Shakespeare himself. The rest it is sufficient to catalogue: they are, "The Seducer, a tragedy in five acts. By Charles Masterton." "Montalban, a tragedy in five acts." And "Marmion; or Flodden Field, a drama, founded on the poem of Walter Scott."

"Among the numerous novels, tales, and romances of the year, we have chiefly been pleased with "Cottage Sketches, by the author of "An Antidote to the Miseries

of Human Life." "Self-Control," 3 vols. 8vo.—"Sense and Sensibility," 3 vols. 8vo. "Temper, or Domestic Scenes, a tale, by Mrs. Opie," 3 vols. 12mo. "Tales of Fashionable Life, by Miss Edgeworth," 3 vols. 12mo. "The Borderers, an historical romance, illustrative of the manners of the fourteenth century," 3 vols. 12mo. "Despotism; or the Fall of the Jesuits, a political romance," 2 vols. 12mo. and the History of Charles the Great and Orlando," translated from the Latin of Spanheim. By Thomas Radd, 2 vols.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Commerce, and Politics.

"TRAVELS in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. By Edward Daniel Clarke, L. L. D. Part II. Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. Sect. the first." 4to. The first volume of this series of travels we have already copied, and with considerable and deserved approbation. On commencing the present comprehensive undertaking, the author proposed to divide it into three portions, and the observations made in Greece, Syria, and Egypt, were reserved for the second part, whether consisting of one or more than one volume. This plan is still pursued; but from the very perplexed state of the geography of the country alluded to by the word Syria, the author, in his second edition of the first volume, exchanged it for the less exceptionable appellation of *Palestine*. He has since, however, felt a similar perplexity as to the true geographical import of this latter term, and he has hence omitted both *Palestine* and *Syria* in favour of *the Holy Land*. We have copied so largely from these very instructive and agreeable travels in another department of our register, and have consequently afforded the reader so fair an opportunity of appreciating for himself the real amenity of the writer's manner, and facility of his style, that we shall content ourselves with merely pointing out the range to which our author's peregrinations extend, and the dif-

ferent countries and provinces they include. These are Constantino-ple; the plain of Troy, the district of Troas; a very interesting excursion from the Hellespont to Rhodes; from Rhodes to the gulph of Glaucus in Asia Minor; from Asia Minor to Egypt; from Rosetta to Zaneca in Cyprus, together with a general description of Cyprus; from Egypt to Syria; the Holy Land, occupying nearly the latter half of the volume, and forming one of the most instructive and agreeable histories of it we have met with since the days of Mr. Maundrel. The volume is well illustrated, and richly adorned with plates, maps, charts, and vignettes.

"A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809; in which is included some account of his Majesty's mission under Sir Harford Jones, Bart, K.C. to the court of Persia. By James Morier, Esq. his Majesty's secretary of embassy to the court of Persia." With engravings and maps. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d. Mr. Morier is an intelligent and modest traveller, active in inquiry, and perspicuous in his relation of facts; and the work before us is peculiarly marked with the characters of simplicity and truth. It is, however, in many parts deficient in interest, and bears evident internal as well as external proofs of its being written *curren- te calamo*. Mr. Morier indeed was absent

absent from England not much more than two years; having sailed from Portsmouth, as secretary to Sir Harford Jones, Oct. 27, 1807, and having landed at Plymouth Nov. 25, 1809. He reached Bombay towards the close of April 1808; arrived at Bushire Oct. 13, and at Teheran, the present capital of Persia, Feb. 14, of the ensuing year. In this metropolis he resided about three months; when he left it for Constantinople on his return home, having reached the Turkish capital July 18, 1809. As we have copied somewhat at large from this production in another department of our register, we shall dismiss it, as we dismissed the last article, by referring our readers to the extracts in question for a specimen of Mr. Morier's style. Upon most points it is less full and satisfactory than that of Le Brun, Chardin, or Niebuhr; but he affords us some original matter of value in various cases, and especially in regard to the sculptures and ruins of Shapour. The plates are somewhat below mediocrity, and by no means keep pace with the splendour and costliness of the type and paper.

"Voyages and Travels in the years 1809, 1810, and 1811: containing statistical, commercial, and miscellaneous observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo, and Turkey. By John Galt." 4to. 2l. 2s. We cannot pay the same compliment of modesty, or even of intelligence to the present writer as we have just had a pleasure in paying to Mr. Morier. Mr. Galt, who may be a very good home manufacturer, makes sad work of it when he stumbles upon foreign trade and connexions, and does little less than rave when he quits the warehouse, (as he has a most unhappy itch for doing,) for

the cabinet. We have, consequently, not been much enlightened by Mr. Galt's profound speculations, nor feel much disposed to join in his political ventures, notwithstanding that, mounted in the balloon of his own conceit, and taking an extensive survey of the chequered scenery beneath him, he has oracularly observed, that "in every thing that relates to mercantile concerns, all our treaties have hitherto been singular monuments of *official ignorance and presumption*. It is wonderful that men versed only in files and precedents, should still have the *arrogance* to suppose themselves capable of arranging matters, of which, from their education, they can have little knowledge." To do justice, however, to the self-confidence and sanguine temper of this mercantile politician, we will just inform our readers, that he has not confined himself to pulling down systems, but has in various instances attempted to build up others in their stead: as specimens of which we may observe, that whilst, with many hard and uncourteous words, he abuses Sir William Drummond for his inactive diplomacy in Sicily, he strongly exhorts the British ministry to tie up the hands of all our friends in the Sicilian kingdom, and to prohibit them from importing colonial produce of any kind, excepting by British ships and from British colonies; and he shrewdly persuades himself that "the present circumstances of our connexion with this island, might justify so friendly and liberal an intervention;" and in the same bold spirit of mercantile negotiation, he tells us, that to him the fortress of Gibraltar had no *visible grandeur*, and was of very questionable value, till he dreamed of the bright idea of levying a toll upon the

the vessels of all the *free* nations of the world in their passing into and out of the Mediterranean, of the same nature as the Sound duty paid to Denmark. Now, with all possible admiration of the towering genius that could hit upon such sublime expedients for filling the national treasury, and exalting the national character, we have some qualms of conscience whether we *ought* to adopt Mr Galt's new system of *foreign* taxation and imposition; and whether admitting the justice of the case, the world would very readily bend to so brilliant a suggestion. It may possibly be adapted to the meridian of the Thuilleries, but, if applied to the straight line of good old politics of St. James's, we are afraid it would conduct us (to borrow a word or two from Mr. Galt himself,) into a *labyrinthical turning*, from which we should not very clearly see our way out again.

"Travels in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, and Barbary, during the years 1806 and 1807. By A. F. de Chateaubriand. Translated by Frederick Schoberl." 2 vols. 8vo. 11. The present traveller is well known as an adventurer of great intrepidity, and a poet of no vulgar imagination. In the latter character we have already introduced him to the notice of our readers; and we have now to observe, that the travels before us evince a highly figurative style, and ardent fancy. M. Chateaubriand arrived at Venice from France, July 23, 1806. On the 10th of August he landed at Modon; whence he travelled by land to Coron; he visited the ruins of Sparta, and successively Athens, Smyrna, and Constantinople: he afterwards sailed to Jaffa, where he landed, and from whence he reached Jerusalem: he afterwards re-

turned to Jaffa, and from that port sailed for Alexandria in Egypt; he visited Cairo, but not the pyramids; touched at Tunis to contemplate the ruins of Carthage; passed through Spain, and arrived in France by the road of Irun and Bayonne, May 3, 1807. There is a considerable fund of entertainment, and a variety of strong and original remarks in these volumes. They are somewhat hastily translated, and the translator, sensible of these defects, offers in due form a general apology for them. It would have been handsomer, however, to have withheld both the apology and its cause. Our traveller gives evident proofs that he is a good judge of national character; he speaks *feelingly* of the good English diet of roast-beef and honest port, which he tell us, with much personal gratification, has found its way over a great part of the Morea. "There are always," says he, "some Englishmen to be met with on the roads of the Peloponnese: the Papas informed me that they had lately seen some antiquaries and officers of that nation. At Minitra there is even a Greek house called the *English Inn*, where you may eat *roast beef*, and drink *port wine*. In this particular the traveller is under great obligations to the English: it is they who have established good inns all over Europe; in Italy, in Switzerland, in Germany, in Spain, at Constantinople, at Athens, nay even at the very gates of Sparta, in despite of Lycurgus."

The following is a better, and still more humorous pourtraiture of his own countrymen: the national character cannot be extinguished. "Our seamen have a saying, that in founding new colonies, the Spaniards begin with building a church, the

the English a tavern, and the French a fort; and, I would add, a *ball-room*. When I was in America, in the frontiers of the country of the savages, I was informed, that in the next day's journey I should meet with a countryman of mine among the Indians. On my arrival among the Cayougas, a tribe belonging to the Iroquois nation, my guide conducted me into a forest. In the midst of this forest stood a kind of barn, in which I found about a score of savages, of both sexes, bedaubed like conjurers, with their bodies half-naked, their ears cut into figures, raven's feathers on their heads, and rings passed through their nostrils. A little Frenchman, powdered and frizzled in the old-fashion, in a pea-green coat, a drugget waistcoat, muslin frill and ruffles, was scraping away on his kit, and making these Iroquois dance to the tune of *Madelon Friquet*. M. Violet, for that was his name, followed the profession of dancing-master among the savages, by whom he was paid for his lessons in beaver-skins, and bear's hams. He had been a scullion in the service of General Rochambeau, during the American war; but remaining at New York after the return of the French army, he resolved to give the Americans instructions in the fine arts. His views having enlarged with his success, this new Orpheus resolved to introduce civilization even among the roving hordes of the new world. In speaking to me of the Indians, he always styled them *les messieurs sauvages*, and *ces dames sauvages*. He bestowed great praise on the agility of his scholars, and in truth never did I witness such gambols in my life. M. Violet, holding his fiddle between his chin and his chest, tuned the *fatal* (quere? irresistible) instrument; he then cried out in

Iroquois, *To your places!* and the whole troop fell a capering like a band of demons. Such," adds our traveller, "*is the genius of nations!*"

"Letters on the Nicobar Islands; their natural productions, and the manners, customs, and superstitions of the natives; with an account of an attempt made by the church of the United Brethren to convert them to Christianity. Addressed by the Rev. John Gothfried Haensel (the only surviving missionary) to the Rev. C. J. Latrobe," 8vo. The Nicobar Islands are situated at the entrance of the bay of Bengal, in 8° N. lat. and 94° E. long. N. of Sumatra, and by their position form various commodious harbours. The letters before us, which are eight in number, contain a narration of the many unsuccessful though benevolent attempts of the church of the United Brethren, to increase their establishments: and the writer, who is an old and highly esteemed chieftain in the missionary service, devoted seven years to this station, out of thirty-eight, which have been occupied in the duties of this arduous profession; and after suffering numberless hardships and dangerous illnesses, is still, as we are informed, a most active, cheerful, and zealous labourer in the same pious cause, at the age of sixty-three. The mission before us was originally undertaken in 1758, at the wishes of his Danish Majesty, under whose auspices a commercial establishment, instituted by the Danish East-India Company in 1756, but soon afterwards abandoned, was intended as speedily as possible to be renewed. The missionaries reached Trauquebar in July 1760, but the new establishment on the Nicobar islands was not formed till 1766, when six of the confraternity immediately repaired thither and settled at Nancanwery. The Danish East-India

India company were soon compelled, by the mortality among their servants and colonists, to abandon their project of a factory. After sustaining great hardships and difficulties, partly arising from the unhealthiness of the climate, and partly from the precarious and inadequate means of communication with Tranquebar for supplying the necessaries of life, the surviving missionaries at length finally abandoned the attempt in 1787 without having been able to master the scanty but difficult language of the country, and without any proofs of that success in the prosecution of their benevolent labours which might have consoled them upon their close. The superintendence of this melancholy duty fell upon Mr. Haensal, who, in taking a final leave of the island, had to abandon the graves of eleven of his brethren. "My last farewell," says he, "with the inhabitants who had flocked to me from all the circumjacent islands, was very affecting. They wept and howled for grief, and begged that the brethren might soon return to them. We always enjoyed their esteem and love, and they do not deserve to be classed with their ferocious neighbours the Malays; being in general kind and gentle in their dispositions, except when roused by jealousy or other provocations, when their uncontrolled passions will lead them into excesses as some of the Danish soldiers experienced. We always found them ready to serve us.

"An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa, with a brief History of the African Company. By Henry Meredith, Esq. Member of the Council, and Governor of Winnebah Fort," 8vo. Mr. Meredith is rather a practical than a scientific observer of the men, the manners, and the country he describes; we

have hence but little of natural or moral history, the character of the natives are not very deeply or extensively studied, nor the productions of the soil, or the different kinds of native animals brought very minutely, or in any methodic arrangement before us. His observations, however, as built upon facts and personal knowledge, are valuable so far as they go, and his opinions are certainly entitled to respect. The work is addressed to the members of the African institution; and its chief object is to prove that the gold coast of Africa possesses advantages equal or superior to the West India islands for the growth of West India produce. Yet the question of *cui bono* still returns; for of late years at least the West Indies have sent such a surplus of harvest to the mother country as to reduce the price of the different articles so low as to make the trade, in almost every instance, a losing concern. We are, therefore, in no want of additional settlements for the growth of West Indian produce; and if we were, the islands we at present possess might be cultivated more extensively than they have hitherto been, and the tracts in actual cultivation might be rendered far thrif-
tier. The climate of the Gold Coast, according to the description before us, appears to have an advantage in general temperature, the usual degree of heat in the hottest months being from eighty-five to ninety degrees of Fahrenheit at Cape Coast Castle, which is esteemed the hottest part of the coast; while at Sierra Leone and at Senegal it rises to ninety-three and ninety-eight; but this advantage seems to be totally lost in the savage and warlike temper of the native tribes, which must for some centuries render an extensive line of coast settlement extremely doubtful

ful and precarious; while the periodical returns of the tornado and the harmattan, the latter of which prevails during December, January, and February, from Cape Verd to Cape Lopez, though with occasional intermissions, and the former from March till the rains set in, must be always destructive in some degree, and often in a very high degree, to the progress of vegetation. The harmattan is attended by a haze which obscures the light of the sun, and an extreme dryness, which, we are here told, parches up the plants of the country. Its effects upon the human frame are said to be salutary in checking infection, though accompanied with an unpleasant sensation. The rise, progress, and termination of the tornado is ably described, and we copy it with pleasure. "A tornado may be expected a day or two subsequent to the full and change of the moon, and gives sufficient notice of its approach, so that ships at sea and at anchor have time to prepare for their safety. When vivid and successive flashes are seen in the eastern quarter, not many degrees above the horizon, attended with thunder and heavy clouds, and the horizon appears clear and of a blueish cast, all these are tolerable (if not certain) indications of an approaching tornado. As the storm approaches the horizon becomes darkened, and in a short time the eastern hemisphere becomes entirely so; the lightning advances in vivid flashes and in quick succession, attended by slow and apparently distant thunder. The scene now assumes, every moment, a more awful and terrific appearance, and a solemn silence appears to pervade the whole face of nature; although it is calm, yet the heavens exhibit a degree of commotion that is truly surprising;

the feathered tribes flee with the utmost solicitude to a place of shelter and security; and notwithstanding this precaution they are sometimes overtaken by the storm and exposed to its rigour and violence. A gentle air is first perceived, which increases almost instantaneously to violent gusts of wind, which are usually accompanied with rain, and which do not continue longer, in general, than half an hour or fifty minutes; the more southerly the wind is the longer is its continuance. When the violence of the wind is over, rain falls with great rapidity, and in a short time a very considerable quantity of water descends. The lightning and thunder, which, it would appear, yielded to the violence of the wind, again commence; but it is only those who are acquainted with these storms, or similar ones in tropical countries, that can have a perfect idea of the enlightened state of the heavens and the tremendous peals of thunder that roll in every direction. On the whole, words cannot adequately describe the awful sublimity of this scene. Rain continues to fall for two hours or more; after which the hemisphere brightens, but the sun continues obscured for the remainder of the day."

South America furnishes us with several excursive attempts, but with few that are worthy of much notice or commendation. Mr. Ashe, who, to adopt his own phraseology, "*travelled the continent of America several years*," has favoured us with what he calls "*A Commercial View and Geographical Sketch of the Brazils in South America, and of the Island of Madeira*; being a description of the Portuguese colonies, &c. serving as a guide to the *Commercial World*, and pointing out to the *Manufacturing Towns of Shetfield*,"

field, Birmingham, Manchester, Stockport, Leeds, Northampton, Nottingham, Coventry, Stroud, Dursley, Worton, Paiswick, &c. new sources of wealth and springs of industry by directing their attention to the formation of such goods as are consumed in the *New World*." 8vo. We have copied the above title as affording a fair sample of our author's style and language, which may just as well be understood in any *other world* as in the *British World*: nor do we believe that the commercial world when it has learned his dialect, will be very much disposed, at the present moment, to yield to his arguments, or that the *new world* is quite so much in want of the various articles contained in the writer's bill of fare as he has somehow or other contrived to dream it is.

We have also under this head to notice "*Travels in the Interior of Brazil, particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of that Country, by authority of the Prince Regent of Portugal; including a Voyage to the Rio de la Plata, and an Historical Sketch of the Revolution of Buenos Ayres, illustrated with engravings. By John Mawe.*" 4to. 2l. 2s. These travels describe an adventurous period of life. Mr. Mawe sailed in 1804 on a voyage of commercial experiment to Rio de la Plata in a vessel of his own under Spanish colours. Touching at Cadiz, to conform with certain commercial regulations of the Spanish government, he found himself most unfortunately situated from the declaration of war in the autumn of that year, which rendered his proposed voyage dangerous from the chance of being taken prisoner. Cadiz was moreover blockaded, the plague made its appearance, and our adventurer caught the infection, which, 1812.

however, proved less severe to him than he had reason to expect. As soon as he was able he proceeded upon his voyage, but had still a multitude of perils to encounter from the ignorance of his captain, who was wholly unacquainted with the navigation of La Plata; and whose subsequent blunders rendering Mr. Mawe suspected of being an Englishman, led to his personal seizure and the confiscation of the ship and cargo. At length, however, he was admitted to bail, and on the appearance of General Beresford's expedition in the river, was ordered into the interior. He had here an opportunity of studying the manners and customs of the Peons or superintendants of the immense herds of cattle belonging to the grazing farms. Mr. Mawe engaged one of these to convey a letter to Don Francisco Inacino, a magistrate in Monte Video, who immediately sent an order for his liberation, which was readily obeyed; and he arrived in time to join the unfortunate expedition under Gen. Whitelocke. It fell to his lot to command the Peons, who were employed in procuring provisions for the army; which, though an arduous and dangerous service, they executed with great zeal, and for which they were afterwards shamefully abandoned and neglected in the articles of capitulation, and consequently seized by the victorious party and sentenced to death or hard labour as traitors to their country. After the convention of Monte Video, Mr. Mawe, being once more cast upon the world, set sail in a Portuguese vessel for Rio Janeiro; became, at length, introduced to the Prince Regent, and, at his solicitation, consented to take upon himself the management of the royal farm at Santa Cruz. In this situation, 2 B however,

however, he soon found himself so perpetually opposed and circumvented by the chicane and artifices of a petty officer belonging to the household, that, with his usual intrepidity and independence of spirit, he soon requested leave to relinquish it, and was fortunate enough to be entrusted with the examination of a silver mine which was reported to have been discovered at Santa Gallo. He afterwards obtained permission to explore the diamond mines of Serra do Frio, which had hitherto never been granted to a foreigner; while, through the mediation of Lord Strangford he also obtained admission to the archives, for the purpose of examining all the MS. maps, and of copying from any of them whatever might be necessary to guide him in his route.

Our readers, from this brief sketch, will perceive that Mr. Mawe possessed every desirable opportunity for remarking the mineralogical, agricultural, and statistical powers of the country, and for becoming acquainted with the customs and manners of the natives; and they will also perceive that he was of too active and industrious a temper to let such opportunities slip through his fingers unimproved. The volume before us is consequently busy and bustling; and if the writer's mind be not sufficiently comprehensive to render him an enlightened statesman, it has at least been ample enough to enable him to point out a variety of facts of no small moment in a manufacturing and commercial estimation, as well as to delineate with apparent fidelity and minute attention the different processes pursued in working the gold, silver, and diamond mines: in all which the grossest frauds we are told are daily and openly per-

petrated, and smuggling is directly carried on or secretly connived at by all ranks. "During, however, a period of five years, from 1801 to 1806 inclusive, the expenses (of the diamond mines) were 204,000*l.* and the diamonds sent to the treasury at Rio de Janeiro weighed 115,675 carats. The value of gold, found in the same period, amounted to 17,300*l.* sterling, from which it appears that the diamonds actually cost government thirty-three shillings and ninepence per carat. These years were esteemed singularly productive; the mines do not in general yield to government more than 20,000 carats annually."

"Sketch of the present State of Caraccas, including a Journey from Caraccas through La Victoria and Valencia to Puerto Cabello. By Robert Semple." 8vo. We have copied from this useful little volume at some length in our department of selections; and from the specimens we have given, the public will find that Mr. Semple is a man of business and matter-of-fact; he eagerly seizes hold of events as they arise before him, but puts nothing into the loom of fancy or of sentimentalism. Caraccas has of late acquired a very considerable interest from the bloody and political strifes it has sustained, and the severe earthquake by which it has recently been visited. In addition to a general history of the country our author touches upon both these points, and we are glad to find that the latter has not been productive of quite so extensive a destruction as we had been led to apprehend. At Caraccas the loss of lives appears to have amounted to about 3000, at La Guayra to 1500. Valencia, Victoria, and Puerto Cabello have not sustained any very serious injury.

We must now endeavour to explore our course by a sort of north-west passage to climates and regions of a very different character. We must quit the Rio Plata for the frozen ocean, the tropic of Cancer for the arctic circle.

"Travels in the Island of Iceland during the summer of the year 1810. By Sir George Steuart Mackenzie, Bart. F.R.S.E." 4to. 3l. 3s. Iceland was lately visited by Mr. Hooker, whose "Recollections" are duly noticed in our last volume; and at the same time lamented the fearful and nearly fatal incident that swept from his grasp all the fruits of his indefatigable and assiduous tour, except the few scraps which were luckily in his pockets, and the facts recorded in his memory, which conjointly furnished the basis of his useful publication. Sir George Mackenzie has been more fortunate. In the beginning of the summer of 1810, accompanied by Mr. (now Dr. Holland) and Mr. Bright, he performed the same voyage, shaping his course to that part of the Iceland boundary which fronts the south-west, and is the best known as well as the most accessible. The tract they visited comprehends an extent of about 120 miles in length along the coast, in a direction nearly north-west, by a breadth that varies from 20 to 40 miles. In a country consisting almost entirely of rocks or of marshes, where there are no roads, the horses weak, and the people slow, nation must needs be difficult; and to have visited so large a tract of country in the course of an Icelandic summer, required no small share of activity. The different objects to which the attention of our travellers was directed appear to have been well chosen; and no opportunity seems to have been lost of acquiring information

concerning either the past or the present state of the country, the manners of the inhabitants, their arts, education, laws, &c.; or concerning the natural history of a country rendered interesting by the severity with which nature has treated it, by the unparalleled extent to which volcanic fire has carried its operations; and still more so from its moral history, as being of all countries in the world that in which civilization has proceeded the greatest length, considering the physical difficulties it has had to encounter; where learning is well known to have flourished at a very early period; where poetry was cultivated with enthusiasm, and the mythology of the northern nations was first reduced into a systematic form. A people, free and independent, enacting their own laws, and choosing their own magistrates, found in the possession of these inestimable blessings, what was more than a compensation for all the physical evils which they endured. Accordingly, while feudal tyranny, by the bloodshed and oppression to which it every where gave birth, retained the finest countries in Europe in a state of barbarism, liberty and, peace, with learning and the arts in their train, took refuge in this inhospitable climate; and found on the confines of the polar circle an asylum which the plains of France or Italy could not have afforded them; a memorable example how much worse are the sufferings produced by art, than those produced by nature. Even to the present hour, notwithstanding that science and genius have been invited to fairer and more tempting abodes, and the conquest of Iceland first by the Norwegian princes, and since, in conjunction with Norway itself, by the crown

of Denmark, has reduced the country to the poor appendage of an absolute monarch; and the political economy to which it has been subjected, has, in gross ignorance of its truest interest, and in direct opposition to its own intention, proved a severer scourge than the element of its heaven, and robbed it of many of the little thrifths and benefits it might have possessed: even to the present hour, the knowledge and learning which once flourished so remarkably in this desert spot, have not altogether abandoned it: they still hover, with a lingering eye, about its shores; and in their degradation and ruin offer much to excite and to gratify the curiosity of an enlightened traveller.

In the division of labour, as mutually determined upon by our fellow travellers, to Dr. Holland was assigned the task of preparing a preliminary dissertation on the history and literature of the island, its government, laws, religion, and, what has been denominated on the continent, its *hygiène*, or the comparative state of disease and health of its inhabitants. "Mr. Bright, we are told by the titular author, has made the most of the materials we had time to collect, for an account of the zoology and botany of Iceland. To him we are indebted for the preservation of the plants we gathered, and indeed for by far the greater part of the collection; and I shall ever retain a grateful remembrance of the cheerful, and ready exertion he always displayed, and the undeviating good humour with which he submitted to the cross accidents which sometimes befel us. In the midst of professional studies he has found time to furnish me with many valuable remarks, and much useful information, which, without his assistance, I

could not have procured. These, in addition to the materials of Dr. Holland's journal, and my own, have enabled me to draw up a narrative of our voyage and travels, in which simplicity has been chiefly studied. For what relates to rural affairs, commerce, and mineralogy, I am alone answerable."

In the preliminary dissertation, the learned writer expresses himself highly doubtful whether Iceland ought to be identified with the *ultima Thule* of the ancients; and rather inclines to believe that its discovery should be ascribed to the roaming spirit of certain Norwegian and Danish pirates about the year 860: although it is traditionally asserted, and the tradition has been assented to by various historians, that it had been visited by adventurers from Ireland before this period, and was at that time in possession of crosses, bells, and manuscripts in the Irish character. The history of the Edda is drawn up from the most respectable authorities, without any attempt at new information or original opinions. The knowledge of christianity is here asserted to have been introduced in 981 by Frederic, a bishop of Saxony, and its cause formally advocated in the national assembly in the summer of 1000, when after much serious discussion, it finally prevailed, and the people acquiesced in the judgment of those whom they regarded as their superiors in wisdom and learning. Though the literary fame of the island has departed, it appears from Dr. Holland's elegant chapter on the present state of the education and learning of the inhabitants, that the Latin language is still successfully cultivated, even by many individuals of the middle and lower ranks; and that several of their

living

living authors have eminently distinguished themselves by their publications in various departments of knowledge, particularly in theology, philology, and poetry. In the ecclesiastical code of the country the bishops, and even the inferior clergy have a power of preventing any marriage where the female is unable to read. This law, says our traveller, which provides such a powerful pledge for the instruction of the rising generation, is still occasionally acted upon, though probably not with so much strictness as in former times.

The rural economy of the country offers to our rapid tourists little for important remark: it is conducted in a style of the most rustic simplicity: the time did not allow of sufficient inquiry into the natural history of the country for any thing like a complete flora, or faunus of the island; but the little that is offered appears drawn up with caution, and may be relied upon. The manners of this simple and virtuous people are well and pleasingly described; and the most romantic scenes visited in the course of the journey are the hot springs in the valley of Reikolt, the Geysers, and Hekla. Under the article commerce are given distinct tables of the exports and imports, with hints for our profiting by the fishing banks of Iceland in preference to those of Newfoundland. We have dwelt the longer on this agreeable volume because, from an accident of no moment to the public to be made acquainted with, the selections from it intended to have been introduced into a prior department of our Register have been omitted, and cannot now appear till the Register for the ensuing year.

"*Lachesia Lapponica: or a Tour in Lapland.* Now first published

from the original manuscript Journal of the celebrated Linnéus; by James Edward Smith, M.D. F.R.S., President of the Linnéan Society." 2 vols. 8vo. These volumes are loosely written, and evidently contain the transitory feelings and observations of the illustrious author at the moment of their occurrence, and of their being committed to his memorandum book: they are in many cases, however, sprightly and original; and although we should much rather have had them presented to us in a more regular and digested form, there are few works of equal bulk upon the same subject that have ever afforded us more valuable entertainment. We are told in the appendix, that Linnéus had presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upsala, a memorial relative to his projected tour; and that, in consequence of this application, he was commissioned by that society to make an excursion through Lapland for the purpose of investigating its natural history. Having procured his instructions and passport, he accordingly sallied forth from Upsala "on the 12th of May, 1732, at eleven o'clock, being at that time within *half a day* of twenty-five years of age:" and the pages before us are the general result of the portfolio he brought home with him. In deciphering the original manuscript, the learned and laborious editor has bestowed much trouble, as also in procuring a faithful version of its miscellaneous contents. The rough drawings, or rather outlines of plants, animals, and implements, are preserved in correct fac-similes; and the only liberty which Dr. Smith seems to have taken—a liberty for which every one will be obliged to him—consists in an adjustment of the nomenclature of various plants and animals which in the manuscript copy

copy had been set down under vague or obsolete appellations. The period of the journey comprises about five months; and in this short space of time our chivalrous naturalist contrived to run over a route of six hundred and thirty Swedish, or three thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-eight English miles, through the wilds of the extreme north, not without divers mishaps and cultivating a tolerable familiarity with fatigue and peril. In closing we shall copy his list of accoutrements and amusing picture of himself, since it may serve as a specimen for some new dress and figure in several of the wild and outrageous pantomimes of the present day. "My clothes consisted of a light coat of Westgothland linsey-woolsey cloth without folds, lined with *red shallon*, having small cuffs and collar of *shag*; leather-breeches; a *round wig*; a *green leather cap*, and a pair of half boots. I carried a small leather-bag, half an ell in length, but somewhat less in breadth, furnished on one side with hooks and eyes, so that it could be opened and shut at pleasure. This bag contained *one shirt*, two pair of *false sleeves*, two *half shirts*; an ink-stand, pen-case, microscope, and spying-glass; a *gauze cap* to protect me occasionally from the gnats; a comb; my journal, and a parcel of paper stitched together for drying plants, both in folio; my manuscript ornithology, *Flora Uplandica*, and *characteres generici*. I wore a *hanger at my side*, and carried a small *fowling-piece*, as well as an *octangular stick*, graduated for the purpose of measuring."

"An Account of the past and present state of the Isle of Man, including a topographical description; a sketch of its mineralogy; an outline of its laws, with the privi-

leges enjoyed by Strangers, and a History of the Island. By George Woods." 8vo. This island is well known to exhibit to the world the extraordinary anomaly of forming a part of the British empire without being subject to the British code—an anomaly which it is high time to extinguish. In its general view it presents a dreary and sterile surface. "It is destitute, (observes the writer,) of woods, and of almost all trees not planted. Sometimes I observed a little brushwood, and at others have had pointed out to me places where bushes and hazel trees *used to grow*." The population is calculated at above 30,000; the climate is somewhat milder in winter than that of the neighbouring shores; while the heat of summer is not so great. The land is chiefly divided into small farms from 150 to 200 acres each. The duration of leases is most absurdly limited by legislative enactment to 21 years; but the mystery is solved by our being informed that long leases, by affecting the frequency of purchase, would keep a few fines of alienation out of the pockets of the very *discreet* and *patriotic* governors. About twenty shillings per English statute acre appears to be the average amount of farm-rent. It is in such homely and unornamented facts that the work before us chiefly deals; and for those who are desirous of acquiring a knowledge of this singular territory, the present will be found a very convenient key.

"A chronological abridgment of the History of Great Britain from the first invasion of the Romans to the year 1763. With genealogical and political tables. By A. F. Bertrand de Molleville." 4 vols. 8vo. We notice the present work first, because it is ably executed, and well adapted for the use of those who are

are not fond of diving into very detailed and extensive accounts; and next, because it is written in pure classical English by a foreigner; who, however, regrets, though very needlessly, that his inability to afford the expense of a translation, alone prevented him from having drawn it up originally in French, and compelled him to trust to his own skill in the English tongue. It is more of a philosophical history than Goldsmith's—but we think written with less spirit, and possibly, on this last account, may become less popular, though it has merit enough for an extensive encouragement.

“Geographical, Commercial, and Political Essays; including statistic details of various Countries.” 8vo. There is a considerable body of valuable and widely-collected matter in this work, well worthy the notice of the politician and the merchant. The writer has a comprehensive mind, and proves himself to have been an attentive traveller among men and manners. Many things, however, of a somewhat marvellous cast, appear to have been set down upon too slight an authority, and there is a general air of confidence and credulity that indicates an immaturity of judgment if not of age.

We now advance towards works of a more immediately political character, and especially towards such as, in this line, have a more immediate reference to our own country. The publications belonging to this class may be divided into those relating to our connexion with India, to our disputes with America, and to our domestic politics.

In commencing with the first of these it may not be superfluous to observe to our readers, that we took a tolerably extensive survey of the modern history and revolutions of

India in noticing a variety of important publications in our volume for last year. The publications of an oriental aspect that have occurred to us since, are of smaller magnitude, but of growing moment from their being chiefly directed to the existing controversy between the ministry and the East India Company, respecting the expediency of renewing the charter so long enjoyed by the latter, and the terms on which such renewal ought to be allowed. To those who are desirous of trying the question from the beginning, we recommend at the outset a careful perusal of Mr. David Macpherson's “History of the European Commerce with India. To which is subjoined a review of the arguments for and against the trade with India, and the management of it by a chartered Company: with an appendix of authentic accounts” 4to. The author begins with a neat and succinct sketch of the trade with India from the earliest times to the period of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope; he next describes the commerce with India as it has at different periods been prosecuted by the Portuguese, the Spanish, the Dutch, the English, French, Danes, Ostend Company, the Swedes, Prussians, and Imperial Company of Trieste: and he then enters upon his argument respecting the expediency and policy of a chartered trade, which he strenuously and skilfully defends. In the reign of William and Mary there were three different sets of merchants, all authorized by English law to prosecute the trade to the East Indies. This collision of rival interests is here said to have occasioned an excessive exportation of bullion, and a glut of Indian goods, and to have had a very pernicious influence on the manufactures of this country. But the

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 Establishment of a new Company."
 of which we perceive a second edi-
 tion is just announced, Svo. 7s. The
 contains, at full length, the follow-
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The author, however, appears to render it unquestionable that whatever be the fact in regard to the company, the trade to India is of rich advantage to the captains and officers of the company's ships: and he draws this forcible conclusion, that the difference is owing to the different manner in which business is conducted and attended to by individuals and by the East India company! To show how little the company encourages the exportation of British manufactures, the author mentions that it does not export to the annual value of 1000*l.* of the manufactures of Birmingham, and never, in its largest venture, has exported in any one year more than 2000*l.* of the manufactures of Sheffield. Would exports thus despicable be the result of a free trade?

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The traffic to America, says the same intelligent writer, "containing seven millions of inhabitants, is an open trade, and takes off annually *twelve millions* sterling of our manufactures. The trade to China, containing three hundred and thirty millions of inhabitants, takes off, under the management of the company, nine hundred thousand pounds annually of the same manufactures."

—There are a few other important points, however, closely connected with the subject which are not sufficiently brought forward, and which are rather of a financial or political, than of a commercial nature, we mean the increased facilities which a free trade would afford to smuggling, and the danger of the surplus of power which would necessarily be thrown into the scale of the ministry. And these, as we take it, are the chief questions that demand agitation; for that of the superior advantage or disadvantage of a chartered and exclusive incorporation regarded in a *national* point of view, appears to us to lie in a nut-shell. In a rising and unsettled state, when the capital of individuals is small, the general commerce limited, and the risk unknown, the protective benefit of such an incorporation is loudly demanded as an act of national policy: but after the same country has attained its zenith of commercial knowledge, and the same exclusive protection is not demanded, it should for the general benefit be withdrawn.

The long pending controversy with America has at length reached its *ultima ratio*; the repeal of the Orders in Council, which was the main, if not the only avowed ground of quarrel on the part of the United States, has not been sufficient to dulcify the rancour of their government, and new and contemptible

causes have been sought for and bolstered up in the foreground, as an ample motive for plunging their country into the horrors of war, and prostrating its strength to the greedy ambition of the now crest-fallen and disappointed Napoleon! It is hence sufficient to notice the titles of the chief publications that have been offered upon the subject before us: for the perusal of those who may yet wish to study it from its beginning, and in all its bearings. To such we may recommend the following. "The Crisis of the Dispute with America." By a Merchant of the Old School."—"Message of the President of the United States, communicated to Congress, 5th November, 1811."—"Report in Part of the Committee to whom was referred that Part of the President's Message which relates to Foreign Affairs:"—all warmly espousing the side of the American government. And "The Orders in Council, and the American Embargo, beneficial to the Political and Commercial Interest of Great Britain: by Lord Sheffield."—"A View of the State of Parties in the United States of America; being an Attempt to account for the present Ascendancy of the French or Democratic Party in that Country, in two Letters to a Friend." And "Letters addressed to the People of the United States of America on the Conduct of the past and present Administrations of the American Government towards Great Britain and France. By Col. Timothy Pickering, formerly Secretary of State to the Government of the United States:"—all as warmly, and in our opinion, with a decided advantage of argument, in favour of the British Cabinet.

The subjects of domestic politics which have been chiefly agitated in the press, during the year before us,
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are Parliamentary Reform, and the Negotiations for a new Ministry: for that of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, as it is termed with a sort of misnomer, although still hotly contended in the two Houses, and in all the newspapers, seems so far to have exhausted itself among its established writers, that the period immediately before us has offered little upon either side of the question beyond the light artillery of ephemeral pamphlets.

Among the more temperate and able writers in favour of a parliamentary reform, we may certainly mention Mr. Roscoe. His well-known "Letter to H. Brougham, Esq." on this subject, published in the preceding year, has been already adverted to by us. This pamphlet has since been replied to by Mr. J. Merritt, in "A Letter to W. Roscoe, Esq. occasioned by his Letter to Mr. Brougham upon Parliamentary Reform;" and has been followed by "An Answer to a Letter from Mr. John Merritt on the Subject of Parliamentary Reform; by William Roscoe."—Most parties, perhaps all, agree that the actual state of the representation requires correction: but there are two points, upon the one or the other of which the question is for ever shipwrecking—the *proper time*, and the *proper mode*. The first of these points is not immediately before us; and, in truth, it would be hardly worth attending to if it were, from its own weakness and incompetency; for, admitting we could hit upon the second, so important is the subject in itself, that *no time* could be improper for carrying it into execution. With respect then to the latter Mr. Brougham, with a timidity which seems somewhat foreign to his general temperament, has advised that we should commence upon a small scale,

and proceed with a cautious and most tardigrade pace: and that a trial be first made upon the Scottish representation alone. The object of Mr. Roscoe's first letter is to combat Mr. Brougham's proposal, and immediately to open the elective franchise all over the kingdom to all householders who pay direct taxes to government. Mr. Merritt, who possesses a sensible pen and liberal mind, writes warmly in support of Mr. Brougham's plan of progressive improvement; and charges Mr. Roscoe with having fallen into that political state of the question in which, to adopt Mr. Burke's well-known observation, "What is theoretically true is practically false." The object of Mr. Roscoe's letter to Mr. Merritt is to support his opinion by additional illustrations, and to disprove altogether the possibility of so anomalous an assertion. We have not space for discussing the question, which we must leave to our readers at their own leisure; but we cannot avoid offering our full assent to the ingenuity and candour with which the controversy is maintained on both sides.

We cannot, however, offer quite the same kind of tribute to Mr. Walter Honeywood Yate, for his two octavo volumes, entitled "Political and Historical Arguments, proving the Necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, and pointing out the Means, &c.:" the said author having most uncourteously, and without licence or admission, taken whole chapters in succession from a previous publication on the same subject (we mean Mr. Burgh's *Political Disquisitions*), and where he has not personified himself as Mr. Burgh, having exhibited somewhat of the wild-fire rather than the steady flame of patriotism.

The subject of the late, and perhaps

haps *pending* negotiations for a ministry, will be found pretty fully opened and illustrated in a pamphlet, entitled "Authentic Correspondence and Documents relating to the Proceedings of the Marquis Wellesley and of Earl Moira in the recent Negotiations for the Formation of an Administration:"

which we understand has by this time reached a sixth edition. We notice the work, without entering upon the subject, that our readers may study it for themselves: it deserves to be studied as unfolding a most extraordinary fact—and a fact to be in many points generally reprobated rather than generally approved.

FOREIGN LITERATURE,

OF THE YEAR 1812.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

State and Progress of Biblical Literature in Italy, India, China, America, Africa, and the North of Europe.

WE cannot commence the present subject better than by a brief account of an institution, which established in our own country, and for the highest, the purest, and the most benevolent of all purposes, that of distributing the scriptures in all languages, amidst all nations, has acquired a power and confederacy of correspondence over the globe which has rarely been equalled, and perhaps never exceeded, in any era, and which, if not restricted to the high and disinterested object to which it makes pretension, might reasonably excite the jealousy of most of the crowns and governments of Europe—we mean, as our readers will readily conjecture, the “British and Foreign Bible Society.” This laudable and extraordinary institution, which only commenced in 1805, and of whose infant progress we have already taken notice on various occasions, has at length acquired so enormous a pecuniary power, that the total of its net receipts for the last year alone, ending March 1, 1812, amounted to no less than *forty-three thousand five hun-*

dred and thirty-two pounds, twelve shillings and five-pence halfpenny; while the whole of its net payments for bibles distributed in different languages, and for the means of distributing them, amounted to not less than *thirty-two thousand four hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and seven-pence halfpenny*; at the same time that the range of its correspondence not only extends over every quarter of the globe, but over almost every country in Europe, all the civilized States of North America, every European settlement, and many districts where there is no regular European settlement in Asia; and even the brutish regions of the Hottentots in Africa.

We have hinted, that were it not for the unquestioned individuality of its object, this society must, long before the present period, have become a source of jealousy to foreign potentates. Of this, however, we have not heard; nor so long as the same purity of heart and singleness of eye which have hitherto been so conspicuous, shall continue to direct its leaders, shall we expect to hear; but

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we may venture to affirm, that foreign potentates will themselves be surprised to hear that though, without any degree of jealousy *abroad*, it has excited jealousy *at home*; and, altogether unintentionally, enkindled a spirit of severe controversy, not with the government of the country, but, where every foreigner will be least disposed to expect it, with a considerable portion of the most staunch and zealous advocates of the national church.—In the present place, it does not become us to enter into the dispute: yet we may at least be allowed to say, that we sincerely lament it, and the more so because we are persuaded that, however differently the question may be viewed upon which the dispute is founded, both parties are equally honest in their warfare. We rejoice at the conciliatory measure of a Prayer-book and Homily Society which has since been commenced by one of the branches of the Bible Institution, and we trust that the fears of their antagonists, whether imaginary or real, will now, at least, be subdued and laid to rest.

But it is only against a part of this most excellent institution that such an attack has been directed—against its domestic and not its foreign object. We believe there is scarcely an individual in the kingdom, belonging to it or not belonging to it, but approves highly of that extensive line of its exertions which we are at present more immediately called upon to take notice of. Where is the heart that can peruse the following testimonies of pious joy and gratitude, and not feel laudably proud of its beating with English blood, and of being connected, directly or indirectly, with the society to which they are addressed. “Our Husse,” writes an Hungarian Professor, who had been intrusted

with the distribution of a large edition of bibles in the Slavonic tongue, “was the faithful disciple and constant follower of your countryman Wickliffe. From you the first rays of the holy scriptures penetrated to us: and now, after a lapse of four centuries, you are preparing again to confer upon us this gift, and to lay our gratitude under a new obligation. I say these things under a deep sense of thankfulness; and all my countrymen will make the same acknowledgment.”—“We have received,” writes a *Roman Catholic* correspondent from Malta, “the *modern Greek*, and the Italian testaments, which the society sent in five cases; and have applied ourselves to the office of distribution. The chief of the Greek church has warmly approved of these testaments, and took occasion on Sunday last, when recommending to his proselytes in the church, the reading of the modern Greek testament, to commend the zeal and ardour which the English have shewn to circulate the word of our Lord in different parts of the world, an object the most useful in which men could engage.” And we rejoice to find that this is by no means the only instance of a correspondence from Roman Catholics to the same effect, and expressive of the same satisfaction: we rejoice to find that the reign of darkness and prejudice is in this respect giving way in every direction, and that the absurd maxim—a maxim sanctioned occasionally by the Vatican, but never by the church in General Councils—that the Bible is a dangerous book in the hands of the people—is abandoning and becoming condemned. The real value of such a distribution in the same quarter of the world is still more pointedly expressed by another Maltese correspondent, in the following

lowing interesting account of his having paid a visit to Sicily upon the same benevolent errand. "On my road to Mount Ætna, says he, at a place called Jaci Reale, we stopped at the inn to refresh ourselves and mules; and seeing at the balcony of the adjoining house an elderly gentleman, I requested the landlord of the inn to convey an Italian testament to him: which he did, and brought me back the united thanks of the gentleman and his family, who, shortly after, presented the same to me in person. I remained only a few hours at this place; but on my return to it a few days after, I found that the gentleman (the Marquis Vico) had been several times at the inn, to inquire if I had returned, and left an invitation for me to come and stop with him a few days, saying, his house, horses, and carriages, were at my service, which I was obliged to decline, to the no small disappointment of himself and family, in consequence of my hasty return to Messina, to proceed to Malta. Another instance of kindness which I received was from the prior of a convent, the only inhabited house towards the summit of the mountain, being only eighteen miles from it, who, in return for an Italian testament, accommodated us with the best his humble habitation would afford, which could not be procured in this awful and barren place for money. I have received various applications for these valuable books from various parts of the island, and have had the pleasure of forwarding them for distribution to Palermo, Trapani, Milazzo, Syracuse, Catania, Jaci Reale, Taormina, &c.: to Corsica, Sardinia, Zante, Patrass, Constantinople, &c." Such is the deplorable want of the Christian

scriptures in the very centre of Christendom itself.

In India this benevolent object has met with the warmest concurrence, and consequently been attended with extraordinary success. To meet the demands of "nearly a million of our Christian brethren in actual want of the Bible," a corresponding auxiliary society has been established at Calcutta, to which "donations have been made in the course of the last year, amounting to 13,499 rupees, besides 2,160 rupees subscribed towards founding a library for the use of translators; and steps are taking for the establishment of similar societies at Madras, Bombay, Columbo, and various other places; and for printing the scriptures in fifteen different languages or dialects, including the Chinese, Malay, and Burman. The missionaries at Serampore, to whose charge a part of this important task of translation is committed, "have by their zealous perseverance overcome the difficulties of acquiring the Chinese language; have already published a dissertation on the characters and sounds of that language, with a volume of the works of Confucius, and are engaged in a Chinese translation of the New Testament; while the correct and idiomatic Hindustanee version of the New Testament, made by the united labours of Mr. Martyn and Mirza Fitrut, will be immediately printed;" and a correct version of the Bible in the Tamul tongue appears to have been for some time in general circulation.

Throughout the United States of America, notwithstanding the unhappy differences that have of late years prevailed between the two governments, we perceive a powerful and successful concurrence. In the course

course of the year before us, we meet with a warm and congratulatory correspondence maintained between the parent society and auxiliary societies established at Philadelphia, Maine, Charleston, New Jersey, New York, Baltimore, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Albany. In several of these, we rejoice to find, and mention it because the fact may have a tendency to conciliation, that Prayer-books are distributed as well as Bibles, as we are told in a letter from Albany, "to those members of the episcopal church, who, from poverty, are destitute of this excellent summary of Christian truth and animated guide to Christian devotion." And we have also much gratification in adding, that as "the Bible and Prayer-book society of Albany and its vicinity," have expressly written to the parent society for information whether, under its actual form it may hope for the approbation of the latter, we have reason to believe from the incorporation of this letter into its report, as well as from other circumstances, that such approbation has been conceded to it.

We have already stated that a translation of the Bible has also been made and circulated among, what to many of our readers may be a new phraseology, 'congregations of Christian Hottentots.—"We are sure," observe the Moravian missionaries in their correspondence, "that if the worthy members of that benevolent society (the British) had been present to see the tears, and hear the humble and joyful expressions of thankfulness for this precious gift, and the prayers offered up for the blessing of God to rest upon those who had so kindly considered the spiritual wants of the most distant nations, they would have thought themselves well rewarded for their

generosity to these poor people."—Nor will it appear much less astonishing that the same ardent and indefatigable spirit, has supplied the rude and wretched tribes of Eskimaux with the same invaluable gift, translated into their own savage tongue. "Many affecting scenes took place," writes M. Kohlmeister, one of the Moravian missionaries at Labradore, "when the gospel of St. John was distributed among our Esquimaux, and their English benefactors were mentioned to them; tears of gratitude ran down many a cheek: and they expressed their wonder and astonishment that there were friends in England, who, though entirely unknown to them, yet wished to promote their eternal peace and happiness, by sending them the precious gift of the word of God. Some pressed the little book to their bosoms, and looked as happy as if they enjoyed a foretaste of heaven. Others attempted to express their gratitude in letters which they addressed to me. Another advantage has hereby been gained. As the gospel of St. John was given only to such as could read, an uncommon eagerness has been excited among such as could not, to learn to read, that they might obtain similar presents. I have also begun to instruct fifteen adult Eskimaux in writing, and I am delighted with the progress they are making. Some have written me very affecting letters. With the translation of the gospel of St. Luke I have advanced to the 20th chapter."

The ensuing intelligence is also of high importance, and reflects the greatest credit upon the assiduity of those who have chiefly conducted the concerns of the Bible Institution. It shews us that the extreme boundary, the *ultima Thule* of Europe, has by no means been neglected,

glected, whilst the eye has been strained to embrace the bordering savages of Africa and America. The Bible is now no longer, as it has hitherto been, a book almost unknown to the Fin, Laplander, Livonian, Estonian, and Dorpatian, while its circulation among the Poles has been very considerably facilitated. The Stockholm Bible Society writes as follows, Dec. 19, 1811: "We have to acknowledge the favour of your letter of September last, announcing a *further* donation of 200*l.* from the British and Foreign Bible Society, to enable us immediately after the completion of our first edition of the *Swedish Bible on standing types*, to proceed with a second.—How can our society sufficiently express its sense of grateful obligation to yours for its repeated assistance. Indeed we cannot view ourselves in any other light than that of a feeble child constantly cherished by the tender care of an affectionate parent. As to what regards the 5,000 copies of the *Lapland Testament*, printed at the expense of your society, our royal Chancery having been informed that half of this number was destined for the benefit of the Laponesse under the Swedish government, has not only made the most proper regulation for their suitable distribution, and ordered the land-carriage to be paid from the public treasury, but also addressed a letter to our committee, expressing the pleasure which his Majesty the king had felt on hearing what had been done for promoting a better knowledge of the Christian religion among the Swedish Laplanders."

To the same effect the following extract of a letter from Bishop Tengström, at Abo in Finland: "Since writing to you last, I have received a letter from his Excellency Spe-

ransky, concerning our proposed edition of the *Finnish Bible with standing types*; and have now the heartfelt pleasure to inform you that his imperial majesty (of Russia) has not only graciously approved of our accepting the British and Foreign Bible Society's generously offered gift of 500*l.* for that purpose, but has also from his own privy purse given 5000 rubles for the same good and Christian purpose. Thus, in the Lord's name, a foundation is laid to a work, from which religion and our Finnish church in particular, will, by the help of God, derive a certain and lasting advantage."

A correspondent from the neighbourhood of Dort, dating Sept. 5, 1811, communicates, in like manner, as follows: "As to what respects the Bible cause I have to inform you that the *Præpositus*, (*Superintendent*) convened on the 26th of June, a meeting of eighteen clergymen, who all approved, with one heart and voice, of the design of printing the *Livonian* and *Estonian* scriptures; and were greatly rejoiced at the aid so kindly offered on the part of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The directing Chamber for managing ecclesiastical affairs, promised its co-operation, and immediately voted a grant of money. As the printing of Bibles and Testaments in the Dorpatian dialect would be attended with great expence, and the Supreme Consistory is desirous to bring the Revel dialect (which is already understood by many) into general use, it was determined to print our Bibles and Testaments in the Revel dialect."

We have thus drawn up the most succinct and important outline of the actual state of foreign biblical literature, strictly so called, which it is in our power to do; from one of the most singular publications of the present day,

whose authority is unquestionable. — We might have extended the view much further, if he had followed up the correspondence and exertions of the society from its commencement, but we have purposely confined ourselves to the limits of the year immediately before us : and it has appeared to us, as it will also probably appear to our readers, that the intelligence which this correspondence communicates, is of a nature in itself so interesting and momentous, and in its relation to our own country, so cordially welcome and personal, that no apology is necessary for our having confined ourselves to a single source of information, and for postponing our usual report of foreign works on biblical criticism and theology, notwithstanding that the materials are before us, till the appearance of our Register for the ensuing year.

We shall close with the following anecdote, which we copy not to shew what villany exists in the world under the mask of a sanctionious pretence, but to prove the necessity of circumspection and caution even in transactions whose benevolent and spiritual nature will with difficulty allow us to sink down at any time to the sordid point of distrust and suspicion. The incident we allude to is narrated in a letter from Alexandria in the United States, bearing date October 16,

1810, and addressed to Robert Ralston, Esq. Philadelphia: " We the pastors of the episcopal, presbyterian, and methodist congregations, send you the sum of 548 dollars, and 21 cents for the use of the Bible Society. This money came in a singular manner into our hands. We were visited by a Mr. — under the assumed character of a missionary from a society, said by him to be established at St. Louis, in Upper Louisiana, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the savage tribes; the vouchers which he had artfully drawn up, had hitherto furthered his views. Having nearly completed his collection here, *he was detected as an impostor*, and went off, leaving behind him most of the money which he had collected here and at other places in his progress through Virginia. His real name is — — —. Letters of inquiry have been forwarded to St. Louis, the answers to which affirm that no such society exists there, nor the name of — — —, or — — —, known. On a consultation of a committee of the different congregations in this town, relative to the appropriation of the money, it was unanimously agreed that it should be transmitted by us to the Bible Society in Philadelphia, directing the society to dispense the Bibles which the above sum may procure among the frontier settlements."

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Containing Medicine, Physiology, Botany, Mineralogy, Chemistry, Meteorology.

THIS chapter we have usually commenced with the department which relates to the structure and health of the animal kingdom, and we see no reason for departing from our accustomed method.

"*Traité des Maladies qu'il est dangereux de guerir,*" &c. "Treatise on Diseases which it is dangerous to cure. By Mr. Dominique Raymond, M. D. of the faculty of Montpellier; a new edition, augmented with notes by M. Giraudy, M. D. Professor of General Therapeutics, &c." 8vo. It is known to every one that much mischief occasionally arises from too active an interference of the medical practitioner, as also that some diseases of a milder character are the best antidotes against others of greater severity. Hippocrates, in the outset of the medical science, observed, that there are some diseases which cannot be cured; and others, the cure of which it is dangerous to attempt; since, by so doing, morbid matter may be thrown upon parts more susceptible of injury, and nature may be thus overpowered. It was under such an impression that Dr. Raymond composed the work before us, which had the good fortune to become popular with the French nation, as well as with the profession; but it nevertheless possesses some puerility of opinions, and some credulity and want of

judgment. It is on this account Dr. Giraudy has offered a revise of the work in the form of a second edition. He has upon the whole improved it, but it still requires to be further weeded. In a more perfect form we should recommend a translation of it as a proper counterpart to Buchan and Tissot.

"*Observations sur la Nature et le Traitement, &c.*" "Observations on the Nature and Treatment of Apoplexy, and on the means of preventing it. By Anthony Portal, Professor of Medicine to the Imperial College of France, &c." 8vo. The name of this distinguished writer is familiar to the medical, and indeed to various other professions throughout Europe: and the disease he here treats upon, he has treated upon, though more cursorily, in various previous publications. In the present work he gives his own opinions and those of others in a collective form, details the history of the disease, and the varieties and shades of variety it assumes, at considerable length, and offers a mass of information truly valuable and important.

"*Traité Pratique des Hernies, &c.*" "Practical Treatise on Hernias; or Anatomical and Surgical Memoirs on these diseases. By Anthony Scarpa, Consulting Surgeon of the Emperor and King." &c. 8vo. We notice this work by

way of information to our readers, that the correct and original remarks of the distinguished writer, in relation to the class of diseases before us, which were formerly published at Milan in five fascicles of atlas folio, accompanied with most beautiful engravings, may now be had in a portable form, and at an expense within the reach of every one.

"Memoire sur les Organes, &c."

"Mémor on the Organs of Absorption in Mamiferous Animals. By M. Magendie, M. D. &c." M. Magendie not long since wrote a valuable paper, which, as well as the present, was read before the French Institute, upon the facility with which the poisons of the upas tiente, the nux vomica, and the bean of Ignatius, are absorbed and introduced into the sanguiferous system: it appearing to require scarcely twenty seconds for these poisonous matters to be conveyed from the peritoneal cavity to the spinal marrow. The experiments before us, which appear to have been accurately conducted, and in which the writer was assisted by Dr. Delile, prove sufficiently that there is some other source of communication between one part of the body and another than that of the lymphatic and sanguiferous systems: a fact which we not long since noticed to have been very completely established between the stomach and the bladder, by the correct and valuable experiments of Dr. Wollaston and Dr. Marcet. The writer seems half inclined to adopt the exploded doctrine of a direct absorption by the veins: but his experiments not fully warranting such a result, he concludes as follows: 1st, That the lymphatic vessels are not always the route followed by foreign matters to arrive at the sanguiferous system. And, 2dly, that the blood of animals upon

which the bitter strychnos (bean of St. Ignatius) has produced its deleterious effect, cannot produce any fatal effects upon other animals.

"Analyse Comparative, &c."

"Comparative Analysis of the Urine of various Animals. By M. Vanquelin." The urines here examined are those of the lion, tiger, and beaver. The two first are alike, and have a considerable resemblance to that of man, differing, however, in being alkaline instead of acid, in containing no uric acid, and scarcely any phosphate of lime. The urine of the beaver greatly resembles that of herbivorous animals in general, and is impregnated with the taste, colour, and smell of the vegetables on which it feeds.

"Recherches sur les Mœurs des Fourmis Indigènes, &c." "Inquiries concerning the Manners of Indigenous Ants. By P. Huber, Member of the Society of Natural History, &c." The industry and activity of ants frequently attracted the notice of the ancients: but in the mixture of truth and fable which compose the accounts of Pliny and Aristotle, we find the errors greatly preponderating; while even the writings of modern naturalists contain a multitude of vague assertions unsupported by observation. We are glad, therefore, that an entomologist, whose name, as well as that of his father, (to whom we are indebted for an admirable history of bees, drawn up from actual observation, though in the midst of blindness,) is far from being unknown to the world, should have directed such minute attention as the present work evinces, to rectify the numerous errors under which the curious have hitherto laboured with respect to this wonderful tribe of insects. In his account of the external characters of the species,

species, M. Huber avails himself of the descriptions and method of Latreille. He agrees with him in ascribing to these insects a tongue, an organ which Fabricius had supposed them not possessed of; the form of which he asserts to be spoon-shaped, whereby the insect, as he conjectures, is enabled to lap up fluids with the greatest facility. The species he has described as indigenous to Switzerland amount to not fewer than twenty-three; but the particulars he has given us relate to a few of these only. Ants are well known to possess many striking analogies with bees: and particularly in their offering to view three modifications of sex, the males, the females, and the neuters or labourers. The father of the present writer shewed sufficiently that the neuters or labourers are, in fact, females, with undeveloped generic organs, but nevertheless capable of development by the use of particular foods. It is possible that the neuters of ants possess an analogy to those of the bees in this respect; but the analogy remains yet to be proved. The mode of constructing their habitations, and the very curious architectural powers evinced in the course of such construction, are here minutely detailed, from a great multitude of observations made through a sort of glass hive, of a most ingenious construction. Ants are usually supposed to be omnivorous, and the buildings which they construct are conceived to serve, for the most part, as granaries against the winter: according to the work before us, however, they are carnivorous alone; deriving a very considerable portion of their nutriment from a sweet and viscid juice, secreted from the cutaneous pores of a species of aphid, or vine-fetter, which the labourers seek after with great avidity, and great

quantities of which they keep in a receptacle in their hives constructed for this very purpose, as mankind keep cows in cow-houses. The juice appears to be secreted voluntarily, by the ant's gently and repeatedly striking the aphid with its antennae in the same manner as it caresses its young. A single aphid is sufficient to supply in this way many ants with a plentiful meal: and the former seems capable of retaining this honey for a longer time when the ants are not at hand to receive it. What has been hitherto supposed magazines of corn and other food, is only the general collection of eggs and larvae belonging to the fraternity: corn is not an article on which they feed; they are total strangers to the art of hoarding, and none of their cells are constructed with this view. The ants whose occupations confine them at home, and to particular parts of their home, depend for their food on the labourers, who collect it as above stated, and at other times forage for the whole society, and bring to the nest small insects, or portions of any animal substance that may fall in their way. When the game is too bulky to be easily transported, they fill themselves with nourishment, the greater part of which they disgorge on their return, for the benefit of those that are hungry. There are a variety of other particulars equally curious and interesting, related in the history before us, which we have not space to copy, and we must hence refer the reader to the work itself, which will amply repay him for the trouble of perusal.

“*Démonstrations Botaniques, &c.*”
 “*Botanical Demonstrations, or the Analysis of Fruit in the general sense of the Term.* By M. Louis Claude Richard, of the French Institute, &c. Published by H. A. Duval

Duval of Alençon, Member of the Society of Amateurs of Physical and Natural Sciences," 12mo. The importance of an intimate acquaintance with the fruit of plants, must be felt and acknowledged by every theoretical student of botany, who is desirous of classing the vegetable families according to their natural affinities. To such the work before us may prove highly serviceable. It consists of the notes taken down by M. Duval, one of M. Richard's pupils, from his instructions as delivered during the herborizing excursions of the school in the environs of Paris; and afterwards revised by this celebrated botanist himself. Its chief evil is the unnecessary introduction of new technical and sesquipedalian terms, with which it is inundated.

To the active industry of Professor Berzelius of Stockholm we are indebted for a variety of chemical articles of considerable importance. Among these we may first mention his "Explanatory Statement of the Notions or Principles upon which the systematic Arrangement is founded, which was adopted as the Basis of an Essay on Chemical Nomenclature." The essay here alluded to was published in the *Journal de Physique* of Oct. 1811. In commenting upon this essay, M. Berzelius says, that the different natural bodies or corpuscles which possess affinities for each other would probably produce instances of an absolute and complete union of their principles, and consequently that one body thus compounded would become totally indifferent to another, and an eternal and universal repose ensue, were it not for a variety of circumstances which incessantly tend to destroy or prevent this repose of combined elements;

which circumstances he resolves into the diversities of strength in the chemical affinities themselves; the action of light, of caloric, and electricity. He conceives that the heat excited by friction may be resolved into that of the electric discharge; that compression only produces heat by driving out the caloric from the body to which the power of compression is applied; and that the combustion existing in the sun, instead of being of a culinary nature, which would necessarily waste its constituent mass, and necessarily and obviously diminish its diameter, is the result of a process analogous to that which obtains between the points by which an electric pile is discharged: all these phenomena, and orders of phenomena, having once commenced, or been set a-going, must, from the nature of the actual arrangement of things, continue permanently; in consequence of which the activity of created matters is maintained as it were by a perpetual gyration, or by their always returning to their first state or situation, as, in astronomy, we know to be the fact with respect to their motions in space.

The preceding article is included in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Stockholm*: the two ensuing, by the same author, are given in the *Afhandlingar i Fysik, Kemi, och Mineralogi*. "Physical, Chemical, and Mineralogical Manual," edited at Stockholm by himself and his friend, M. Hisinger. *Attempt to Analyze Silica*. The experiments hitherto made to decompose Silica by means of the electric pile having left the problem undetermined whether it can be reduced to a metallic body like other earths, Professor Berzelius here informs us, that he endeavoured to gain an analogous result,

result, by mixing it with powdered charcoal and filings of iron, and exposing the mixture in a luted crucible to a degree of heat sufficient for the fusion of the iron: hoping that the iron might in this case act somewhat similarly to quicksilver under the electric pile. From this first series of attempts he formed the conclusion, that silica is, by means of carbon, reduced to a body which enters into union with iron; and which, not injuring the malleability of the iron, must be of a metalline nature. It has been affirmed, by some chemists, however, that the silica is, in this case, perhaps only mechanically mixed with the melted iron. In opposition to which he tells us, that "as this opinion directly contradicts every notion that I can form of the usual habitudes of melted metals with those pulverulent bodies on which they exercise no chemical affinity, I tried to cement the filings of iron with silica and powder of charcoal at a temperature which could not fuse the iron. The iron filings remained unaltered in point of form; but on dissolution, in muriatic acid, left as much as 6 per cent. of siliceous earth."

An attempt to analyze cast iron. It has long been supposed that the principal difference between cast iron and steel consists in a small quantity of oxygen being present in the former, so that the cast iron, is a kind of carburetted oxyd of iron, while steel, on the other hand, is a carburetted metallic iron. Various reflections induced professor Berzelius to conceive that this idea was taken up too hastily: and, in the memoir before us, he gives an account of a long and tedious series of experiments to ascertain the true nature of the former, which he at length found to consist of,

Metallic iron, contaminated with the bases of silica and magnesia	91,53
Metallic manganese	4,57
Carbon	3,90
	100,00

"I am inclined, therefore, to believe," says he, "that the existence of oxygen in cast iron is, by this analytical investigation, now satisfactorily refuted, since the quantity of carbon compensates for all the deficiency of metal, and since it is certain beyond all dispute that cast iron does not contain the earths of magnesia and silica, but the metalline bodies which constitute their bases."

Before we quit the same work, the *Afsandigan i Fysik Kemi, och Mineralogi*, we will just notice, that M. Hisenger has successfully followed a suggestion of his colleague, and proved that the method which he proposed of separating iron and manganese by means of bezants, not only answers the purpose, but also presents to us a hitherto unknown agent for the purification of nickel, cobalt, and most of the metals and earths from iron, on the sole condition that the solutions are precisely neutralized and diluted, while at the same time the iron is oxydated to maximum: the beneficial influence of which discovery, on all analytical experiments, where iron so frequently occurs, and adheres so stubbornly, must be evident to all who are in the practice of such labours.

In throwing our eyes over the last four volumes of the very valuable *Annales de Chimie*, the following appear to us the most important articles, and we are sorry that our limits will allow us nothing more than to quote their titles and objects:

"Description

"Description of an apparatus, by means of which bad smells of every kind may be avoided in manufacturing Prussian Blue. By M. D'Arcet." We cannot convey a just idea of this machine without the plate: it appears, however, to answer in removing both the smell produced in the manufacture of Prussian blue from the combustion of animal matter; and that, which is far worse and more fetid, from the large quantity of sulphurated hydrogen gas evolved, by a combination of the sulphat contained in the potash with the hydrogen of the Prussian liquid. "Extract of a Letter addressed to M. D'Arcet, by M. Dufand, Director of the Iron Works at Montalair, near Creil." This useful article gives various instances in which cast iron, heated pretty hot, but not to any thing like fusion, and in a furnace rather than in a forge, since in the former the heat is more equalized, may be cut with a common carpenter's saw, as easily, and in the same space of time, as dry wood, the saw working as well after as before its use. If the iron be near the fusing point, the saw will be clogged in its action. "On the liquid Sugar of Starch, and the Transmutation of sweet Substances into fermentable sugar. By M. Vogel; abridged by M. Bouillon-Lagrange." This paper is so curious and important, that we have copied the whole into another department of our Register. "Chemical Examination of the Husks of Walnuts. By M. Henry Braconnot, Professor of Natural History." The husks of walnuts are used very generally as a dye; and the experiments before us are to determine the chemical properties on which the dye depends.

On examining the three last volumes of Delametherie's *Journal de Physique*, we have been chiefly in-

terested in the three following papers.

"Memoir on the Proportion the Evaporation of Water bears to the Humidity of the Air. By Honore Flauguergues."—"Remarks on some useful Applications of Meteorological Observations to Nautical Prophylactics. By F. Peron, Naturalist of the Voyage of Discovery to the Austral Lands, &c." And, "Abstract of an Essay on the Construction and Effects of the Pneumatical Tinder-Box. By Le Bouvier Desmottiers." To chance, the father of most discoveries, we are indebted for a knowledge that if a small portion of touch-wood, or that species of agaric which is called spunk, be put into a common condensing syringe, and pressed down upon gradually by its piston, the spunk or touchwood will take fire. The object of this last ingenious paper is to examine into the cause of this curious and useful phenomenon, and to explain the simplest kind of tinder-box or syringe that may be employed for the occasion. The cause seems to be chiefly the condensation of the interposed air; and the most common tube or syringe may be sufficient, provided the piston fits so exactly as not to suffer the air to escape.

"*Traité Élémentaire d'Astronomie Physique*," &c. "Elementary Treatise on Physical Astronomy. By J. B. Biot, Member of the French Institute. With additions relative to Nautical Astronomy. By M. De Rossel." Second edition, 3 vols. 8vo. The former edition contained about the amount of one of the three volumes before us. The present is certainly an improvement, not only as it contains M. De Rossel's treatise, abridged from a former work, but as being generally compared, with and corrected by, the different productions of Delam-

bre,

bre, Laplace, Prevost, Maurice, Pictet, Chaux, Arago, Rodrigues, Beronier, Mathieu, and Bovard. It has, however, some illiberality in not ascribing to many of our own countrymen the merits which belong to them. One of the best sections is entitled, "Tables Barometriques Portatives," &c. "Portable Barometrical Tables, &c. by a simple subtraction."

"*Essai sur la Figure apparente,*" &c. "Essay on the apparent Figure of Stars and luminous Objects seen at a Distance, and under a very small Diameter. By M. J. H. Hassenfratz." If we look with the naked eye at a very remote luminous object, a star, a planet, a house on fire, a torch, or a candle, we perceive that these bodies are surrounded with rays of light, having particular directions; that the num-

ber of these rays differ to different eyes, or at different distances, being sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four, sometimes five, and occasionally even six or eight; and that such radiations prevent our distinguishing and ascertaining the figure of the object. M. Hassenfratz having sufficiently ascertained that this variation does not depend upon the figure, or any other quality of the object itself, chalked out for himself a series of experiments to determine its real cause; and, at length, by the assistance of his friends, Dr. Chaussier and M. Ribes, determined it to be produced by the organ perceiving it; and to be chiefly occasioned by the irregular figure of the surfaces of the cornea and the crystalline humour, especially of the latter.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Statistics, and Politics.

"**M**EMOIRES Militaires, Historiques, et Politiques," &c. "Military, Historical, and Political Memoirs of Rochambeau, Marshal of France under the Monarchy, and great Officer of the Legion of Honour." 8vo. 2 vols. M. De Rochambeau was a soldier of the old school; and having been educated to arms in the days of Marshal Saxe, and accustomed to the systematic plans of the monarchy, he was ill-prepared to bear patiently the disorders of a revolutionary army. He had, however, taken a lead in the American war, and hereby, in no small degree, laid a foundation, though very unintentionally, for a rehearsal of a drama of the same genus, though much more violent in its movements, and inauspicious in its results, in his own country. Disgusted, therefore, with the change and tempest of public life, he obtained leave to retire, and in the privacy of solitude gave a loose to his feelings and his memory, by compiling the work before us. He commences with his own epoch: was born in 1725: entered the French service as a cornet in 1741, when war broke out in Germany; at the age of twenty-two attained the rank of colonel, and in the ensuing year was present and assisted at the siege of Maestricht.

The history of France is loosely continued from this event till the fall of the monster Robespierre. These memoirs are a plain, unvarnished, uncommented string of facts and incidents. Where he writes from his own personal knowledge he appears to be sufficiently correct; but we can distinctly trace errors of no small magnitude or frequency in his references to other writers of his own country.

"L'Espagne ou Mil huit cent huit," &c. "Spain in the Year 1808; or Inquiries concerning the Government, Sciences, Arts, Commerce, Manufacturers, Public Instruction, Trade, Literature, Population, Military and Naval Force, and national Character of the Spaniards: undertaken during a journey to Madrid in 1808. By J. F. Reh-fues, Librarian to the King of Wurtemberg. Translated from the German manuscript into French; and followed by an historical fragment, entitled, "The Spaniards of the Fourteenth Century," 8vo. 2 vols. The extent of the title-page, will almost serve the purpose both of a table of contents and index. The writer exhibits a lover of liberty and liberality upon every occasion in which he thinks it prudent, though nothing is more obvious than that the fear of Napoleon is perpetually

petually before his eyes. His work is much more limited in its compass than that of Laborde, and its local descriptions are peculiarly circumscribed, the author having been stopped in his journey by the sudden progress of the revolution, and obliged to quit Madrid when king Joseph made his precipitate retreat towards the end of July, 1808. In his account, however, of the statistics and manners of the country, for which he is largely indebted to preceding writers, he has taken an ampler field; but with respect to the immediate nature or object of his tour we are left as much in the dark on closing as before we opened the volumes. The subjoined historical fragment has little connection with the preceding pages, though it occupies more than a quarter of the entire work. It is founded on the exploits of the Spanish crusaders against their unfaithful allies in the Greek empire; and upon the whole, though it wants authority, forms one of the most entertaining parts of the general production.

"Tableaux Historiques et Politiques," &c. "Historical and Political Sketches of the ancient Governments of Zurich and Berne, and of the most interesting Periods of Switzerland," 8vo. This work, though succinct, contains much useful matter, and has a good deal of general merit. It is drawn up in a very considerable degree from Müller's more detailed history, and consists of the following eight chapters: I. Of the ancient constitution of Zurich. II. Of the aristocracy of Berne. III. Of the council of Constance. IV. Of the war of Zurich. V. Of the war of Burgundy. VI. Of the league of Suabia. VII. Of the campaigns in Italy. VIII. Of the reformation;

and the religious feuds which originated from it.

"La China en Miniature," &c. "China in Miniature: or a Selection of the Customs, Arts, and Trades of that Empire, represented in seventy-four engravings, chiefly taken from the unpublished originals in the collection of the late M. Berlin: with explanatory notes. For the use of youth. By M. Breton." 4 vols. 16mo. For the purpose for which it is designed this work may be serviceable; but it will be found to contain little, if any thing new to those who have studied the works composed by Sir George Staunton, and various others who accompanied Lord Macartney in his embassy. The origin of the volumes before us, however, is highly interesting, and well worthy of notice. Towards the close of the reign of Louis XV. and during the earlier part of his predecessor, M. Bertin was secretary of state in France for the colonial department; and, in consequence, had the superintendence of those missions which the Christian spirit of proselytism sent into China and other parts of the East. He availed himself of the correspondence of the Jesuits to import various curiosities, and especially such small paintings as represented processes of manufacture; his object being to form a portfolio, which might be described as a picturesque encyclopedia of the arts of the Chinese. The following circumstances occurred to favour his collections. Two young Chinese, named Ko and Yang, whom the Jesuits had converted at Peking to the Christian religion, were induced to come to France at the expense of the missionaries, in order to behold in Europe the splendour of Christianity. They arrived at Paris in 1760;

1760; passed in the convent of the Jesuits, the time which was necessary to learn French; and, on the suppression of that order, obtained an allowance from the minister of the colonial department. They were taught to engrave by the king's own order; were carried, at his expense, to visit the chief manufactories of France; were sent back with gifts to their own country; and were especially instructed to transmit any intelligence which might assist in the different processes of the art. Ko and Yang arrived at Macao in safety: the vessel was visited by the proper officers, but in consequence of their being clothed in European apparel they escaped notice.

During the night they landed at Canton; put on Chinese dresses by moon-light; set off together on foot, and reached Peking as if they had never quitted their country. They recollected their obligations to M. Bertin; and provided, in concert with the missionaries, many of the papers which were printed in the *Memoires concernant les Chinois*, edited by Amiot and Cibot. They also wrote private letters to M. Bertin, the substance of which was printed in a very scarce volume, never exposed to sale: and they furnished him with about four hundred drawings relative to the arts of the Chinese; out of these drawings seventy-four of the more curious have been selected for the volumes before us, faithfully engraved in miniature, and are accompanied by a convenient explanatory text. This last has been provided by M. Breton, author of several geographical works; it is agreeably written, and well adapted to convey to young persons a general idea of the costume and technology of China.

"Exposé Statistique du Tonkin,

&c." "Statistic Account of Tonkin, Cochinchina, Cambogia, Chiampa, Laos, Lac-tho, &c. By M. M. N. drawn up from the narrative of M. de la Bissachere, missionary in Tonkin," 2 vols. 8vo. This work contains an ample and apparently faithful account of the countries to which it is directed, composed by a person who has had almost every opportunity of collecting information. There is less liveliness in the style than is common to French productions of this kind; but though less amusing than we should have expected, it is by no means less interesting. The present sovereign of Tonkin is a man of most extraordinary character and fortunes. The exile and misadventures of his youth have prevented him from acquiring a knowledge of Chinese letters or symbols; but he sent his son into Europe some years since for literary information, and is in himself, now that he has recovered possession of his throne, and very considerably extended his domains, a great encourager of learning. He is the guide and model of his subjects; bold in his conceptions, and methodical in his combinations; familiar with all the arts of government necessary to his purposes; the best tactician, the best engineer, the best shipwright in all his dominions: and the mode by which he acquired a knowledge of European ship-building is curious; he bought a vessel, and had it carefully taken to pieces, and put together again that he might discover its various parts, proportions, and combinations. He has now a navy of formidable force; has ample means of protecting himself against the paramount court of Peking, and pays just as much homage to it as he chuses. His army is very numerous

merous and well appointed; he has suppressed the civil wars by which the country was torn to pieces during many ages; has established various new manufactories, and greatly improved those already extant. In Mr. Barrow's travels, the name of this monarch is stated to be Cawn-shung; in the work before us he is called Gia-long. *

"Memoire sur la Conduite de la France, &c." "Memoir on the Conduct of France and England towards Neutrals," 8vo. Paris. This work, in the country from which it has issued, appears to be regarded as of a kind of demi-official authority. The writer is not destitute of ability, and is certainly well skilled in the common place sophisms and invectives with respect to the maritime pretensions of Great Britain, which have filled the columns of the *Moniteur* with little intermission or variety, since the commencement of the French revolution. His object is to prove that France has, from the earliest periods, recognized the most liberal principles with respect to the rights of neutral commerce and the freedom of navigation; that she has neglected no opportunity of proclaiming them; and that in all her proceedings, however violent in appearance, or illegal according to the maxims of universal justice, she has had but one object—the liberty of the seas, in direct opposition to the conduct of England, who has with equal uniformity evinced an insatiable lust of domination, and maritime legislation and supremacy. We do not perceive a new argument advanced in the course of the discussion, but the author has certainly the ingenuity of dressing up old arguments in a new shape."

"De l'Angleterre, &c." "On England. By M. Rubickon," 8vo. This extraordinary work has been published on our own side of the water. The writer endeavours to shew that England, with all its boasted constitution and liberty, is in effect an abused, enslaved, and miserable country: that its æra of happiness can only be referred to the time in which the dignity of the Roman Catholic religion flourished amongst us, and the people were blessed with monastic institutions! that hence the real grandeur and felicity of England have been sinking ever since the reign of Henry VIII. and that finally there is scarcely a country in Europe that has not fairer pretensions to all the essentials of national perfection than England. In the midst of this rant, the author deserves to be reminded, that he himself has been compelled to seek an asylum in this country of slavery, which no other country in Europe could have afforded him, and that it is from an English press he finds himself at liberty to pour forth this tirade—the only press in Europe, that under similar circumstances of outrageous ingratitude, to call it by no harsher term, would have allowed him thus to write.

"Traité sur le Service, &c." "Treatise on the Functions of the Etat Major or Military Staff; explaining the object and constitution of that body: with tables and plates. By Gen. Grimoard." 8vo. Gen. Grimoard is of the old school; and the line of life he has pursued from youth, peculiarly qualifies him for a minute description of that important department of an army in which the French have always maintained so decisive a superiority. His book is well entitled to
personal,

perusal, and even to minute and analytical study.

"An Inquiry into the State of our Relations with France." Philadelphia. This valuable and unanswerable treatise was first published

in the fourth number of the American Review. It is one of the ablest political papers we have seen, and embraces the right side of the question.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing Memoirs of Literary Societies, History, Biography, Belles Lettres, Poetry, Novels.

THE memoirs of the French Institute are before us; but we can only glance at one or two of the most curious or interesting subjects they contain. Among the former we may especially reckon the recovery of the Latin translation of the optics of Ptolemy by Ammiratus Eugenius Siculus; who himself, however, did not pretend to give it from the original, but through the medium of the Arabic, as Euclid was first given to our own country in the twelfth century, by the monk Adelard. From this work it appears that Ptolemy was as well acquainted as the moderns with the refraction which light undergoes in passing from the air into water or into glass, and gives tables for all the angles of incidence from 10° to 100° . Beyond this, however, the book is but of trivial value, being filled with obscure metaphysics and fanciful explanations. M. Dauxier-Lavaysse, formerly a colonist of St. Lucia, has presented to the physical class a very excellent geological description of Trinidad, and other islands adjoining the mouth of the Orinoco; the natural phenomena it portrays are highly interesting, and shew clearly that these islands, and especially the former, resemble most strikingly the adjoining continent in the nature of its rocks; and lead us strongly to suspect, with M. Lavaysse himself, that they

formerly constituted a part of the continent. In botany we find a very warm but ingenious discussion carrying on between M. Palisot de Beauvois, M. Mirbel, M. Wildenow, and M. Desfontaines, concerning the genuine organs and mode of generation belonging to the mosses: M. Wildenow regarding the transparent grains so conspicuous in the capsule of several of them as bulbs; M. Palisot regarding these grains as the seeds, and the green dust of the urn as the pollen; while others completely reverse this opinion, and regard the latter as the seeds, and the former as the pollen. We cannot enter into the subject, though we shall not be inattentive to it, and shall communicate its results as soon as they are fairly established. In chemistry we perceive that the ingenious experiment of Mr. Leslie, of freezing fluids *in vacuo*, by absorbing their vapour, has been pushed to a considerable extent, and to purposes of public economy by several chemists, especially M. H. Clement and Desormes; and that Count Rumford's plan of heating by vapour, has been employed in the same manner, and with similar success. M. Sage, in the department of meteorology, has collected, in a detailed memoir, a history of all the known phenomena of water-spouts, from the remotest ages.

We

We rejoice to find that a scientific institution has of late been formed in the Ionian islands, under the name of the "Ionian Academy," for the promotion and encouragement of local literature; and particularly as to the state of civilization in Greece since the downfall of the empire of the east to the present time. With this view the following questions are proposed to the learned throughout Europe; and are to be addressed to the secretary of the Ionian Academy, under cover to the English or French chargé d'affaires at Constantinople. 1. What schools, libraries, and other institutions for the encouragement of learning, have been founded in the different provinces of Greece, between the period of the subversion of the eastern empire, A. D. 1453, and the present time? 2. What have been the establishments for public education, founded by Greeks out of Greece, for the education of their countrymen? 3. Have the printing-houses at Moscopolis, Jassi, and Bucharest, been the only establishments of the kind in Greece? Is it true that there has been a printing establishment in the Fanal of Constantinople? How long did that continue in existence which was begun in the patriarchat at Constantinople, during the war between France and Turkey? 4. A biographical notice of the learned Greeks, who have flourished since the fall of the eastern empire to the present time.

"Memoirs of the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture, &c." We rejoice to see this truly patriotic society continuing to cultivate, with so much spirit, the arts of peace amidst the war-hoop of politics, and preferring the ploughshare and the pruning hook to the

sword and spear. We have already noticed its origin, and first volume; it is the second that is now before us, consisting, with its appendix, of about seventy articles, most of them useful, and some of them entitled to minute and serious attention. Amongst the most valuable and extensive contributors, we may reckon Judge Peters; who we understand indeed, is one of the chief supports of the Agricultural Society; and is very generally recognised as a practical and experimental farmer, not surpassed in skill or science by any of the country.

"The Academy of Sciences at Sweden has lately promoted the publication at Stockholm, of a work of considerable merit, by M. Valenberg, entitled, "An Account of a Journey undertaken in 1807, for the purpose of determining the height of the mountains of Lapland, and observing their temperature." The mountains visited by this bold and indefatigable naturalist, make part of the great chain which runs through Sweden and Norway, and stretches in some of its branches to Finland and Russia. They are situated between 67 and 68 degrees of north latitude, and belong to the polar regions. On several points their bases are washed by the sea; and the immense range of the northern ocean is discoverable from their summits. Hitherto they have only been beheld in all their majestic grandeur by the Lapland grazer, following his flocks of deer and his game. A few travellers have contemplated them remotely, and M. de Bruch, a learned German, in the course of his travels in Norway, approached within a short distance of them, but no person had ever yet penetrated into this asylum of nature, and attempted to struggle

struggle with the difficulties of ascertaining these stupendous peaks eternally covered with ice and snow.

"Archiv für Asiatische Litteratur, &c." "Archives of the Literature, History, and Languages of Asia; published by J. Klaproth, by order of the Academy of St. Petersburg," vol. I. 4to. with plates and wood cuts. This will be found a useful work to the north-eastern linguist, consisting of a number of valuable documents, the principal materials of which were collected by the editor during a long residence on the frontiers of China; and subsequently during his travels to and about Mount Caucasus, in the years 1807 and 1808. The first memoir offers a comparison between the principal written characters of Asia, which are paralleled with the German alphabet. The second relates to the different dialects of the Caucasus, which the author contemplates under four primary divisions; that of the Aváres; of the Kaszi-Chumuk; of the Akusches; and that spoken in the territory of Kura in Southern Daghestan. The third memoir investigates the origin of the Afghans, whom he inclines, from etymology and grammar, to derive from Media; and supposes that they inhabited the mountains which extend themselves between Persia, Hindostan, and Bactriana. The fourth memoir is entitled Babar Na'shmeli, or "the Book of Council:" it is written in the Turco-Tartarian language; and consists of a narrative by the Sultan Babar, who founded the Mogul empire in Hindostan, in the sixteenth century, relative to his warlike achievements. The volume concludes with "Observations on the Frontiers between Russia and China." The second volume is already prepared for the press.

"Kosmologische Geschichte der Natur, &c." "Cosmological History of Nature, especially of the Mineral and Vegetable Kingdoms. By M. de Hagen." This is the sickly dream of a philosopher (if we ought to apply such a term in the present instance) who has once more wished to revive the doctrine of planetary personality; and endeavours to persuade the world, not only that the different heavenly bodies are animated beings, but possessed of sexual distinction, and capable of propagating their kinds; the *planetætes*: or baby planets appearing first of all in the shape of comets and luminous nebulae. For the rest, our readers, if they wish for further specimens, must consult the work for themselves.

"Annales du Musée, &c." "Annals of the Museum, and modern School of the Fine Arts. A Collection of outline Engravings, representing the Paintings and Sculptures of the Napoleon Museum; the most curious Objects of the Museum of French Monuments and that of Versailles; the Gallery of the Senate, the principal Works of living Artists, &c. with Historical and Critical Notes. The second Collection, being the ancient Part; containing a Selection of Pictures, Statues, and other curious Objects, acquired by the French Army in 1805 and 1806, the Antiquities of the Villa Borg-hese, and the recent Additions to the Napoleon Museum. Vol. I. By C. M. Landen, Painter, &c." 8vo. We have already had occasion to notice this writer's activity in putting his countrymen in possession of a short and useful sketch of the rich pillages which the revolutionary war has procured for them. We cannot too much despise the principle; but that having been ab-

lowed to operate, the task upon which M. Landon is engaged will be found highly useful and instructive to young artists.

"*Memoires et Lettres du Maréchal Prince de Ligne, &c.*" "*Memoirs and Letters of Marshal Prince de Ligne; forming a Sequel to the Letters and Thoughts of the same Author, edited by the Baroness de Stael Holstein, and containing Anecdotes hitherto unpublished, concerning the different Courts of Europe.*" 2 vols. 12mo.

"*De la Literature, &c.*" "*On Literature considered in relation to Social Institutions. By Mad. de Stael Holstein. With a Sketch of the Life and Works of the Author.*" 2 vols. 12mo. There is singular kind of complaisance and modesty in the mode in which the preceding works are ushered into the presence of the public. The Prince de Ligne writes, and Madame de Stael becomes his editor. Madame de Stael Holstein writes; and M. Boileau becomes editor to her ladyship. The former of these works might, we think, have been suppressed, without much public loss or inconvenience. It was in the autumn of 1807, that Mad. de Stael, when on a journey to Vienna, was requested by the Prince de Ligne, to do him the honour of wading through a collection of twenty-eight octavo volumes, which he had composed from the passing events and histories of the times, and to publish such parts as she thought most meritorious. The baroness, in gratitude for the hospitality she had received, complied, and two small volumes were the result of her selections. The world testified its approbation of her performance; and we have now therefore two other small volumes, of inferior sample; and if the same guerdon be
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again bestowed, we shall no doubt in time receive the whole twenty-eight volumes of original matter. Mad. de Stael's own work, edited by M. Boileau, is of peculiarly unequal value: sound judgment, wild, incoherent fancy; lively, forcible painting, and dull, uninteresting chronicling. In contemplating the literature of Europe, she divides her subject into two classes; the literature of the south, to which she ascribes invention, brilliancy, eloquence and taste, possessed more or less by Greece, Italy, Spain, and France: and that of the north, the character of whose poetry, she tells us, is made up of melancholy and reflection, and at the head of which she places England. She whimsically dates English poetry from the time of Ossian, but gives an animated and judicious critique upon the various talents of Shakespeare.

"*Oeuvres Choiesies, &c.*" "*Select Works of P. Larjon, Member of the Institute,*" 4 vols. 8vo. These volumes contain a little of every thing, tragedy, comedy, farce, songs, sonnets, epigrams, historical anecdotes, and literary essays. There is for the most part, ease, fluency, and spirit in the writer's style; and not a little garrulity in his manner; and how indeed could it be otherwise in a writer who is perpetually boasting himself an *octogénaire*.

"*Essai d'une Histoire, &c.*" "*Essay towards a History of the Sciences and the Fine Arts, from the heroic Ages to the present Times. By P. G. de Roujoux, Sub-Prefect of Dôle,*" 3 vols. 8vo. This work is written with spirit, and if not drawn from original documents, from good and safe authorities; from Montucla, d'Herbelot, Moreri, Bayle, Goguet, Winkelmann, Latharpe, and Barthélemy: and we

should like to see it translated into our own tongue.

We cannot boast so much of the foreign romances and novels that have fallen into our hands in the course of the current as of various preceding years. The best that has occurred to us is by Goethe, well known as the author of the *Sorrows of Werter*: it is entitled *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, &c. "*Elective At-*

tractions." Many of its scenes are worked up with great interest, and pathos; there is much and curious invention; a perpetually teasing yet stimulating perplexity, an elegant and picturesque style. If inferior to the *Sorrows of Werter*, it is at least worthy of its author; and we apprehend we shall soon see it in a vernacular dress.

FINIS.









